Wexford Traveller Interagency Group (TIG)

Needs analysis of Traveller community in co. Wexford

Final, 7th November 2018

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Executive summary

This is a baseline needs analysis of the Traveller community in co Wexford commissioned by the Traveller Interagency Group (TIG), compiled over May-July 2018 through a combination of desk research, consultation and interview with the Traveller community and the agencies, organizations and individuals working with or knowledgeable about it, 46 people participating. Two focus groups were held (15 participants). There was a checkback meeting with those who assisted in the research, 32 attending.

There are 1,508 Travellers in co Wexford, concentrated on five locations. It was a stable community in size and movement, youthful in age, with above average household size. The census pointed to specific needs in educational levels, duration of school, ability to speak Irish, social opportunity, occupational groups, transport, computer and internet access, health, disability, accommodation, water, sewerage and fuel. Travellers could be clearly identified as severely disadvantaged compared to the national norm.

Weighting needs, the most important identified by Travellers were in accommodation, discrimination and Traveller organization, the most universal needs identified being education, with employment and training followed by health.

The analysis of how those needs could be met focussed on the importance of addressing issues of education from the perspective of employment and the Traveller economy, which would re-value education and schooling. It identified the need for re-investment in Traveller education and accommodation, with fresh investment in e-inclusion, specific posts and services (e.g. mental health, nursing, youth and locations), confidence-building measures such as complaints systems and Traveller organization. The almost complete failure of equality legislation and institutions to protect Travellers from discrimination was a matter for urgent attention. The research emphasized the importance of structures for Traveller representation, to make sure that Traveller issues were considered and dialogue to address the corrosive problem of a negative offline discourse that had prejudicial impacts on the Traveller community.

The analysis suggested that one of the main needs was for conceptual, paradigmatic change - accepting the scale of the issue of discrimination, the need to reverse underinvestment, the value of technical assistance and pre-development in projects, reversing the logic of trying to improve education while paying little attention to the labour market and the Traveller economy. Specific actions were suggested for the TIG to pursue, under the headings of engagement, services (with proposals to meet specific geographical and other gaps) and consultative structures.

Terms of reference **5**
Method **5**
Acknowledgements **5**

1 Profile of Traveller community in Wexford **7**
1.1 Context **7**
1.2 Statistical profile **8**
1.3 Other needs assessments **25**
1.4 Services **28**
1.5 Conclusions **30**

2 Need **32**
2.1 Grouping and weighting need **32**
2.2 Education **33**
2.3 Health **35**
2.4 Employment and training **38**
2.5 Issues arising from housing and accommodation **41**
2.6 Sports, arts, recreation, culture, services and transport **42**
2.7 Traveller organization **44**
2.8 Public safety **46**
2.9 Conclusions **47**

3 Meeting need **48**
3.1 Education **48**
3.2 Health **51**
3.3 Employment and training **51**
3.4 Issues arising from housing and accommodation **55**
3.5 Sports, arts, recreation, culture, services and transport **55**
3.6 Traveller organization **56**
3.7 Public safety **58**
3.8 Conclusions **60**

4 Conclusions **61**
4.1 Conclusions **61**
4.2 Recommendations **62**

Annexes

1 Standard request for information and assistance **64**
2 Prompt sheet used **65**

Tables

1: Locations of highest proportions of Travellers 8
2: Location of Traveller community, co Wexford, by electoral division 9
3: Demographic profile of Traveller community in co Wexford, 2011 10

4: Persons per household 11
5: Type of household 11
6: Marital status 12
7: Usual residence a year ago 12
8: Education level achieved for those 15 and over 13
9: Age at which education ceased for those 15 and over 14
10: Ability to speak Irish over 3s 14
11: Participation in early years services in co Wexford 15
12: Participation of Travellers in co Wexford schools 15
13: Participation in ETB schools across school years (chart) 16
14: Participation in Education and Training Board courses 17
15: Social class 18
16: Occupational group 19
17: Car ownership 20
18: Means of travel 21
19: Computer and internet access 21
20: General health 22
21: Disability by type 23
22: Type of accommodation 23
23: Traveller count for purpose of accommodation, 2017
24
24: Sewerage by households 24
25: Water supply 25
26: Central heating 25
27: Traveller-relevant needs identified in consultation on older people 28
28: List of key recommended actions 63

Terms of reference (ToR)

The Wexford Traveller Interagency Group (TIG) has asked for a baseline needs analysis of Travellers living in co. Wexford. Its purpose is to describe the Traveller community in the county, specifically its location and age distribution; gain an understanding of its demographics, needs and strengths; and break down information on need under 14 headings (women's health and welfare; isolation and loneliness;

sport, arts & recreation; education and childcare; access to services and facilities; employment and training; youth; transport; health and welfare; substance abuse; horse ownership & welfare; other issues affecting families; family make-up; and cultural awareness; but excluding accommodation). The researcher responded to the ToR with a proposal, the outline, method and report format of which is followed in this report.

Method

This research was carried out by:

- Interrogation of the 2016 Census;
- Request for information and personal interviews with statutory agencies, voluntary organizations and individuals who work with or have contact with the Traveller community. 46 people participated;
- Consultation with the Traveller community, through focus group and interview;
- Checkback meeting with those who assisted in the research, held in the county council offices on 5th September 2018, 32 attending.

A standard request was sent out inviting organizations and individuals to participate (annex 1), as well as a prompt sheet for discussion (annex 2). Two focus groups were held, one with the Traveller community, organized by Wexford Local Development (WLD); and the second with WLD staff, both held on 28th May to inform the research at an early stage.

Acknowledgements

I wish to acknowledge and thank those who contributed through interview, advice, information and the facilitation of meetings or interviews.

In the Traveller community, Biddy Connors, Bridget Wall, Brigid Connors, Elizabeth Berry, Josie Cash, Nan Connors, Nan Moorehouse, Ali Connors, Mary Connors.

Michael Sweeney, Traveller Interagency Group Wexford County Council

Marie-Louise Byrne, Laura Myles, Esther Brennan, Billy Murphy, Fran Ryan, Sandra Walsh, John Kelly, Dubháin Kavanagh, Wexford Local Development
Tom Banville, Breege Cosgrave, Local Employment Office
Ray Colfer, John Carley, Carmel King, Ger Mackey, Hugh Maguire, Fran Ronan, Eileen Morrissey, Liz Burns, Wexford County Council
Claire Fitzpatrick, Mary Byrne, Martina Bergin, Martina Kidd, Health Service Executive
Seamus Halpenny, Michele Weir, Probation Service
Inspector Denis Whelan, Sgt. Brendan Costello, An Garda Siochana
Terry O'Neill, Slaney Garda Youth Diversion Project, Enniscorthy
Kieran Donohue, Suzanne Roche, Davin Power, Denis O'Connor, Ferns Diocesan Youth Service
Sheila Barrett, Children and Youth Services Committee
Clare Williams, Wexford Rape and Sexual Assault Support Service
Mary B O'Leary, Local Link, Wexford
Sharon Grace, Kenny Malone, Youth New Ross

Brendan Lawton, Patricia Delaney, Michael Ormonde, Department of Employment Affairs and Social Protection
Deirdre Power, Wexford County Childcare Committee
Anita O'Carroll, Gorey Family Resource Centre
Ray O'Brien, Taghmon Family Resource Centre
Fran Kennedy, Eilis Leddy, Sarah Lavan, Waterford and Wexford Education & Training Board
Anne McDonnell, former Traveller Development Worker (CWP 2005 - 2007 and Wexford Traveller Network 2008 - 2010)
Pauline Ennis, Wexford Women's Refuge
Chris Purnell, Jim O'Dwyer, South East Drugs and Alcohol Task Force
David Medcalf, *Wexford People*
Philomena O'Mahoney, Youthreach, Wexford
Paula Basher-Gatell, School Completion Projects
Sheila Clarke, Paul Breslin, Claire McNamara, Janet McGuinness, Tusla
Michael Pyke, Kilkenny County Council
Maura Bourke, Department of Education & Skills
Annette Dupuy, Public Participation Network, Wexford
Ciara Flanagan, Pobal
Valerie O'Sullivan, Cork City Council
Justin Sinnott, SOLAS
Sinead Gallagher, Philip Gallagher, Workplace Relations Commission
David O'Neill, Society of St Vincent de Paul, Waterford office.

My thanks go to all those who assisted and gave generously of their time, especially to Michael Sweeney, for coordinating the project; Wexford Local Development for organizing two focus groups and to those who participated therein; and the Central Statistics Office for making available a special tabulation of the Traveller population in co Wexford and for waiving the normal charges in doing so.

1 Profile, Traveller community in Wexford

This chapter profiles the Traveller community in co Wexford, using the tabular material provided by the census and a small number of other sources (1.2); reports on needs assessments made to date (1.3); lists current services in the county (1.4) and draws conclusions (1.5). First, there is an introduction to set the context (1.1).

1.1 Context

There are at least 30,987 Travellers in Ireland (2016), compared to 29,495 in 2011.[i] Travellers have a long history, one that is now becoming better known. Travellers were formally finally recognized as an ethnic minority in March 2017. They have, though, suffered from and continue to endure discrimination, poverty, social exclusion, limited educational opportunities, hardship in accommodation, the labour market and poor health, issues which have been well documented and will not be repeated here.[ii] These issues remain as live as ever and even as this report was being written, Travellers continued to raise problems of education, employment, mental health, discrimination and assimilationism.[iii] The level of public services provided for the community has been a point of contention, especially when they were dramatically reduced following the financial crisis is 2008.[iv]

Modern government responses to the situation of the Traveller community date to the Report of the Travelling People Review Body (1983), the Task Force on the Travelling Community (1995) and the National Traveller/Roma Integration Strategy (2012), recently updated.[v] To coordinate and improve the quality of services at local level, in 2006 the Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government began to establish Traveller Interagency Groups (TIGs) in each of the then 34 city and county areas, with funding from the Department of Justice and Equality and this supported a Traveller interagency fund, with accompanying programme, from 2008-2011. The Wexford Traveller Interagency Group (TIG) was one of these county groups and comprises representatives of the Traveller community, Health Service Executive, county council, Wexford Local Development, Ferns Diocesan Youth Service, An Garda Siochana, Waterford and Wexford Education and Training Board and the Department of Employment Affairs and Social Protection, meeting quarterly to promote, coordinate and improve services within the county area.

1.2 Statistical profile

The principal instrument is the 2016 census, which enables a comparison with the non-Traveller community nationally. Data given here are for 2016, unless otherwise stated. There are 1,508 Travellers in co Wexford out of a total county population of 148,492, or 1.01% of the total. This is a decline of two (1,510 in 2011), against a national increase of 5.1%. There are more Travellers in Wexford compared to the rest of the population than in other counties, for the national average is 0.65%. The number is the sixth highest in any county in the country, both in percentage and absolute terms. Table 2, over, provides the location of the Traveller community in co Wexford, in descending numbers, according to the 120 electoral divisions. The largest single location for Travellers is New Ross (273), followed by Enniscorthy (270), Bunclody (197), Wexford (115) and Clonroche (113). There are medium-size locations in Taghmon (90) and Gorey (75). There are then divisions with much smaller populations, less than 30, with 37 divisions where there are less than ten Travellers. Slightly under half the total electoral divisions, 57, have no Traveller population at all. In terms of settlement:

- The majority of Travellers is concentrated in towns;
- In towns, Travellers may be found *around*, rather than *in*, the towns, with higher population in the outer (rural) parts of the towns than the urban (Wexford is an arguable exception);
- Most low-density rural areas have no Traveller population.

This population distribution has a number of advantages, for services for Travellers can be provided in and from a limited number of distinct and identifiable locations (this is not the case, for example, with services for older people, whose population is dispersed across all electoral divisions). Table 1 provides details of those locations where there are the highest proportions of Travellers, in descending order, with other minorities included.

Table 1: Locations of highest proportions of Travellers

	Traveller population	Other minorities	Total population	Traveller as % total population
Clonroche	113	53	1,242	9%
Bunclody	197	330	2,268	8.7%
New Ross	273	1,696	8,322	3.2%
Enniscorthy	270	1,858	12,443	2.2%
Wexford	115	2,821	19,284	0.6%

As may be seen, Travellers are, overall a small proportion of minority populations as a whole, Clonroche being the exception. Taking the five districts as a whole, Travellers comprise 2.2% of their overall population, compared to 15.6% for the other minorities.

Table 2: Location of Traveller community, co Wexford, by electoral division

Division		Total
New Ross rural New Ross urban Rosbercon	190 72 11	273
Enniscorthy rural Enniscorthy urban	252 18	270
Newtownbarry (Bunclody)		197
Wexford urban Wexford rural	58 57	115
Clonroche		113
Taghmon		90
Gorey rural Gorey urban	47 28	75
Ballyanne		30
Carrickbyrne		27
Ferns		20
Ardamine, Oldcourt (New Ross)		19
Clonleigh		18
Adamstown		15
Ballyoughter		13
Forth, Whitemoor, Ballycanew, Marshallstown, Forth	12	60
Ballylarkin	11	11
Kilgarvan, Drinagh	9	18
Tombrack, Edermine	8	16
Ardcavan	7	7
Kilgorman, Courtown, Cahore, Ballyhuskard, Whitechurch (Wexford), Old Ross, Rathaspick, Killanne, The Leap	6	54
Bree, Lady's Island, Tintern	5	15

Division		Total
Ballygarrett, Kilrush, Rochestown, Carnagh, Templeludigan, Rosslare, Kilmore Quay	4	21
Horetown	3	3
Monamolin, Artramon	2	4
Ballynestragh, The Harrow, Ballycarney, Tinnacross, Kilpatrick, Coolgreaney, Bridgetown, Glynn, St Helen's Rosslare, Kilmokea	1	10
		1494

This chapter now examines the principal characteristics of the Traveller population in Wexford, compared where possible to the national population, beginning with the demographic profile (table 3).

Table 3: Demographic profile of Traveller community in co Wexford, 2011 and 2016, compared to national population profile by decadal age cohorts

Age	% 2011	% 2016	National % 2016
0-9	27	21.4	14.6
10-19	21.2	22.4	13.1
20-29	16	13.5	11.8
30-39	14	15.3	15.8
40-49	11.5	12.9	14.4
50-59	5.2	8.3	11.9
60-69	3.1	3.4	9.4
70-79	1.3	2.3	5.8
80+	0.6	0.7	3.1

Source: this table, preceding table and all tables in this chapter, unless otherwise specified, are from Central Statistics Office: Census 2016. Percentages have been rounded and may not always reach exactly 100.

As may be seen, the profile of the Traveller community is quite different from the national profile. The Traveller population is youthful, with 43.8% under the age of 20, compared to 27.7% in the national population. The Traveller profile thins out to fall below the national profile during its 40s and after that point the proportions are much smaller. Only 0.7% of Travellers live to or past 80, compared to 3.1% in the national population, a feature of much lower life expectancy.

If we compare the Traveller population between 2011 and 2016, the age profile has shifted upward, with a smaller proportion of under 10s (27% falling to 21.4%). The previous under 10s cohort can be seen moving through the age profile, with the 10-19

age group higher, but from age 30 the population is ageing. The smaller under 10 group may indicate either a cyclical pattern in births, or reduced numbers of children in the current group at the age of family formation.

In the national Traveller population, almost a quarter (22.6%) marry before 25 (compared to 1.2% of the general population). Traveller families (i.e. number of children) are much larger than the national population, with a larger family size (5.3 compared to 4.1). Wexford-specific figures are not available, but this pattern is likely to be broadly similar in Wexford. We do have figures for persons per household in Wexford Traveller families compared to the national population (table 4).

Table 4: Persons per household

Number of persons	Wexford Travellers	Wexford Travellers %	National population %
1	43	9.6	23.4
2	73	16.3	28.6
3	87	19.4	17.5
4	95	21.2	16.9
5	78	17.4	9.1
6	71	15.8	4.4
All	**448**		

The number of persons per household is much higher than the national norm, with 15.8% in large households (6 or more), compared to 4.4% in the national population and larger proportions in 3, 4 and 5 person households. The proportion in smaller households, 1 or 2 persons, in less than half the national norm, 9.6% compared to 23.4% and 16.3% compared to 28.6% respectively. This alerts us to the relatively overcrowded nature of Traveller households. Table 5 reports on household type.

Table 5: Type of household

Type	Wexford Travellers	Wexford Travellers %	National population %
Single person	43	9.6	23.5
Married couple without children	50	11.2	15
Married couple with children	230	51.3	31.1

Type	Wexford Travellers	Wexford Travellers %	National population %
Cohabiting couple	7	1.6	4
Cohabiting couple with children	10	2.2	4.1
One parent mother with children	43	9.6	9
One parent father with children	8	1.8	1.5
Married couple with children and others	19	1.8	1.6
Two families together	15	3.3	1.3
Others	23	5.1	9
All	**448**		

The dominant form of household is that of the married couple with children, 51.3% compared to 31.1% in the national population. We should therefore expect other household forms to be less, which they are, with much smaller proportions of single-person households (9.6%, compared to the norm of 23.5%) and married couples without children. The level of single parenting is slightly higher than the national norm, 11.4% against 10.5%. The level of married couples with children *and others* and of two families together is higher than the national norm (two families together), reminding us to the possibility of overcrowding. Table 6 details marital status.

Table 6: Marital status

Category	Wexford Travellers	Wexford Travellers %	National population %
Single	777	52.6	53.6
Married	611	41.1	37.6
Civil partnership	0	0	0.1
Separated	33	2.2	4.7
Divorced	<6	-	
Widowed	47	3.2	4.1
All	**1,476**		

Granted the priority given to marriage in the Traveller community, it is not surprising that the dominant form of marital status is 'married'. Proportions of separated and divorce are below the national average and there have been no civil partnerships.

Although there is a high number of single people in this table, they are likely under marriageable age. Table 7 gives detail of residence.

Table 7: Usual residence a year ago

Type	Wexford Travellers	Wexford Travellers %	National population %
Same address	1,386	94	92.5
Elsewhere in county	42	2.8	4.2
Elsewhere in island of Ireland	22	1.5	1.5
Great Britain	<6	-	1.8
Elsewhere	<6	-	
All	**1,476**		

This table shows that the Traveller population of Wexford is very stable, with 96.8% remaining within the county, a higher figure than the settled population. Movement in from elsewhere in Ireland and from further afield is low. The tables now turn to education, starting with educational level achieved.

Table 8: Education level achieved for those 15 and over

Category	Wexford Travellers	Wexford Travellers %	National population %
Primary or no education	539	54	10.2
Lower secondary	166	16.6	12
Upper secondary	41	4.1	15.3
Third level non-degree	<6	-	16.2
Third level degrees	<6	-	23.5
Unstated	33	3.3	5.3
At school	56	5.6	11.4
Other economic status	156	15.6	6.2
	997		

Education statistics illustrate the extent of the gap between the Traveller community and the rest of the country. The proportion with only a primary or no education is 54%, five times higher than the rest of the population (10.2%). The proportion with only a secondary education is 20.7%, compared to 27.3% in the rest of the population. Whereas in the population as a whole, 39.7% has a third level qualification, the proportion in the Traveller population is so low as to be insignificant. Table 9 provides more specific detail on when education ceased.

Table 9: Age at which education ceased for those 15 and over

Age	Wexford Travellers	Wexford Travellers%
Under 12	50	5
12	123	12.3
13	67	6.7
14	109	10.9
15	82	8.2
16	87	8.7
17	20	2
18	29	2.9
Other	156	15.6
Not stated	218	22
Total	**997**	

This table gives an age-by-age profile of early school leaving. Here, 17.3% left school at or under 12; and a further 34.6% before they were 17 years old. These figures may well be higher if information for available for the 'not stated' group were factored in.

Comparable national figures are not available, although it is known that the national figure for those leaving school before 15 is 8.7% (Travellers: 35.9%)

Next, table 10 looks at ability to speak Irish. A knowledge of Irish is a necessary requirement for many public and private sector jobs, like law, the police and teaching and is desirable elsewhere (e.g. public service).

Table 10: Ability to speak Irish over 3s

Category	Wexford Travellers	Wexford Travellers %	National population %
Can speak Irish	222	15	39
Cannot speak Irish	1,134	76.8	58
Not stated	120	8.1	3
N	**1,476**		

This table shows that competence in Irish is low compared to the national population, 15% compared to 39% and the proportion not so able is over three-quarters, which puts Travellers at a professional disadvantage. Next, information is available on the participation of Travellers in early years and schools (tables 11 - 14).

Table 11: Participation in early years services in co Wexford

	No. Traveller children in services	Services with Traveller children	Services in Wexford	% services with Traveller children attending
All	110	29	87	33%
Community	82	16	32	50%
Private	28	13	55	24%
Urban	77	20	39	51%
Rural	33	9	48	19%

Source: Pobal.

As may be seen, a third of early years services in the county have Traveller children attending, most evident in urban, community settings rather than private or rural settings, likely a feature of the location of the Traveller community and affordability.

Table 12: Participation of Travellers in co Wexford schools

	Primary	Post-primary

	Primary			Post-primary
School year	**Total students**	**Traveller students**	**%**	**Traveller students**
2009-2010				65
2010-2011				101
2011-2012	17,453	470	2.69	98
2012-2013	17,663	487	2.75	107
2013-2014	18,048	494	2.73	142
2014-2015	18,157	481	2.64	146
2015-2016	18,343	474	2.58	152
2016-2017	18,303	441	2.41	159

Source: Department of Education & Skills.

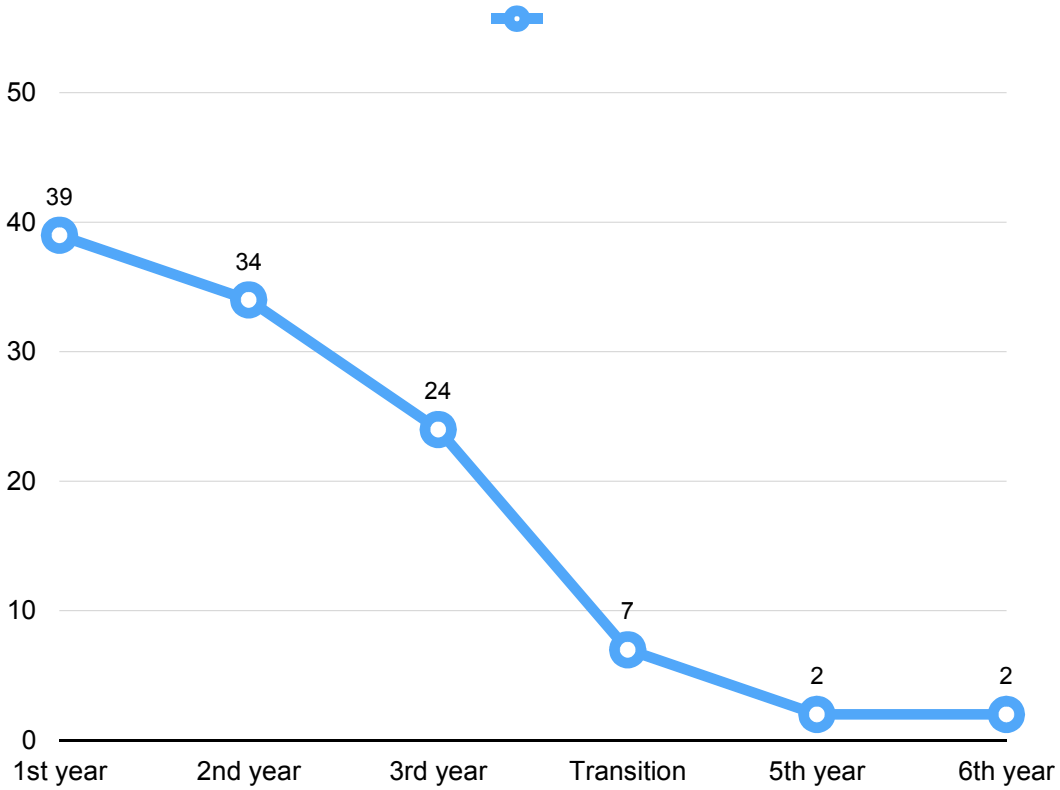
As may be seen, the number of Traveller primary students rose from school year 2011-2012 from 470 to peak at 494 and has since fallen back to 441. The percentage has risen from 2.69% to 2.75% but since fallen back to 2.41%. The number of Traveller secondary students rose sharply from school year 2009-2010 to the following year and then more steadily. These figures reflect both attendance levels and the evolving nature of the age cohort (see table 3 above).

Information on the type of school is more difficult to extract. For the school year 2017-18, 108 Travellers were enrolled in ETB schools, so if we assume that school numbers for that year were in the 150 to 160 range, as in the previous two years, this would give us a proportion of about 70% in the ETB schools. We have some critical information on participation levels across the secondary school cycle based on enrolments on 30th September 2017, as follows:

Table 13 (chart): Participation in ETB schools across school years, September 2017

Source: Waterford and Wexford Education and Training Board

This illustrates the rate of decline across the range. Data are also available on



absenteeism, where figures for days absent range from 2,483 in first year to 2,366 (second year), 2,319 (third year), 11,162 (transition), 316 (fifth year) to 148 (sixth year), the rate of decline broadly matching the fall in attendances seen in the table.

Table 14 outlines the current numbers participating in the courses provided by the Waterford and Wexford Education and Training Board (WWETB).

Table 14: Participation in Waterford and Wexford Education and Training Board courses: Traveller-specific (first table) and generic provision (second)

Programme	Course	Location	Numbers
Adult literacy	Digital literacy, literacy	Taghmon	6 males
	Literacy	Wexford	3 female
	Literacy	Gorey	3 male, 3 female
		Templeshannon Family Parents Group	5 female
BTEI	QQI 3 culinary skills	New Ross	10 young females
Community education	Introduction youth and community work	Enniscorthy	1 female
	Introduction hair nails and skin	Bunclody	11 female
	Wedding arts & crafts	Wexford	10 female
	Childcare QQI5	FDYS Bunclody Women's Group	3 female
Total persons			**52**

Programme	Course	Location	Numbers
Vocational Training Opportunities Scheme (2)	Sport and Recreation Level 5	Wexford	1 female
	QQI 5 Business Administration	Gorey	1 female
Youthreach (12)	LCA 2/LCA 1 and QQI 3	New Ross	4 female
	LCA year 1	Enniscorthy	3 female
	QQI 3	Enniscorthy	1 female
	LCA year 1	Wexford	3 female
	QQI 3	Wexford	1 female
BTEI (12)	QQI 5 Social Studies	Wexford	2 female
Adult Literacy (14)	Literacy	Wexford	6
	Literacy	Gorey	3
	Literacy	Enniscorthy	2
	Literacy	Bunclody	1
	Literacy	New Ross	2

Total		**30**

Source: Figures provided by Waterford and Wexford Education and Training Board

As may be seen, this gives a participation number of 52 persons in Traveller-specific provision and 30 in generic provision, the latter most evident in adult literacy (14) and Youthreach (12).

Next, the chapter presents social class (table 15) and occupational group (table 16).

Table 15: Social class (excluding unknowns)

Category	Wexford Travellers	Wexford Travellers %	National population %
Unskilled	39	13.2	4.4
Semi-skilled	98	33.2	12.8
Skilled manual	53	18	17.2
Non-manual	53	18	21.4
Managerial & technical	52	17.6	34.2
Professional	<6	-	9.9
All	**295**		

Note that many chose not to answer this question (these have been excluded from both the Traveller and national sample). This shows a high level of social inequality, with the unskilled and semi-skilled categories three times higher than the rest of the population (13.2% against 4.4% and 33.2% against 12.8%). The proportion of Travellers begins to fall at the non-manual category (18% compared to 21.4%) and managerial and technical (17.6% against 34.2%) when it is halved. Whereas 9.9% of the national population is professional, the Traveller proportion therein is insignificant.

The term 'occupational groups' attempts to locate Travellers by occupational sector using a broad range of categories (table 16, over). The highest proportion is 'managers and proprietors' which may reflect the level of self-employment, though of an unstated nature (21.5% against 2.7%). If we look at the individual sectors, Travellers are over-represented in the skilled agricultural category (8.4% against 4.2%), skilled construction (10.3% against 3.9%) and in sales; plant and machines; and elementary trades. They are under-represented in other sectors, with no presence whatever in science, teaching and education, protective services, culture, media, sports, secretarial or customer services. In other words, occupational groups are concentrated on a narrow range of often low-earning occupational groups, with almost no professional representation.

Table 16: Occupational group (excluding unknowns)

Age	Wexford Travellers	Wexford Travellers %	National population %
Managers & proprietors	23	21.5	2.7
Business & public service	8	7.5	6.2
Skilled agricultural	9	8.4	4.2
Skilled construction	11	10.3	3.9
Caring, personal services	6	5.6	5.5
Sales	9	8.4	6.3
Plant & machines	7	6.5	4.3
Elementary trades	8	7.5	2.3
Elementary administration	6	5.6	7.5
Corporate managers, directors	<6	-	5.6
Science professionals	0	0	4.7
Health professions	<6	-	4.6
Teaching and education	0	0	5
Protective services	0	0	1.2
Culture, media, sports	0	0	1.7
Secretarial	0	0	1.9
Leisure and travel	<6	-	2.7
Customer services	0	0	1.3
Transport	<6	-	3.7
Science associate professionals	0	0	1.9
Administration	<6	-	9.2
All known	**107**		

Turning to car ownership and transport (tables 17, 18) , the proportion of Travellers with only one car is almost twice the national average (70.5% compared to 41%). The proportion with two cars is less than half the national average (14.4% compared to 33.4%). The proportion with 3 cars or more falls below the statistical level of counting. The proportion without any car at all, though, is less than the national average. If we look at means of travel, the most common means is by foot, over twice the national average (21.3.% against 8.9%), but this does not tell us if it is to adjacent work or further afield or involuntarily. The proportion travelling to work as a driver is small (4.4%) but high as passengers (50.6%), the reverse of the national norm. Travel by van is low. Travel by bicycle, motorbike or other methods is insignificant or nil. The proportion using buses, which may be public transport, appears low (5%). These figures challenge some popular images of Travellers having a high level of vehicle ownership, especially vans.

Table 17: Car ownership by household

Age	Wexford Travellers	Wexford Travellers %	National population %
1 car	1,041	70.5	41
2 cars	212	14.4	33.4
3 cars	<20	-	5.6
4 cars or more	<6	-	1.8
None	154	10.4	15.2
Not stated	50		2.9
All	**1,476**		

Table 18: Means of travel

Type	Wexford Travellers	Wexford Travellers %	National population %
Foot	106	21.3	8.9
Bus or mini-bus	25	5	5.6
Car as driver	22	4.4	58.5
Car as passenger	252	50.6	3.9
Van	23	4.6	6.4
Bicycle	<6	-	2.9
Other	0	0	0.6
Not stated	68	13.6	3.7
Motorbike, train, tram	0	0	3.6
Work from home	0	0	4.8
Not stated	68	13.6	3.7
All	**498**		

Internet and computer access and computer (table 19) access presents a picture dramatically different from the national population. Only 13.2% of Travellers own a computer, compared to 68.4% of the national population. Only 19.6% have broadband access, compared to 70.7%. Conversely, 69% have no internet access and 82.8% do not own computers. The Traveller community is clearly at a huge disadvantage compared to others in the current information age.

Table 19: Computer and internet access

Category	Wexford Travellers	Wexford Travellers %	National population %
Owns computer	59	13.2	68.4
Does not own	371	82.8	28.2
Computer ownership not stated	18	4	3.5
Broadband access	88	19.6	70.7
Non-broadband access	33	7.4	7.8
No internet access	309	69	18.4

Category	Wexford Travellers	Wexford Travellers %	National population %
Internet access not stated	17	3.8	3.1
All	**448**		

Moving on to health (table 20), Traveller self-estimations of health fall into the national pattern of positive self-assessments. They are, nevertheless, behind the national patterns in the areas of 'very good' and 'good', with higher levels of 'fair' 'bad' and 'very bad', with 'bad' ratings twice the national average.

Table 20: General health

Self-assessment	Wexford Travellers	Wexford Travellers %	National %
Very good	847	57.4	59.3
Good	376	25.5	27.6
Fair	173	11.7	8
Bad	40	2.7	1.3
Very bad	6	0.4	0.3
Not stated	34	2.3	3.3
All	**1,476**		

This is confirmed by disability assessments (table 21). This shows consistently higher levels of blindness, physical limitation, intellectual and learning disabilities, physical and emotional difficulty, difficulties getting around and it is no surprise that the overall disability level is higher than the national population (19.1% against 13.5%). This is even more striking if we remember that this is a youthful population that should be in good health and with few living to old age, where disablement may be more evident.

Table 21: Disability by type

Type	Wexford Travellers	Wexford Travellers %	National population %
Blindness	25	1.7	1.1
Deafness	25	1.7	2.2
Physical limitation	113	7.7	5.5
Intellectual	39	2.6	1.4
Learning	84	5.7	3.3
Psychological emotional	74	5	2.6
Chronic illness	155	10.5	6.2
Getting around inside home	66	4.5	2.9
Getting around outside home	86	5.9	3.9
Difficulty in job or education	88	5.9	4.4
Difficulty in other areas	96	6.5	4.8
Total disabled	***282***	***19.1***	***13.5***
All	**1,476**		

Finally, there is a set of accommodation-related information, which is important for its role in determining social outcomes. First, in looking at type of accommodation (table 22), the proportion in a house is within five points of the national norm (84%, 89%). Then patterns diverge. Few Travellers live in flats or apartments (1.8% against 8.8%), but a almost 10% live in temporary accommodation, compared to 0.2% of the national population.

Table 22: Type of accommodation

Type	Wexford Travellers	Wexford Travellers %	National population %
House	1,252	84.8	89.5
Flat or apartment	27	1.8	8.8
Temporary housing	141	9.5	0.2
Not stated	56	3.8	1.3
All	**1,476**		

It is possible to provide more detailed information on accommodation with the use of the annual count of Traveller families (table 23).

Table 23: Traveller count for purpose of accommodation, 2017

Type of accommodation	Number of families
Local authority (standard) Local authority (group scheme)	163 45
Private rented Private, local authority assisted	132 31
Private (owned)	215
Voluntary social housing	14
Halting sites	14
Other	12
Total families with accommodation	**626**
Sharing with relatives	*46*
Unauthorized sites	*53*
Families without accommodation	**99**
Total	**725**

Source: Wexford County Council

Compared to historical patterns, there have been some important changes. Travellers no longer live on the roadside. As a result of the shortage of local authority accommodation, the preferred option of Travellers, significant numbers have moved into private rented accommodation in recent years, although not their preferred form. The level of need is most evident under the heading 'sharing with relatives' and on 'unauthorized sites' (*italicized*, 99 or 13.6% of the total) which are most likely caravans parked adjacent to existing accommodation.

Amenities are important from the perspective of health and quality of life. If we look first at sewerage disposal (table 24), the striking feature is the proportion with none, 3.1%, compared to the national norm of 0.1%. Similarly, in looking at water supply (table 25), 3.3% have no water, compared to 0.1% nationally.

Table 24: Sewerage by households

Type	Wexford Travellers	Wexford Travellers %	National population %
Public scheme	324	72.3	65.9

Type	Wexford Travellers	Wexford Travellers %	National population %
Individual treatment or septic tank	89	19.9	28.8
None	14	3.1	0.1
All	**448**		

Table 25: Water supply

Type	Wexford Travellers	Wexford Travellers %	National %
Public mains	330	73.7	77
Group scheme - public	89	19.9	6.3
Group scheme - private	14	3.1	2.4
Other private	60	13.4	10.1
None	15	3.3	0.1
All	**448**		

Table 26: Central heating

Type	Wexford Travellers	Wexford Travellers %	National population %
Coal	330	73.7	5.1
Oil	89	19.9	40.4
Electricity	23	5.1	8.6
Natural gas	17	3.8	33.5
Wood	10	2.2	2
Liquid petroleum gas, turf	7	1.6	5.9
None	15	3.3	1.4
All	**448**		

There is a striking outcome to the information on central heating (table 26). Twice as many Travellers have no central heating compared to the national norm (3.3% compared to 1.4%). In looking at fuel type, 73.7% reply on coal, compared to the national norm of only 5%. Unless used as a method of central heating, coal is an expensive and inefficient fuel, although it can provide intense heat in confined areas for short periods. The most efficient forms of heating are oil and gas, but only 19.9% and 3.8% of Travellers use them, compared to 40.4% and 33.5% (total 73.9%) of the national population. This suggests a high rate of risk of fuel poverty and consequential excess winter mortality.

1.3 Other needs assessments

Earlier research into and needs assessments of the Traveller community are available from a number of sources. Historically speaking, information on the needs of the Traveller community in co Wexford is limited.[vi] An assessment of Traveller needs in the area of services was made by the Social Inclusion Measures (SIM) group of Wexford County Development Board (CDB) in 2003, *Assessing service provision for Travellers in county Wexford*.[vii] In 2009, a Traveller transition programme in Bunclody and Clonroche identified key needs in the areas of educational disadvantage, children falling behind at school at an early stage, early school leaving, alienation from the educational system and the lack of job prospects afterward, even for those with an education.[viii] The programme was based on the specific need to address poor transfer rates from primary to post-primary school, or where such transfers did take place, to sustain them for a second year or beyond.

Turning to the present, the county council has made its own assessments of need in the county. A key instrument is the Local Economic Community Plan (LECP) baseline report, but its focus was entirely on the population and location of the Traveller community.[ix] The actual plan noted that submissions to the council had identified the Traveller and Roma community as a priority group and that there was a need for data to capture their situation.[x] The plan identified the need to support and encourage the participation of the Traveller community and other marginalized and disadvantaged groups. Specific needs were identified in the fields of health (information and the take-up of medical cards), accommodation, cultural awareness programmes, tackling discrimination and men's sheds.

The county council makes formal assessments of housing needs, an important and valued on-going means of assessing Traveller need.[xi] For the current, 2014-2018 Traveller accommodation programme, 128 families had made applications for housing, of whom 111 expressed the wish for standard housing (this figure fell to 91 in 2016, as a result of which accommodation targets were, for some reason, reduced proportionately).[xii] The *Traveller accommodation programme, 2014-2018* points out that the structure of the Traveller population is quite different from the general population, which, coupled with early marriage, creates a housing stress point for newly-forming families in need of accommodation. The Health Service Executive (HSE) elaborated on housing as a determinant of need.[xiii] There were strong causal links, it said, between living conditions, lifestyle, physical and mental health and health status was closely linked to quality of accommodation. The HSE emphasized the importance of Travellers being consulted about type of accommodation, the immediate environment around their home, facilities, amenities (e.g. play areas for children) and dangers of

infection to children. Key determinants of health it identified were water, drainage, refuse arrangements, flooding, damp and sewerage.

Traveller health needs in the south east have been identified by the HSE.[xiv] They rely largely on the local application of national studies of Traveller health and ill-health, which is legitimate granted the lack of substantial local variation across the Traveller community.[xv] The priority needs were identified as in the areas of cardiovascular health including type 2 diabetes, cancer, suicide, mental health, addiction and domestic violence.

A HSE evaluation of the Traveller men's shed programme gave us information on the needs of men, the Wexford sheds being planned for Bunclody and Taghmon.[xvi] These were identified as the need for opportunities for socializing together, other such outlets being limited and in cases declining, with the men's shed experience seen as valuable in improving mental wellbeing, physical fitness and the experience of collective activity. Because of discrimination, it was difficult for Traveller men to obtain shed or workshop-type facilities on the open market.

A needs assessment has been made by Wexford Local Development (WLD) through focus groups, training needs analysis and workshops.[xvii] This identified the principal needs as being in health, accommodation, activities for young Travellers, education and literacy, social worker services and racism (especially in the media and social media). Men expressed the need for training in practical skills for self-employment, while women sought skills in the area of health, personal care, cookery, food safety and e-commerce. Travellers identified the need for better educational outcomes, equal treatment under the law with effective legislation against discrimination, a representative forum where Travellers could speak up and a better understanding by settled people of Traveller culture.

Travellers were included in the consultation for the children and young people's plan of the Children and Young People Services Committee (CYPSC), which includes a place for a Traveller representative.[xviii] The plan drew attention to the poor rate of progression from primary to secondary school, with Traveller children accounting for 27% of all referrals to the Education and Welfare Service and 42% of then active cases. The report especially highlighted the loss of the visiting teacher service for Travellers, which it described as having, with minor editing for brevity, an:

> acute impact in co. Wexford given the large Traveller population in the county. The Education Welfare Service highlighted the very significant issues in poor transferral and retention rates from primary to secondary school for Traveller children. School Completion [Programme] coordinators report that it is increasingly difficult to meet the needs of their target group given the reduction in budget. The visiting teacher for Traveller post was regarded as being pivotal in facilitating Traveller children to participate in mainstream education. Visiting teachers performed an important role in breaking down barriers between school and the home environment and in supporting children particularly during transition phases in the education system. Their loss has left a gap in services.

The plan identified the need to improve educational outcomes and proposed group work support for parents in ten families in Clonroche, delivered by a tutor working with education packs; the need to improve post-primary retention levels, for which it proposed, in two schools, the development of short courses in the junior cycle; the need

to improve access to sexual health services, proposing a culturally appropriate sexual health programme and the development of a *Squashy couch* - type service (one modelled on Waterford); and the prevention of obesity and weight management training.

A needs assessment was carried out of the Traveller community in the course of consultations around the county's age-friendly strategy.[xix] This consultation took place under a number of headings, which are summarized in table 27:

Table 27: Traveller-relevant needs identified in consultation on older people

Heading	Needs identified
Outdoor space	Difficult to be served in pubs in Enniscorthy and New Ross Need to address speeding in Taghmon where child was knocked down Access to restaurant toilets a particular problem for Travellers
Transport	Expense of trains excessive, buses also expensive Need for bus services at affordable prices Need to address gaps in services e.g. Clonroche, Castlebridge Some taxis will not serve Travellers Need for bus services to hospitals
Housing	Need for council to respond to housing problems quickly Need to address damp and mould Need to publicize home improvement grants
Respect and social inclusion	Need for settled community generally to show respect for Travellers Specifically, respect by hotels, restaurants, supermarkets, shopkeepers (who close during Traveller funerals)
Civic participation	Need for Travellers to develop the capacity for civic participation: education, communication skills, technological skills. Lack of experience due to lack of lifetime lack of employment.
Health	Need for literacy skills to read letters from hospitals Need for information and confidence to join older people's groups; or for Traveller specific groups Need for nurses for home visits; community carers Need for information on mental health issues
Safety, security	Need for security features in homes; quicker Garda response rural areas

These headings were standard ones, set down by the age-friendly county consultation process and several of them might be unfamiliar to other consultations (e.g. 'outdoor spaces') but they nonetheless enable us to obtain a picture of needs in such areas as transport, housing, social inclusion, civic participation, public safety and physical infrastructure.

1.4 Services

It is important to set the needs assessment in the context of services provided for Travellers in the county. It is evident that there are services in Wexford that meet a range of Traveller needs, both Traveller-specific and generic. The Traveller-specific services that are the most prominent and best known are those of:

- The programmes of Wexford Local Development (WLD) e.g.
  - Traveller youth development e.g. homework clubs (Enniscorthy, Clonroche, New Ross, Taghmon), family literacy
  - Social Inclusion Community Activation Programme (SICAP) with support for community groups, activation
  - Events (e.g. Traveller ethnicity)
- The HSE South East Traveller Health Unit
  - Primary healthcare workers, delivered through WLD, providing health and social care information[xx]
- The social inclusion programmes of Ferns Diocesan Youth Service (FDYS), which has both generic, Traveller-sensitive work and with three strands for the Traveller community:
  - Traveller Inclusion Programme, which aims to build the capacity of Travellers to participate in society and its structures
  - Travellers women's health programme;
  - Bunclody Traveller programme, which includes childcare, afterschool, information service and youth work.

There are also other youth groups outside FDYS with Traveller-specific services (e.g. Youth New Ross).

Generic services known to provide or oversee services, *inter alia* for Travellers, are:

- Family Resource Centres (FRCs) (5) (Gorey, Raheen, Southend, South West Wexford, Taghmon). Typical services provided are women's group, women's health, social welfare advice, literacy, men's health, girls group, young mothers, crafts, interview coaching)
- School Completion Programme (SCP) (5) (Bridgetown, Bunclody/Enniscorthy, Gorey, South west Wexford, Wexford)
- Youthreach (Wexford, New Ross), which provides the Leaving Certificate Applied and QQI courses levels 2 and 3;
- Local Enterprise Office, which offers:
  - Feasibility study grant
  - Start your own business programme (eight modules)
  - Advice and support service
- County Council
  - e.g. Sport Active (supporting soccer for men; dancing, physical activities, walking for women; summer camps);
  - Library and related services (e.g. *Right to read,* attended by Travellers);
  - Arts department, which provides programmes such as *Creative Community* scheme and *Music Generation*;
- Tusla:
  - Child protection
  - Education and Welfare Service (formerly school attendance)
- Waterford & Wexford Education & Training Board (WWETB), which provides:

  - Schools (eight), formerly called Vocational Education Committee (VEC) schools;
  - Adult, literacy (group and one-to-one) and community education;
  - Professional qualifications in the form of QQI courses;
- An Garda Siochana, which provides policing with related law enforcement services such as:
  - Garda Youth Diversion Projects (SAFE, Wexford, run by FAB; Slaney, Enniscorthy, run by FDYS; Treon, run by Youth New Ross) where young people who have been cautioned may be referred by the Juvenile Liaison Officer (JLO) for assessment and subsequent programme of help.
- Probation Service.
- South East Drugs and Alcohol Task Force (SERDTF), an inter-agency body based in Waterford, which coordinates substance abuse programmes e.g. Cornmarket project, Wexford.

Some combined and partnership services may also be found. In 2018, for example Wexford County Council in cooperation with Ferns Diocesan Youth Service and funding from the Department of Justice and Equality opened a county-wide project located in Drumgoold, Enniscorthy, co Wexford, with a satellite service in New Ross, Clonroche, Bunclody and Taghmon, providing an early years centre for Traveller children, afterschool, youth work programme for teens, help with literacy and form-filling and pre-development training for Traveller mothers and young women for family living skills through cooking lessons, dietary education, budgetary and financial planning and education. This project is notable for the multi-dimensional basket of issues which it attempts to address.

1.5 Conclusions

In summary, the census (1.2) gives us a picture of a Traveller community that is located in five main locations (New Ross, Enniscorthy, Bunclody, Wexford and Clonroche) with smaller groups in Taghmon and Gorey, generally concentrated around rather than in towns. Most low-population density rural districts have no Traveller population or single figures. This is a distribution that makes the delivery of services easier. The demographic profile shows that it is a youthful population, diminishing rapidly in numbers from age 50 and few living to old age. A smaller under-10 cohort is now evident. Numbers per household are much higher than the national norm, which suggests the importance of being alert to overcrowding. It is a community whose dominant familial form is a married couple with children, with cohabitation and single person household unusual, but with an above average rate of single parents with children. Marriage is the principal form of civil status, with separation rates low and divorce or remarriage insignificant and no civil partnerships. It is a stable population in numbers and geography, with almost no change in five years nor movement in or out of the county, indeed more stable than the overall county population. If we look at social and occupational issues, the principal facts are that:

- Education attainment is extremely low, with over half with only primary education or none at all, less than a fifth completing any form of secondary education and insignificant participation in third level education;
- There is a high outflow from education in the age range 12 to 16;

- Only 15% of Travellers can speak Irish, which places them at a disadvantage in pursuing public or private sector careers (e.g. teaching);
- Travellers are concentrated in the lower socio-economic classes, principally semi-skilled, with no significant presence at professional level;
- In occupational groups, Travellers are concentrated on their own businesses, agriculture and construction, with some presence in business and public services, caring, sales, plant and machines and elementary trades and administration. Travellers are absent from a wide range of generally better-paid occupational fields, such as teaching, education, culture, media, sports, secretarial, customer services and science.

Traveller car ownership is below the national norm, most owning only one car, few having three or more and 10% none. The principal forms of transport are as a car passenger or on foot, with little use of buses or public transport. The level of computer ownership and internet access is extraordinary low, placing the Traveller community at a severe disadvantage in conducting professional, public or personal business.

The health condition of the Traveller community is that it follows national patterns of positive health self-appraisal, but there is a significant gap and strong evidence of poorer health. The level of disability is markedly higher than the national population. Accommodation is an important determinant of social and health outcomes: most Travellers live in houses, few in flats or apartments but the rate of temporary housing is ten times the national average. A small proportion has no sewerage or water supply, in sharp contrast to the national population where this is virtually unknown. Finally, information on heating shows a prevalence of expensive and inefficient fuel (coal), with less than a fifth having the most economical and efficient form (oil), between them indicating a high risk of fuel poverty and subsequent mortality.

Looking at the other needs assessments (1.3), there is little historical or longitudinal data, meaning that we have almost no indication as to whether Traveller needs have changed over the years, the principal exceptions being the transition programme project and in the area of housing needs, which are now measured on a regular, formal basis by the county council, the only form of continuous assessment available. Positively, at present there is a number of sources on which we can draw: the county council LECP, Wexford Local Development, the HSE, the Children and Young People Services Committee and the consultation around the age-friendly county. If we take their needs assessments together, they paint a remarkably consistent picture of issues: education (and within that, transfer rates), civic participation and Traveller organization, discrimination and respect, accommodation, health (specifically cardiovascular health including type 2 diabetes, cancer, suicide, mental health, addiction and domestic violence), opportunities for men and transport. The CYPSC was outspoken in its comments on the withdrawal of the Traveller visiting post. Between them, they give us an idea of the needs which this analysis may anticipate.

2 Need

This is the key chapter, 2, which identifies need arising in the Traveller community and is the core task of this report. The following chapter, 3, will then explore how they might be met while chapter 4, *Conclusions*, will draw the material together. Here, needs are assessed under a number of key headings (2.2-8) and then conclusions are drawn (2.9). First, there is an explanation of how need is assessed and weighted (2.1).

2.1 Grouping and weighting need

The terms of reference required an assessment of need under 14 headings (listed in *Terms of reference*, p4). Fourteen headings would make this and the following chapter excessively long and tedious, so both for convenience and to reflect the weighting of needs identified, they are grouped under a smaller number of headings. As might be expected, not all 14 headings turned out, in the assessment, to be equally important: in some categories, few needs were raised, or they were of much lower relative significance. In their place, though, some needs were raised which were only indirectly part of the originally defined 14 areas. This research process did not bar participants from raising issues outside the fourteen (with the prior-stated reservation on the issue of accommodation) and two significant needs emerged which were not anticipated in the original terms of reference, which are issues of public safety and Traveller organization, so the original headings have been revised and grouped accordingly.

- Education (which includes childcare, early childhood care and education, youth, family make-up and other issues affecting families) [xxi]
- Health (which includes women's health, men's health, welfare, isolation, loneliness, substance abuse)
- Employment and training
- Issues arising from housing and accommodation
- Sport, arts & recreation (which includes culture and cultural awareness, horse ownership, access to services and facilities, transport)
- Traveller organization
- Public safety

As mentioned above, the 14 headings were not equally important and it is desirable to obtain a sense of the hierarchy of issues. Travellers themselves identified needs arising from housing and accommodation issues as the most important need, along with discrimination and Traveller organization. Education was universally identified as the most important need and the determinant of outcomes under many of the other headings. Issues of employment and training were the next most frequently cited, followed by health. At the other end of the spectrum, other needs were not cited as immediately urgent (e.g. arts, culture) but that is not to devalue their long-term importance. Furthermore, that which the Traveller community identified as 'need' and what the 'non-Traveller world' identified as 'need' had - although views were shared and overlapped - different weightings and priorities. This is reflected in the exposition.

2.2 Education

Although educational participation has risen and Traveller advocates encourage schooling, many Travellers still perceive that the education system failed them: there is an overwhelming need for it to prove its relevance to them. Marriage is seen as the culmination of adolescence - and work in the father's trade for boys - rather than the obtaining of qualifications. Parents see little value in sending their children to early years and up the whole educational cycle when they themselves benefitted so little and there is no prospect of work afterwards. Parents tend to cite their own bad experiences, coupled with its lack of purpose for them, as the principal reasons for reluctance to send their children to school. Many are critical of schools ('the teacher doesn't bother with my child', 'there is no help with homework', 'teacher says he'll be gone by the end of the year').

If we explore this up the educational cycle, early years are an ever more important part of the education system. Many Traveller parents, though, are slow to part with their children at a very young age. For understandable reasons, they may feel that their Traveller culture will be lost in the much bigger, settled mainstream. Some know little about early years, what happens there and it is easier to avoid risk and not send the child there. The presence of Traveller childcare workers would make a big difference, but there hardly are any. The problem, though, is that children entering school at the first time at, say five, are likely to be both at a cognitive and participative disadvantage. Some may not arrive until six, the first age for compulsory attendance.

For those who were keen to participate in the early years system, some Travellers reported difficulties in getting places for their children into private services, even when annual fees were in the €400 to €1,000 range (in community facilities, those on the lowest income bands should not pay more than €15 a week). Family Resource Centres report that one of their roles was obtaining early years services for Traveller children. It was reported that in one town, 'the creche once used by Travellers closed for lack of funding and there were "no vacancies" in the private one'. There was a need to support parents as educators from the earliest age, for example developing their children's fine motor skills and knowing how to use toys. 'Parents' should be understood as including fathers, who were especially important in ensuring playtime by young boys and later, that homework was done by boys.

Once in primary school, several spoke of the need for Traveller-specific materials in schools and this was a definite gap - 'what we have is very white and middle-class'. If the state agency responsible here, An Gúm, has developed such materials, they do not appear to be used. There was abundant scope for schools to follow new parts of the curriculum that might work well with Travellers, but few did.

The need to address absenteeism was a key issue. The level of school attendance was, in the view of some professionals, over-estimated (>p16). There were schools where Travellers were 'on the books' but whose absence was not reported. Indeed, one project helped a girl in her 20s who had, it seemed, never spent a day in school. To be missing 20 days each year eventually adds up to a whole school year missed. The Education and Welfare Service of Tusla is responsible for school attendance among all groups. Of the 237 referrals for persistent non-attendance in the current school year, 60 concern Traveller children and there have been 16 prosecutions arising. The service does not have a responsibility or duty to intervene for under 6s.

Throughout primary and into secondary school, there was a need to provide an extensive range of supports for both children and parents. The Home School Community Liaison scheme, which is available in Delivering Equality of opportunity In Schools (DEIS) schools, was known to visit Travellers, meet parents and get them involved, but only in two locations (Enniscorthy and Gorey). Homework clubs were a need of critical importance, right through the whole school cycle. Some individual homework clubs were both well known and used by Travellers (e.g. Bunclody, Taghmon), but knowledge of them further afield was less.

Dealing with post-primary, more Travellers were attending secondary school (it is compulsory to 16) but a critical need was to maintain attendance after the first year of secondary. Where transition programmes were introduced, they were commended. Boys especially struggled to find the relevance of some subjects in secondary school. Traveller children in secondary school found it difficult to connect to the curriculum ('e.g. what's the point of history or geography?') while some teachers found it difficult to respond to students who were evidently bored. The number of Travellers in a given secondary school might be small, leaving them feeling isolated and possibly friendless. The closure of the Traveller training centre in New Ross was greatly missed, for Travellers learned to work together in group settings, something much more difficult in integrated classes. There was a need for practical education courses, like windows, metalwork, furniture-making and repair, arts, crafts and woodwork. It was reported that in one town, all the post-primary schools applied a system of penalty points for failure to complete homework. In the event of penalty points being reached, the child would be suspended. Homework clubs were not provided, although supervised study was available for a charge to the parents. None of this helped Traveller education.

The need was identified for schools to be much more Traveller-friendly - 'a smile and a welcome go a long way' - and to develop curricula that might be of more interest to Travellers and their trades (e.g. animal welfare). Positive examples did exist: some Traveller girls leaving school had good memories of teachers who were kind to them. The transition project in Bunclody, for example, did story-telling, the driver test, computers and literacy, all relevant.

Strikingly absent in the education discussion was career guidance in the broadest sense, encompassing life skills training. Some teachers had spoken of Traveller children being 'some of the brightest they ever had', but there was no mention of Traveller children ever getting such guidance or even aptitude-testing. Granted the level of discrimination in the labour market, such guidance might seem a bit previous, but its absence seemed in itself to be a statement of low educational expectations by at least some schools. It is known that there is career guidance in at least some Wexford schools, but possibly not until post-junior certificate. Granted its potential value in lifting educational expectations, this study suggests a case for such guidance being brought down the age range.

There was little school-based structured support for parents for the transition from primary to secondary and to stay in secondary, unless attendance issues arose. There was a need for investment by schools in dialogue with parents about their children, not just over attendance issues, but their involvement in the school community. For over-stretched schools, such an additional investment was a considerable demand, but part of the long, incremental process of improving attendance.

The need for literacy was a thread running throughout the educational discussion. This is an issue at several levels. First, many Traveller still emerge from many years in the educational system with limited literacy. Many defined literacy as 'the ability to sign your name and write your address' rather than the ability to communicate fluently in writing. Second, lack of literacy is evident among their parents and the generation that went through the school system earlier. This is known from the fact that Family Resource Centres, for example, regularly help Travellers with reading official letters and form-filling, which range from social welfare claims (e.g. Job Seeker Allowance) to medical cards to housing to passports. Many struggled with forms, ticking boxes and so on. Youth projects helped mainly boys to write letters to apply for the driver theory test. Literacy challenges were especially evident in the district court, where charged Travellers were clearly struggling to read and understand notices and summonses.

In summary, the critical educational needs appear to be:

- Overall, the need to improve a schooling system falling far short in its outcomes for Travellers and in support for and dialogue with parents;
- Early years, where participation in less than necessary for early learning;
- Secondary education, where there is a sharp fall-off at an early stage;
- Adjusting the curriculum and providing materials that bring school closer to the Traveller community;
- Achieving literacy for those in school and literacy for adults;
- Lifting school expectations of Travellers, including career guidance, which is absent.

2.3 Health

The principal health needs identified were in the fields of mental health, loneliness and isolation, physical health, access to mainstream services, sexual health and substance abuse. Welfare issues are also dealt with here.

Mental health was, within the overall health picture, the biggest need. When Wexford Local Development organized a conference on mental health, 150 Travellers attended [out of 175 at the conference], indicative of the salience of the issue. Travellers perceived that theirs was a community under great stress, economic and financial. Those more medically familiar with mental illness formed the view that although some Travellers do indeed meet a clinical, medical diagnosis of mental ill-health, the phenomenon of mental illness in the Traveller community could more usefully be described as 'psycho-social stress' and the manifestation of multiple stressors on the community. Evidence of that was the way in which people said they 'felt overwhelmed', used expressions of 'layers of hopelessness' and described 'every day' as stressful. Depression was seen very much as connected to the lack of opportunities in life: 'there is nothing to do, nothing to get up for. Even with children, there is nothing to look forward to. Once they have grown up, there really is nothing. Were it not for a few courses to attend, you would go mad'. Services reported that Travellers reported depression, anxiety, panic attacks and the accumulated strain from poor living conditions and a sense that 'nothing ever changes'. Post-natal depression was a particular issue when the new husband was away trading. Conversely, whenever stressors eased, individuals might say 'let it go, the crisis has passed'. Poor life expectancy was likely the long-term outcome of a lifetime of such stress.

Those experiencing mental ill-being drew attention to their stress through self-harm (e.g. cutting), over-medication and valium dependence. Some even self-medicated on-line, not a recommended practice. There was extensive use of sleeping pills, medicine sharing and people collecting medicine on other people's behalf but using it themselves and sharing pills. There was unverified above-average use of anti-depressants.

There are no figures for suicide and self-harm in the Wexford Traveller community, but it is now acknowledged as an issue, one that causes great grief in the community as a whole.[xxii] Groups where boys especially could talk out their problems - from as early as primary school - could help forestall the dangers of suicide. One educator reported a teenager with suicidal ideation being 'put on a list for attention, but not treated'.

'Loneliness' was a need that was difficult to isolate and had different meanings for different people. Loneliness was also the sense of isolation that came from rejection derived from discrimination or it could be a specific outcome of bullying in school. It was very much a function of enforced idleness arising from lack of economic opportunity. The problem was considered most acute on halting sites, where stress levels were highest. For one group in particular there was a real loneliness, which was couples unable to have children. In a community where family and having a family is so highly valued, its medical impossibility can be isolating, leaving the couple depressed and struggling to cope. Positively, childless couples have increasingly sought IVF treatment.

In the mental health field, there was a need for a specific person to help, a service of whose availability in neighbouring Carlow and Kilkenny they were conscious. Instead, they found themselves referred 'from one person to another' but not making progress. There was a need for much speedier access to mental health services: one service made provision for access to a counsellor within 24hr, but that was the only one of its kind and such quick intervention could save lives. For less urgent needs, Travellers do take up counselling offered by Family Resource Centres, where fees are set at an affordable rate. These services, though, were badly cut back after 2008.

Needs in the area of physical health have become more apparent due to the work of the primary healthcare workers. The programme followed by these groups gives an indication of the nature of need perceived to date. For example, primary healthcare workers have organized health days, offering blood pressure and blood sugar testing, weight management and advice on exercise, the programme very much influenced by life expectancy statistics showing that Traveller women live 12 years less than settled women and 15 years less than the case of men.[xxiii] This programme matches the needs identified, such as obesity, poor food and lack of physical fitness.

In stressed living conditions, it is difficult to give priority to exercise and healthy living, which are relatively recent priorities in the settled community. There is an excessive reliance on take-away food, even for breakfast. Cooking traditions in the Traveller community may even have declined. Although women were, thanks to primary healthcare workers, much more conscious of the need for health checks, men were slow to be so (e.g. bowel cancer screening) and were inclined to go only when in pain, which was often too late.

The prevalence of alcoholism or drug-taking in the Traveller community is not known, though there is some indirect information through the use of services. Information collected in the course of this research indicated that excessive drinking was considered to be principally an issue for younger men. Traveller girls rarely drank before marriage and not many as women thereafter. Alcoholism and the taking of other drugs (e.g. cannabis by younger Travellers) was attributed by Travellers to the effects of mental ill-being. The level of hard drug taking (e.g. heroin, cocaine) is, so far as is known, limited to a small number of families. Quite a number of older men - meaning in their forties or fifties - had been known to die from terminal alcoholism. Service information shows that there were 1,233 treatment cases with Wexford addresses in 2016.[xxiv] Of these, 44 identified themselves as Travellers, or 4% of those using services, divided almost evenly between alcohol (48%) and licit or illicit drugs (52%). The 4% figure, which is above the proportion of Travellers in the county, would be consistent with the levels of psycho-social stress reported earlier. Of this group, 18% was not living in stable accommodation, indicating the disproportionately higher stress level in the least-well housed group of Travellers (table 23 *et seq*).

Turning to sexual health, agencies believed that there was a need for discussion within the Traveller community of sexual health issues. Difficult issues such as pornography, sexually transmitted diseases and prostitution were generally not discussed and LGBT issues had not yet been addressed, even though there were gay Travellers known to some services, some of whom were married. Some mothers did not like their daughters attending external sex education, unsure of what they would be told.

Child protection is traditionally an area of work of health-related services. There is a fear among Travellers, possibly misplaced but genuinely held, that social workers may take Traveller children into care, which leads to a distancing from social work services. There is an information gap here, for although there is a Traveller identifier for children who are the subject of child protection investigations, the statistic does not appear to be extracted, published or otherwise available.[xxv] There is no evidence of Traveller children being over- (or under-) represented in child protection, one way or the other. There have been no formal discussions with the Traveller community about foster parenting (although some relatives may have informally fulfilled fostering roles from time to time).

A particular need was for Travellers to be able to say goodbye to a dying member of their community in hospital. At present, hospital rules prevent more than two relatives to attend a patient at a time. It was Traveller tradition that the extended family should have the opportunity to attend and say goodbye and Travellers made the case that a particular room could be set aside for the purpose. Attempts had been made to raise the issue, but hospital staff refused even a discussion.

There are specific needs in access to mainstream services, which are well shared by the settled community. There was pressure on general practitioner services, with delays of up to two weeks for an appointment with a doctor. Speech therapy was a particular deficit: one appointment requested on entry to early years was not met until the child was six years old; in another case, the delivery of therapy to a speechless seven-year was so delayed that she did not learn to speak till ten. Many considered the option of going private, but the cost of €1,500 for 15 sessions was prohibitive. The typical waiting list for speech and language therapy was cited as 18 months, by which time a young child can be seriously behind.

Issues of welfare are, for convenience, dealt with here. When it comes to social welfare support, most families are on Job Seekers Allowance (JSA). Some who are trading do not seek nor obtain social welfare support. Quite a number receive JSA and trade at the same time, which is legal, with a figure for the trade being agreed between the department and the individual and the JSA rate adjusted accordingly. Cases requiring investigation are rare.

The general level of social welfare payment was not specifically raised by Travellers, but there is evidence that it falls short of what is necessary. This should be no surprise, for the basic welfare rate is set below the poverty line and the work of the Vincentian Partnership for Social Justice has determined that a higher income is necessary to meet essentials.[xxvi] In Wexford, evidence of need lies in reported levels of debt, reliance on fuel that can be bought weekly (e.g. coal) and the difficulties in paying relatively small bills (e.g. prescriptions, car parking charges in hospitals). Social welfare Exceptional Needs Payments most requested by Travellers were for furnishing local authority homes (up to €3,000) and funeral grants, both indicating a lack of saving available. One need identified was the €107.70 level of payment for a young married couple, which was considered wholly inadequate for a young couple starting out in life (the adult rate of €198 is applied should the couple have a qualified child). There is a lack of information on debt in the Traveller community in the county, but it is reported that there is lending and borrowing within the community and that the services of the Money Advice and Budgeting Service are used, indicative of some level of debt. An important indicator of social need is that Travellers - despite their small proportion of the population - account for about 20% of all the assistance given by the county' s Society of St Vincent de Paul, usually for food, which indicates a level of food poverty.[xxvii]

Fuel poverty was identified earlier as a potential stress point by the census (table 26). Other sources confirmed that coal was used because, despite its disadvantages, it was easiest to manage financially and on a week-to-week basis. There was evidence of Travellers using public libraries, *inter alia,* to keep warm in winter.

In summary, the principal needs identified here are in the area of mental well-being; physical health; sexual health; hospital farewells; substance abuse; access to mainstream services; and low income levels, leading to debt, fuel poverty and food poverty.

2.4 Employment and training

The discussion on need in employment and training brings one immediately into issues of discrimination in employment, but since they are closely related to discrimination in services, both are for convenience discussed together here. Section 2.2 above already alluded to attitudes on education being strongly influenced by the lack of employment opportunities afterwards.

Quite simply, an overwhelming need for the Traveller community is that such discrimination should cease. Discrimination in employment is just one of a succession of lifelong forms of discrimination. Several referred to having 'plastered the walls with certificates - but still could not get a job'; one, with qualifications and references, who had approached 25 prospective employers over six years, had yet had to be offered a job. Another, who had completed his Leaving Certificate and a PLC course, could only get one reference on his CV for an application for employment, which was from his teacher. Two references were normally required, one being from a previous employer, which he was never going to be able to get.

Such discrimination has been well-documented elsewhere and the older people's consultation (1.3) recorded widespread instances of discrimination: pubs, hotels, using toilets in restaurants and taxis in some cases. Nevertheless, it is important to provide a contemporaneous record to illustrate why this is such an important area of need. It was very difficult to book a hotel for a Traveller wedding and it was normal for the booking to be accepted initially, but once the identity of the group was known, then it was cancelled because it was supposedly double-booked. Weddings are the one of the most important life events and having to remember such an event as being surrounded in argument over venue had a lasting negative impact. Only one hotel would accept Traveller weddings, but it was expensive, with no choice of menu and the newly-married couple was not permitted to stay overnight. In supermarkets, Travellers were regularly followed by shop assistants pretending to be stacking shelves and shunned in second-hand shops, the presumption being that their purpose was shoplifting. During Traveller funerals, shops would 'go into lockdown', even the car parks ('no respect even when dead'). Travellers could not get into some night clubs, pubs, cinemas, race tracks or hair salons. When taxis did take them, they might be fleeced on the basis that they had plenty of money. This research came across an incident in which a golf range, which had previously permitted Travellers to play, now refused to do so. The manager insisted that '"they" would wreck the place' and that was given as the reason - even though they had not done so on previous occasions - and they were put out. When a women's group booked a Christmas dinner, the hotel cancelled the booking when it found out that it was a Traveller women's group and then it was suddenly booked up. Evasions such as concealing identity by using non-Traveller names were nearly always exposed, leading to exclusion. In one sad case, a youth service which had attracted Travellers to call to its drop-in and programme found that settled people, possibly under parental influence, now refused to attend the service anymore and it was closed.

Discrimination took its toll in a loss of confidence and fear. It was pervasive and universal, 'the moment you pass your front gate'. It was difficult to present at interview when one felt so 'put down'. Several settled people reflected that 'they [Travellers] simply have no chance'. Such discrimination imposed a high toll on Travellers both individually and collectively. They internalized discrimination to form a negative image of themselves and lose their sense of self-care. FRCs reported attempting to comfort Travellers who had met with discrimination or had bad experiences with officials (housing was cited). Travellers attending meetings convened by the local authorities considered some councillors to be racist in their language, disrespectful in their manner and intolerant of criticism. According to one informant, 'institutional racism is far too evident, but we are afraid to raise it in those terms, for fear of over-reaction. Some people [councillors were cited] still call them itinerants and won't tolerate being challenged'. The fact that these views came from the authorities and public representatives, who deserved respect, was especially

hurtful. Others reported infantilization - being treated like young children: 'ten minutes late and your appointment is gone'. Even if discrimination was not overt, 'you were made feel like nothing. A little civility could go a long way'. Discrimination-induced stress is known to have destructive, lifelong consequences for health and life expectancy in comparable communities elsewhere.[xxviii] Some responded by leaving the country for work overseas, for example in Scandinavia and the United States ('where you are treated as "Irish", they don't know what is a "Traveller", so you can't get discriminated against'). Some individuals were successful in business, but only by distancing themselves from the Traveller community and making themselves not appear to be Travellers, in order to avoid discrimination.

Travellers were reluctant to complain, even when complaint might be well merited. Complaints were likely to lead to over-reaction and the threat that 'the police would be called'. It was evident from discussions both with Travellers and those working with them that there was no confidence in the prospect of the redress of grievance against discrimination either in services or employment. There was no vernacular record of a successful complaint against an employer, hotel, shop or pub (the last requiring action in the district court).

Turning to employment, although the census indicated those areas where Travellers worked, no detailed audit of the Traveller economy is known to have been undertaken. From the undocumented information available, it appears that Traveller men work in such areas a tarmacadaming, waste-collection, power washing, painting, gardening, landscaping, polytunnels, horticulture, caretaking, scrap, car repair, door-to-door collection and resale of unwanted household items; and in the case of women, hairdressing and fashion (one ran a fashion blog). Granted levels of discrimination, most Travellers had no choice but self-employment. The only mainstream employer who appeared to welcome Travellers was one of the meat factories.

Significant opportunities have been missed in the employment of Travellers. Two expanding areas of the economy, for example were retailing (e.g. low-cost supermarkets) and social care (e.g. older people's homes). Both potentially offered hours and times that might suit Travellers well, yet none seemed able to get work there. Generally, Travellers cannot get jobs in shops, which means that Travellers do not meet other Travellers doing full or even-part time work in the course of their everyday business. Travellers visit hospitals, but do not see Travellers working there. Role models in these fields - that might encourage others - do not exist. Some have completed training as early years workers, but find it difficult, if not impossible, to get work there.

There was a clear need to improve work opportunities for Travellers, be that in self-employment or - assuming issues of discrimination were addressed - in mainstream employment. Courses have been provided for Travellers, for example one for men in insulation while young women did a course on making dresses and jumpers which were subsequently exhibited. The needs exist at several points:

- The need to develop work opportunities matched to the known skills of the Traveller community;
- Apprenticeships, valued by an older generation that remembers them, but not available now;
- Training courses that can provide some financial support, necessary for participants from communities on a low income;

- Improving take-up of existing schemes (take-up of Back to Work Enterprise Allowance is low, one case being recorded in the area of landscaping);
- Community Employment, where there is almost no Traveller participation (one is known to participate; another on the Tús scheme for a sports club);
- Social enterprise, where there is no Traveller-based such enterprise in the county.

As an example of the first, observers commented on how young Travellers were 'fabulous with their hands' but never had the chance to develop a skill based on manual dexterity. One example of a skill that could be developed came from the tradition of ironwork in the old Traveller economy. Welding, for example, went up a range of skill ranges, from basic welding to industrial and marine welding to advanced vacuum welding - but this had never been developed. Instead, as one educationalist put it, 'we are always given excuses as to why this can't be done'.

There is no Community Employment (CE) scheme for Travellers in Wexford and very limited participation in generic schemes. Those who have so participated have been positive about them, as have their families ('children are delighted if their father has a job, even if not a very prestigious one like a caretaker'). It is possible that some Travellers work on CE schemes in other organizations (e.g. Cornmarket project), but there is no vernacular record of existing CE sponsors specifically seeking Travellers participation.[xxix] CE has a long history of providing employment experience for those furthest from the labour market - progression rates are currently estimated at 30% - and it is surprising that Traveller take-up of the programme appears to be so low.

In summary, the principal need is that of ending discrimination in employment and services; and in developing work opportunities matched to known skills, apprenticeships, social enterprise and community employment. A fundamental need, though, is for an improvement in the knowledge base through an audit of the Traveller economy and the skills therein.

2.5 Issues arising from housing and accommodation

Accommodation as such is not a subject area of this research, but issues arising from accommodation are inseparable from some of the wider needs of the Traveller community. Travellers themselves identified housing as 'the key need', 'the basis of everything else'. Overcrowding led to stress (>2.3, above) ('there's no privacy with seven children in a two-bedroom house'), meant a lack of play or educational space for children and small kitchen space was not conducive to good eating habits. Accommodation needs appeared to be most acute for those living in caravans, mobile homes and standard local authority accommodation in that order. There was a need to improve conditions on at least one site, which was reported subject to flooding, rubbish dumping and rats. The Traveller need was for local authority accommodation, which is regarded as providing security and affordable rent, but some of these homes were considered small for those with larger families.

Most housing need came from those in caravans, which were described as 'cold and damp in winter and difficult to heat with a bottled gas heater. There is a lot of pressure to get something better when children arrive'. Others reported 'freezing' in winter due to inadequate heating. Some existing accommodation, though, was poor, with problems with pipes, kitchens, windows, leaks, draughts and dampness ('not just new housing, but fix the old'). Some accommodation had no bath or shower. Fuel poverty

was identified earlier as an issue, but its precise nature not well known. Insulation schemes are designed for home owners (landlords are responsible for private rented homes and the local authority for its homes).

The county council responds to accommodation-related need by the housing accommodation programme, through the provision of central heating in mobile homes, adaptions to the homes of those with disabilities, ensuring that new housing has the maximum number of bedrooms (4) and through the provision of a social work service (four staff). The support service provided by the council - which was considered important and valued - was considered variable, be that by officials or visiting social workers and dependent on the individual concerned. In summary, the issues arising from housing are the need to:

- Address those areas of greatest housing stress (enabling those in caravans and mobiles to move into standard local authority accommodation);
- Address and fix problems reported in existing local authority accommodation;
- Improve and make consistent the support service provided by the council;
- Investigate the level and nature of fuel poverty, temperatures and insulation levels, efficiency and cost, so that effective remedies may be devised. This should be taken up by the Local Traveller Accommodation Consultative Committee (LTACC).

2.6 Sports, arts, recreation, culture, services and transport

Sports needs in the Traveller community are affected by both lifecycle and gender, as in the settled community. Sporting participation tends to diminish with parenthood, with the risk of reduced fitness and weight gain, so there was a need to keep these opportunities open up the age range. The main sports favoured by Traveller men are GAA, soccer and boxing. The GAA was widely praised for being welcoming to Travellers. One of the many benefits of Traveller women's groups was that they provided social and programme activities outside the home that would not otherwise be available.

Echoing the discussion above (>2.4), Travellers reported difficulties in accessing private sports facilities and youth groups. Whenever a group tried to make a booking, it might be told that it was booked out, or told 'no groups'. Others required membership and they were not members. Some sports clubs, admission aside, were too expensive. Handball alleys were identified as the single most desirable facility to add.

Keeping horses is a long tradition, dating to the time when they pulled caravans. About a quarter of the Traveller families in Wexford was estimated to own or have access to horses. Horse fairs are held occasionally. Horses might be acquired for a boy post-confirmation as an introduction to manhood. They were 'something to do', especially for boys, who learned the discipline of breaking, feeding and caring for horses (e.g. microchipping). It was said that 'they are great for a man, because people come to admire a good horse, even if not worth much financially'. Travellers also kept dogs, birds and other pets.

Horses were recognized as having considerable potential for assisting with mental ill-being, indeed one described them as 'really mental health projects'. They were aware of successful horse projects, for example in nearby Kilkenny and their value there. Granted that horses represent a form of cultural activity specific to and valued by the

Traveller community and one identified as having an important secondary role in a critical field, there is a strong case for it being given support.
The control of horses legislation requires the impounding of illegally-grazed and abandoned horses. This was a serious problem several years ago, the county council having to deal with up to 180 horses a year, but these numbers are now much lower (40-50). Some of these were identified - correctly or not - as Traveller horses because of their type (e.g. piebald or skewbald). Retrieving impounded horses has become costly, because the Wexford pound, from which retrieval might cost €200, was replaced by impounding in Cork, from which the cost would be in the order of €700 to €800. At the same time, as with the settled community, there were problems of illegal grazing, poor welfare and abandonment due to cost (e.g. vet fees), even close to main roads, where they were a traffic hazard. There was always a need for a better knowledge of law and regulations, but for Travellers ways to find places to legally graze horses may be more challenging.

There is evidence of the need for more extensive cultural activity. Travellers are considered an under-represented group, but there are now some areas of participation. With Ferns Diocesan Youth Service, the county council ran an *Our town* project in Bunclody, focussed on a sense of place and looking at local history and contemporary development, regarded as successful and indicative of how cultural needs can be met. The county council has now launched a cultural programme (heritage, visual, drama, dance, music, artist in the community). The arts department of the county council has recently advertised its *Creative community* scheme, which is supporting a Traveller women's project; and is due to launch *Music Generation,* which has the potential to respond to needs in the area of Traveller music. What is missing, though, is a set of books and resource materials which reflect Traveller culture - a definite 'gap in the market'.

This section also addresses services, starting with transport. Cars are seen as the transport form of choice: most young Travellers are eager to get their driver licence, although they may struggle with the driver theory test. Women are driving more but 'it's always the man who has the car'. Some Travellers were - as confirmed by the census - without transport and 'it's a long way to walk to town, three miles. There is no bus to the site. Why not a bus stop here?'. The community bus service, Local Link, was not well known. One route was known, but it was 'out at 10am, back at 1pm', no good for getting to a job. There was a lack of transport to at least one school, with parents having to drive their children 'a long way'. Another example was that there was no transport from Bunclody - which does not have Youthreach - to Youthreach services elsewhere in the county. As far as is known, hospitals do not provide transport for patients, except for dialysis and in other counties such services have been funded by the HSE. Although not a transport issue as such, the related issue of road safety was raised, with cars speeding near sites and accommodation.

Looking at services, geographical gaps in services were identified. Bunclody is the chief case in point, although others were mentioned (e.g. Clonroche, where the community hall was 'cold and in poor condition'). Bunclody, which is one of the larger Traveller locations, lacked two critical services: a Family Resource Centre (FRC) and a Youthreach service. Family Resource Centres were commended for their accessible, user-friendly, free, well-equipped services, used by Travellers and settled people together. Some travel from Bunclody to Gorey FRC to use its services.

New services must overcome an unhappy history. In Bunclody, a successful post-primary transition project was discontinued, while a Traveller-specific early years project was also closed and those who applied for a transfer to the other facility in the town were told that there were no vacancies. The new Drumgoold project of the Traveller Inclusion Programme of Ferns Diocesan Youth Service, set up by the county council, was welcomed as a first reversal of many years of disinvestment.

A final point is that there was no evident listing of Traveller-relevant services in the county. It would be helpful and not financially expensive if the TIG were to compile such a list, with contact details. A particularly important group to include is afterschool services, for these tend to be undocumented, one suspects because their value is underestimated. This would improve access and lift their visibility and importance. Likewise, it would be important that the work of the TIG itself have visibility and importance, with the publication on the county council website of its role, membership, deliberations, documentation and annual progress report.

In summary, the principal needs under sports, arts, culture, recreation, services and transport are:

- The need to ensure the availability of physical activity across the life cycle (one might also add the aim of addressing gender segregation in sport);
- Specifically, the need to develop handball opportunities;
- The desirability of supporting horse-related activities, both because of their cultural and mental health value;
- The need to meet gaps in transport, notably for those without car access;
- The need to fill the gap in services in Bunclody (FRC and Youthreach);
- The need for a list of services, generic and Traveller specific, which Travellers use or are relevant to them, in order to improve access and visibility.
- Similarly, the need to publish the role, membership, deliberations, reporting and documentation of the TIG itself.

2.7 Traveller organization

The measurement of strength or weakness of community infrastructure is an important tool in assessing need in disadvantaged communities.[xxx] The level of Traveller organization in the county appears to be low. The principal information resource on voluntary and community organizations in the county is the listing of members of the Public Participation Network (PPN). Of its 456 members, only eight have a Traveller title or are known to work with Travellers.[xxxi] Three men's groups were recorded but not affiliated.[xxxii] So far as is known, none has an identifiable public presence through a website. Advocacy for Travellers is carried out by others. Family Resource Centres, for example, act as advocates for Travellers in dealing with the official world, because they lack their own organizations with the capacity to do so (the same is true of much of the settled community that uses its services). This ranges from making representations to arranging appointments (e.g. with Home School Community Liaison service). Other services listed in chapter 1 (1.4) almost certainly do so too.

The need for community infrastructure for Travellers, in particular a representative Traveller body for the county, was clearly identified by Travellers and agencies working with them alike. The Vocational Education Committee funded a Wexford Traveller Women's Network for a time, one that was considered valuable in bringing together women's leadership in the county, providing training in project management, but this funding dried up. This had the potential to be a representative Traveller organization for the county.

Many identified 'Traveller leadership' and 'leadership training' as critical deficits, so that Travellers could 'have a voice' and 'take ownership' of their problems. Whilst there was now Traveller participation in local government structures (those of the county council being the best example), important questions were the degree to which it was resourced and if the channels were configured in such a way as to make them work well. There was no technical assistance budget to help Travellers to make their participation in these structures more effective. Examples of these problems were that 'consultations work by e-mail, which many Travellers don't have. There is a lack of assistance to help participation on such matters as how agendas are determined and procedures operated, quite apart from the language used'. It was not just a technical matter for 'Travellers did not have a good experience at some consultative bodies and did not feel they were listened to'. Successful organizational participation also depended on *informal* connections which Travellers did not have and were not assisted to develop (none referred to being put on the civic list, for example).[xxxiii] The Traveller Inclusion Programme of Ferns Diocesan Youth Service encourages participation in such existing structures as the Wexford County Council, Local Community Development Committee, Children and Young Peoples Services Committee, PPN and Traveller Interagency Group and this is of considerable value, especially alongside a representative Traveller organization. As part of civic participation, there was a need for a targeted voter participation programme which could build connections to public representative (councillors and Oireachtas members). The expert group in this field is the Vincentian Partnership for Social Justice (VPSJ).[xxxiv]

In summary, the principal needs here are for:

- A representative body for Travellers in the county to carry out work in the area of building capacity, supporting participation, developing leadership and advocacy;
- Technical assistance to support the participation of Travellers in existing structures;
- Use of the civic list so as to facilitate informal connections;
- A voter participation programme.

2.8 Public safety

Needs were identified in areas unanticipated in the original brief and which may broadly be grouped together under the title of public safety.

Issues concerning the law emerged in the course of this needs analysis. Travellers were disproportionately represented in court, the Probation Service and youth diversion projects. This was evident in the district court, principally in the areas of motoring (e.g. not wearing seat belts, speeding) and school attendance. In the Probation Service, Travellers accounted for about 9% of the caseload (nine out of 100), typically early school leavers without qualifications, for a variety of offences, with a small proportion for drugs offences connected to poor mental health. In youth diversion, Travellers were disproportionately represented, accounting for 5% of the caseload (10 out of 200). These were divided evenly between boys and girls, boys being typically referred to the service for public order offences, drunk and disorderly, criminal damage and minor assault, the girls for shoplifting. Although such disproportionate representation is sometimes cited in the settled community as evidence of high levels of criminality in the Traveller community, these figures are very much in line with other disadvantaged communities in the country. Such over-representation is an outcome of deprivation, most evident in young males denied life opportunities and second, a function of absence of stabilizers in life, such as school, through the whole early life cycle.[xxxv]

Those professionally familiar with the field take the view that 'young Traveller offending is no different from or higher than other adolescents. Shoplifting may be the main offence of Traveller girls (they often do it once for a dare and are caught), but shoplifting is the top offence in the settled community - boys and girls - too'. In the case of boys, there was an element of teenage boys showing off by speeding, not unknown in the settled community, a practice that youth projects work hard to curb. As for adult offending, this was not considered to be exceptional in nature or extent, the only contrary example being the occasional illegal parking of caravans, often by visitors from outside the county. Some were concerned that there might be criminal gangs engaged in drug-dealing. Long-term observers of Traveller-settled relations made the comment that *perceptions* of criminality was generally far higher than actuality.

Domestic violence is an issue in the Traveller community, as it is elsewhere. It is an issue now more openly discussed, with younger Traveller women now much more prepared both to challenge violence and abuse and to seek help.[xxxvi] Travellers do attend the *16 days of action* campaigns on domestic violence offered by Family Resource Centres, which may involve speakers from the gardai and from the Wexford Rape and Sexual Assault Support Service. There appears to have been a significant drop-off in Traveller women seeking help in the area of domestic violence - and sexual assault - over the past two years or so. Whereas the women's refuge in Wexford typically accommodated one Traveller woman and her family at a time (one out of four places available, for stays of up to 12 weeks), now only one Traveller family would present every six months. This is attributed to fear by mothers that their children would, following their arrival in the refuge, be taken into care. The exact source of this fear is not known, but may have arisen from an incident which took place about two years ago and not necessarily in Wexford, but knowledge of which was circulated widely. Use of the sexual assault support service is also minimal and - as in the settled community - individuals do not like to be seen coming in to use the service. There was still an overall sense that it was 'better to go back to a relationship, even if it's bad'. There is a small number of domestic violence presentations to the county council's homeless services and the issue comes up in the course of disclosures on housing need.

It is evident that domestic violence is an issue, but there is a lack of confidence in bringing it to the attention of agencies due to external factors.

Public safety issues concerning the Traveller community were principally raised by the settled community. An issue raised by Travellers, which is dealt with first, concerned the installation of CCTV by the council on a site which has caused some resentment, not so much for the CCTV itself but the lack of consultation as to its purpose or the subsequent use of recordings. The justification was given as illegal dumping around the site, but the manner in which it was installed led to a negative reaction.

Attitudes around public safety issues crystallized around disturbances reported in New Ross on Sunday evenings after mass, when young Travellers were reported to congregate in public places, intimidate others, engage in anti-social behaviour and were 'out of control', uncontained by the police (one report was heard of similar situations in Bunclody and Enniscorthy). The situation was exacerbated by anti-Traveller sentiments expressed on a neighbourhood watch website and by radio reporting. Those who know the Traveller community in the town point out that Travellers did gather, but in their own neighbourhood and that the situation never got beyond robust banter of the type that would not attract attention were it in the settled community (indeed, it was pointed out that 'of course they meet in public spaces. Where else would they go?'). For many it was no more than a courting activity. In summary, the principal public safety needs identified were:

- The need to address the root causes of over-representation in court, probation and diversion services, which is in line with other disadvantage communities elsewhere;
- The need to restore confidence in women seeking help from situations of domestic violence or sexual assault;
- The need for confidence-building measures around enforcement (e.g. CCTV);
- The need to be able to respond proportionately to incidents such as those reported in New Ross.

2.9 Conclusions

This chapter identified numerous needs among the Traveller community. Travellers, for their part, identified accommodation, discrimination and Traveller organization as the supreme needs. There were distinct differences of emphasis between the Traveller perspective and that of the settled world. To give a national example, for Travellers, discrimination was one of the top three issues, while by comparison, it is only the seventh point on a ten-point agenda on the national strategy.[xxxvii] Having said that, there was a wide overlap and points of common views and analyses. Education was the most universally identified need and there was widespread agreement on the key needs in other areas, such as health. The implications of these overlapping and differential agendas of need will be explored in the next chapter.

3 Meeting need

This chapter analyzes, explores and discusses the issues arising from the profile (chapter 1) and needs (chapter 2), to see how they may best be met, under the same headings (3.1-7) before conclusions are drawn (3.8).

3.1 Education

There was an universal but unverified sense that Traveller participation in education was improving, with more going to early years and making the transition to secondary. At the same time, there were underlying realities that would make progress difficult for some time. These concern, on the Traveller side, expectations of the educational system; and on the educational side, the nature of the investment made, the approach taken and its ambitions.

Expectations of education on the Traveller side varied. The valuing of education was evident among Traveller leaders and spokespersons. At the same time, there were persistent issues of lack of confidence in the educational and school system, from the start. This took the form of lack of uptake of early years, non-attendance or absenteeism, girls being taken out of school to mind younger siblings, early school leaving and a de-valuing of the process among school-goers, with with peer group pressure against those in schools (e.g. being called 'the scholar'). Some asked to leave their school bags in school for embarrassment from bringing them home. Boys might tease girls for 'getting notions above themselves' or for doing their homework and as a result they learned to hide their ambition. Girls especially were slagged for wearing school uniforms. Educators reported that once married, 'the girls were gone and didn't come back'. Teachers gave them signals of their low expectations, although there were others who were aware of their low expectations of themselves, commenting that 'they tell you "I can't do that" but they are well able once they get started and are as capable as anyone else'. Professionals who worked with Travellers praised their 'keen intelligence and sharpness'.

A recurrent theme in the Traveller perspective of education was the lack of outcome. The phrase 'What's the point? You'll never get a job anyway' was heard repeatedly. A lack of confidence by Travellers in the education system is entirely rational if ten years of schooling delivers poor educational outcomes and valueless qualifications. A telling commentary on the issue of absenteeism was that parents rarely gave a specific reason for non-attendance, but instead 'a generalized sense of non-engagement'. This suggests strongly that the educational problem has to be tackled as much at the labour market and employment end as the educational. No work is known that predicts how much educational expectations, outcomes and performance might improve if they were to lead to real participation in the labour force, employment and a viable Traveller economy.

On the side of the educational system, there are issues to be tackled at numerous levels. Working up the age range and starting with early years, table 11 showed clearly that Traveller children were attending such settings. National figures from Pobal, which compiles an annual profile of childcare services, found that Travellers represented 1.5% of all children attending early years services and that Wexford had reached 90% of capacity (enrolments and vacancies as proportion of age cohort), slightly above the national average of 88%, but does not indicate the Traveller proportion thereof.[xxxviii]

We do not have a picture of locational gaps in Traveller attendance in early years. Although Pobal collects information with ethnic identifiers, this is not available to the principal body responsible in the county, the Wexford County Childcare Committee (WxCCC), which makes it impossible for take-up issues to be objectively identified locally. There is a clear need to identify these gaps and devise a pro-active strategy, in consultation with the Traveller community, to lift access to early years. An organizational issue is that WxCCC is not a member of the Traveller Interagency Group: because of the centrality of early years, there is a good case that it should be.

Conversely, Travellers are not represented on the board of Wexford County Childcare Committee, which recruits according to skill rather than on an agency or representative basis - but granted the importance of early years to the Traveller community, there is merit in there being regular consultations with that community as to how problems can be dealt with, take-up improved and support systems put in place for parents. The childcare committee is probably not well known to the Traveller community and it is not yet seen as a place where problem issues could be raised. Traveller issues and voices are notably absent from the educational debate further afield.

At primary level, a key instrument in Traveller educational provision was the visiting teacher service, which was withdrawn after 2008 (> 1.3). This decision is now generally regarded by professionals in the field to have been disastrous (none used milder adjectives). The service was replaced by 141 resource teacher posts nationally at a cost of €8.46m. In Wexford, the total number of resource teachers is 4.1, allocated to primary schools in Bunclody, Enniscorthy and New Ross, with one in post-primary whose deployment is at the discretion of the Education and Training Board. Resource teachers, though, work with all categories of disadvantage and do not undertake visiting work, so it is disingenuous to present it a 'replacement' service. The lack of a visiting teacher creates the sense, in the view of one educator, that 'no one is looking out for them'. Even those who provide integrated programmes stress how 'the one-size-fit-all' approach in education 'does not suit Travellers'.

At secondary level, in the late 2000s, Traveller education was mainstreamed and the training centres were closed, including the Wexford-based one in New Ross.[xxxix] The centres were regarded as successful, with practical training, attendance rates that would have been the envy of mainstream schools and a sense of ownership. Many professionals regarded the mainstreaming experience as calamitous, with voluntary organizations now having to compensate through Traveller-specific programmes outside school. The closure was part of a set of decisions that reduced investment in Traveller education by 86%.[xl] Moreover, the failure to apply and make available ethnic identifiers across the education system as a whole meant that systems which had hitherto tracked Traveller education progression were discarded. There is a dramatic contrast between Ireland and eastern and central Europe, where there was a similar project of desegregation and mainstreaming (with the Roma community). Whereas in the eastern and central Europe, the project was - albeit imperfectly - accompanied by additional funding, in Ireland it was accompanied by reduced funding.[xli]

School completion projects - especially important for the Traveller community - still suffer from that disinvestment. For example, one school completion project once funded to €250,000 has a current budget far short of what it was eleven years ago (€199,000). Specific items cut were out-of-school activities and summer camp. Even at present, staff are on temporary contracts for nine to ten months at a time and this inevitably leads to high turnover.

One approach which could be considered is an experimental home tuition project. The value of non-school based education has been presented for many years.[xlii] Irish law gives considerable scope for home tuition programmes and in this case it would offer potential for the defining of a culturally appropriate curriculum and the direct involvement of parents in their children's education. So far as is known, no community-based programme of this nature has been developed. There are educationalists, for example ChangEd, the Home Education Network - which includes Wexford members - who could advise on this.[xliii] Participation would by definition be entirely voluntary. Anticipating concerns that such a project could cause parents additional stress, it is absolutely critical that they be provided with the highest levels of personal and educational support.

Granted the continued seriousness, extent and nature of educational need, there is a strong case for an engagement by the TIG with the Department of Education and Skills in general and in particular with its social inclusion section; and with the Chief Inspector of Education, who is formally responsible for the quality and outcomes of the educational system.

The importance of computer literacy in dealing with the official world was underlined by those Travellers who used e-mail to communicate with government - now the preferred method on its part - and got a speedy and helpful response. Quite a number of Travellers use library services, principally for internet access, sometimes for long periods, typically for educational purposes, driver theory training and trading (buy-and-sell). There was a good response rate to the provision of coding classes.

Nevertheless, table 19 showed just how much computer literacy is underdeveloped. E-inclusion refers to the inclusion of disadvantaged social groups in the electronic world of computers, internet and broadband, which is the responsibility of the Department of Communications, Climate Action and the Environment (CCAE). The current national broadband plan gives commitments to social inclusion, but remarkably in the light of the type of data provided in table 19 does not specifically mention the Traveller community.[xliv] The department's plan of e-engagement set the objective of halving the number of 'non-liners', a group of which was identified as 'travellers' (sic), set the objective of conveying 'to non-liners what they could do online, and to highlight to existing users other ways they could use and benefit from further digital engagement' and promised a digital training grants scheme (Bene*f*IT).[xlv] Fifteen organizations were recently awarded €2.2m for the *Digital skills for citizens* programme, but they do not appear to include any Traveller (or Wexford-based) organizations, which appears to be a significant missed opportunity. Although the department has a budget of €5.664bn for the information society and e-inclusion, the most recent annual report makes no mention of bringing e-inclusion to the Traveller community.[xlvi] The department's statement of strategy to 2020 articulates the need to optimize the use of digital for social inclusion, but does not include proposals for the Traveller community.[xlvii] It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that e-inclusion strategies have overlooked the Traveller community, suggesting an early intervention by the Traveller Interagency Group to make a start on addressing the issue.

3.2 Health

The Traveller Primary Healthcare Programme has now been running ten years and is widely considered a success story, making a disproportionate impact for its size (it is a

part-time programme - although the set hours are certainly exceeded - and is paid a rate well below most health professionals). The impact of any health education programme is always going to be medium to long-term. The primary healthcare workers are seen to have made an impact in a number of specific areas. Smoking, for example, is much diminished among younger women and the 'smoking age' for Travellers is concentrated on those in their late 30s and early 40s. At this stage there is a strong case for having the programme evaluated for impact and - assuming a positive outcome - bringing in a new generation of such workers to join those already there.

Travellers drew attention to two specific health posts which could bridge significant needs identified in the fields of mental health and nursing. The concept of a dedicated Mental Health Nurse and Public Health Nurse (PHN) for the Traveller community has been developed in Carlow and Kilkenny. The Mental Health Nurse introduces Travellers to the mental health world through an outreach service (e.g. via men's sheds), provides well-being workshops and assists Travellers to get early and timely help from the appropriate mental health service. The PHN provides a visiting service and assists Travellers in accessing health services through GP and hospital appointments, developmental assessments for children, form-filling and liaison. A particular role is assisting Travellers to attend appointments, where correct identification on letters, as well as literacy, may be issues. The successful development of these services in adjacent counties of comparable characteristics gives confidence that equally positive outcomes might reasonably be expected in co Wexford.

The agency responsible for addressing issues of drugs and alcohol in Wexford is the South East Region Drugs and Alcohol Task Force (SERDATF). SERDATF has limited resources, lacks a defined research budget and does not have information about drugs and alcohol issues in the Traveller community in co Wexford. There is an impression that issues of drugs and alcohol may be above average within the Traveller community, one supported by statistical evidence (>2.3) - indeed higher rates are characteristic of disadvantaged communities generally - so there may be value in a discrete piece of research that would bring precision to this issue and whether there was satisfactory access to services. Finally, issues of the treatment of Travellers in Wexford hospital were raised, suggesting the case both for management cultural awareness training and for a liaison officer to deal with any potential difficulties in the future.

3.3 Employment and training

Issues of employment and training divide into two: discrimination; and the Traveller economy. Each is dealt with in turn. Addressing discrimination first, the principal state instruments are the Equal status Act, 2000 and the Employment equality Act, 2001 and related legislation, applied by the Workplace Relations Commission. Making a complaint a complex matter. The only method offered for making a complaint is on-line (although complaint forms were not even displaying when investigated by this writer) and requires the serving of complaint on the alleged offending party first. It is a procedure requiring a high level of standard literacy and computer literacy. The WRC complaints process is demanding, requiring research by the complainant (e.g. the correct legal name of the respondent), encourages knowledge of law (e.g. legal points to make) and is likely to involve a hearing.[xlviii]

Of the 1,113 complaints made under the Equal Status Act in 2017, 408 were made by members of the Traveller community; and of the 1,113 complaints made under the

Employment Equality Acts, 7 were made by the Traveller community. None came from county Wexford.[xlix] The procedure does not apply to pubs, which is an additional problem granted the level of discrimination reported.[l]

There is an urgent need to engage with the Workplace Relations Commission to make a start on addressing this problem, with the further need to engage with the Department of Justice and Equality to make the legislation effective (including re-opening the negative consequence of the transfer of jurisdiction to the district courts). This could focus on a combination of measures (e.g. simplified procedures, take-up campaigns, warnings to employers and services, cultural awareness training, positive imaging work with the media). The European Union has referred to the importance of such legislation applying dissuasive penalties against perpetrators, but it appears from this research that there are none and that the legislation is failing in its purpose of protecting, in this instance, Travellers.

The lack of an effective mechanism for the redress of discrimination is a problem that extends further afield. This was especially evident in the lack of prominence given to the important of complaints and complaint mechanisms in public agencies and in tracking Traveller complaints as part of that process. Wexford County Council provides an interesting case in point, for it was one of only two agencies identified in this research where a Traveller had made a complaint, which, for the record, was upheld (the other was a single complaint to the gardai, whose outcome is not known). Wexford County Council does list the number of complaints in its annual reports, but does not identify the number of Traveller complainants. Other agencies have stated that they receive very few, if any, complaints overall (the Department of Employment Affairs and Social Protection had none). One youth group successfully helped Traveller students to bring a complaint to a school principal about their being refused use of the school toilets. The fact that individual complaints are remembered is indicative of how much they stand out, rather than they are routine. At least one observer commented that Travellers rarely complain formally and it is not in their disposition to do so. Legally and technically speaking, it appears to be a community unable to affirm its rights (*communauté soumise*).

In several cases, activists encouraged Travellers to challenge their situation. One youth group attempted to work with Travellers on challenges against discrimination. It encourages young Travellers to challenge such discrimination when it happens and write down the incident straightway. In the event, their parents indicated that they did not wish challenges to be made, because it would draw attention to their community. The youth group decided thereafter on a policy of formally boycotting facilities that refused Travellers, although it was aware that in the light of their limited economic power this was likely to have little effect.

A first step, though, in raising Traveller confidence in public agencies is to ensure that all agencies with contacts with Travellers develop visible complaints system, give more prominence to complaints systems with a view to driving up the number of complaints and subsequently publicizing their outcomes, including specifying the number of complaints made by Travellers.[li]

Cultural awareness training has been undertaken for some time, delivered by the primary health care workers under the aegis of Wexford Local Development. This has the advantage that it is delivered face-to-face by Travellers themselves and for some of those receiving training, it may be their first meeting with a member of the Traveller

community. A particular problem is that those who come tend to be those who need to come least. Training had been provided for mental health providers, the LTACC, the TIG itself and there is a high rate of take up among the gardai (65 trained so far with plans for a further 65). Those groups identified as important providers of services for whom such training was urgent were identified as doctors, nurses, midwives, gardai and public officials (e.g. local authority), schools, the business community, media, sports providers, service providers generally and hospital staff. This is an area open to development and collaboration (e.g. with Chambers of Commerce, members of the Irish Business and Employment Confederation (IBEC)). Those familiar with the issue warned as to how challenging this could be: those in position of responsibility must learn to handle criticism, which is never easy. Initiatives for cultural awareness come best from the TIG, because it brings with it the authority of the county council. A final consideration is that cultural awareness training is not ringfenced with dedicated funding, but is done at part of the health programme.

Turning to the second theme of this section, the Traveller economy, this discussion has several themes. These concern the Traveller economy itself, work-related opportunities and social enterprise. The 'Traveller economy' is a term that developed in the 1980s which referred to the the type of economic activities in which Travellers traditionally engaged, how that economy had evolved to meet changing industrial circumstances and its potential to build on traditional and new skills within that community. State investment in the Traveller economy, though, has been limited, with few examples known, insulation schemes being the best example. Such investment, though, is essential if education is to be meaningful for the Traveller community and one may only speculate as to how educational indicators might have now improved by now had such an investment been made from the 1990s.

At present, knowledge of the existing Traveller economy (>2.4) exists but is not formally documented; there has been no known skills audit; and no examination of the potential for its development. That section listed those areas of the economy in which Travellers were involved but one obvious explicit absence was recycling, all the more remarkable granted that the Traveller economy was historically involved in repair and recycling. Although the settled community can at times quick to criticize Traveller economic activities, constructive economic support has been in comparatively shorter supply, certainly in comparison to more advantaged economic sectors. In Northern Ireland, considerable efforts were invested in the peace process to secure economic opportunities in self-employment for those experiencing discrimination in conventional employment, but these do not appear to have been matched in this jurisdiction. The outcome of such an audit would be difficult to predict, but one contributor speculated that it could identify the need for technical assistance in such areas as printing business cards and tax advice. The question of having 'economic space' close to Traveller accommodation has long been discussed, has proved difficult to implement, but could probably benefit from a fresh look.

The National Traveller and Roma Integration Strategy gives a commitment that 'the Department of Housing, Planning, Community and Local Government, in conjunction with local authorities, will arrange for the inclusion in Local Economic and Community Plans (LECP) of provisions for Traveller and Roma economy supports including general policies and programmes as well as group-specific (targeted) initiatives to

support Travellers and Roma in enterprise, mainstream labour market and the Traveller economy'. Locally, the Local Enterprise Office development plan has no reference to the support of the Traveller economy, nor is the term used in the county's LECP.[lii] There is a clear need for this to be rectified.

Travellers identified social enterprise as a desirable line of development. Although far from absent, social enterprise is poorly developed in Ireland compared to other European countries, the principal difficulty being start-up funding.[liii] The main government instrument for the support of social enterprise is the Community Services Programme of the Department of Rural and Community Affairs, managed by Pobal, which supports community halls and facilities, services and social enterprises (strands 1, 2 and 3). It is funded at €46m (2018), funding that has been steady for many years and this supports about 400 organizations, of whom seven work with Travellers.[liv] The programme was closed to new applicants in 2008 - arguably when it was needed most - and the first new call was not until 2018, when 12 organizations with 36 posts were added. There was a widespread view that it should be possible to develop social enterprise and there was an awareness of projects in other counties that served as examples for Wexford (e.g. beehive projects in Tipperary and Kilkenny).

A significant problem with developing community employment and social enterprise schemes for Travellers is the lack of pre-development support. There are two reasons for this. First the state does not have systems in place to provide pro-active, pre-development support, although historically such an approach was used successfully (Combat Poverty Agency). The view is normally "we can't do anything unless you send us a proper proposal" - yet the Traveller community does not have the resources to construct one. Second, there is a view that any such prospective initiatives should come from the Traveller community itself and its leaders - yet without Traveller organization, a topic dealt with separately here (>2.7, >3.6) that will always be problematical.

There is scope for public and private organizations to extend the range of work opportunities for Travellers, be that placements, paid internships, shadowing or standard work. The local authority in South Dublin pioneered outreach to recruit Travellers for outdoor work (generally taken up by men) and clerical work (generally taken up by women), adopting a system of competence-based recruiting, while government departments established a programme of internships.[lv] According to Pavee Point, 'government services employment should be more reflective of Travellers and Roma, taking proactive steps to facilitate the recruitment and retention of Travellers and Roma in services, including healthcare, policing and education'.[lvi]

In the private sector, there were ideal opportunities for Travellers in old people's and care homes and in retailing. The new low-cost stores, such as Aldi and Lidl, had already been to the fore in demonstrating social responsibility by adopting the living wage, so possibilities existed for making approaches to suitable employers for such opportunities.

3.4 Issues arising from housing and accommodation

As noted earlier, housing is not specifically included in the needs analysis, but the issue is raised here insofar as it has an important bearing on other needs.

As noted in chapter 2, the Traveller preference is for local authority accommodation, especially so younger Travellers and that is well understood in the local authority.

Wexford County Council has not built any housing - Traveller or otherwise - since 2009, although it has bought a small number of homes where applicants have been rehoused. Travellers have therefore been obliged to wait a long time on the waiting list, up to ten years (up to 15 was cited), or seek accommodation in the private rented sector. Although some private rented homes may be of good quality, private rented accommodation offers no security, is a poverty trap due to the unaffordable difference between rental and subsidy and, in any case, is difficult for Travellers to enter due to discrimination and the need for references which they likely do not have. Travellers are well aware that if they take private rented, they are taken off the main housing list. Moreover, Exceptional Needs Payments, available for the furnishing of local authority homes, are not available for unfurnished private rented accommodation.

The speed of rehousing is slow, the total number of offers made over 2014 to 2017 being 86 (of which 28 were not accepted, due to familial and locational issues). At the risk of stating the obvious, because housing is such an important determinant of other Traveller needs, there is an urgent need to reverse the slowing down and instead accelerate provision of local authority accommodation for Travellers, with a timeframe set for the clearing of the present waiting list; and ensure consistency of support services. The idea of a single named Traveller Liaison Officer could be helpful.

3.5 Sports, arts, culture and recreation; services and transport

Section 2.6 identified a number of specific needs in the area of sport, arts, culture and recreation. It noted their engendered nature and the fall-off of participation in physical activity from the twenties. Positive features were the welcoming attitude of the GAA and there were new opportunities in the form of the cultural programmes generated by the county council (>3.4 above). Two activities were identified as especially valuable to Traveller men, namely men's sheds and horse projects, so ways must be found to continue the work already begun by the former (>1.3) and to develop a Wexford project for the latter.

There appears to be merit in the appointment of a dedicated post of a Traveller worker in the field of sports, arts, culture and recreation, both to promote participation and to help with the organizing of events and activities. The idea of a Traveller sports worker with young people has been developed by one of the LEADER companies and its experience could inform such an exploration.

The *2: Needs* chapter identified a number of gaps in services (2.6), notably for a Family Resource Centre and Youthreach for Bunclody. In the course of 2018, eleven new FRCs were added to the existing 109, whose level had been frozen since 2008 (indeed, funding for the programme fell from €18.84m in 2007 to €13.09m in 2015, but by 2018 had recovered to €16.5m). Two Wexford organizations were among the 50 applying for the 2018 round of funding, which approved 11 new projects, none of which were in Wexford. The criteria for the 2018 round specified that applications come from pre-existing organizations with premises, apparently to ensure that such proposals be ready-to-go and could be quite quickly operationalized. In reality, many of those approved were the relicts of former community development projects, that programme having been closed by the government in 2008. In Wexford, there are several candidates for a potential expansion of the FRCs in a 2019 round, one of which (Bunclody) has a significant Traveller population.[lvii] Bunclody, though, suffers from the treble disadvantage: the town did not have a prior community development

project, pre-development work has not yet been done and it would be unlikely to be successful if the 2018 programme criteria were re-applied.

A clear service deficit was identified in New Ross, where Youth New Ross has groups for Traveller boys (10) and girls (22), both being unadvertised and with good attendance. It has the capacity though to cater for and help about 70 young Travellers in the town, with groups for younger and older boys and for young mothers, but this would require an additional youth worker. Similarly, there may be scope for extending services for young people in Bunclody, such a need having been identified by the WETB.

Section 2.8 explored the issue of sexual assault and domestic violence. Agencies working with Travellers elsewhere emphasize the importance of outreach and informal approaches that build trust that encourage women to use the services that are available for them. There is a strong case for at least a part-time dedicated person with a specified role, maybe within an existing team of health workers, with specific responsibility for domestic violence and sexual assault issues.

Transport was a need raised in chapter 1 (table 27) and chapter 2. The organizer of community-based services is Local Link. It is open to local communities or groups or others (e.g. councillors) to make a proposal to Local Link for a service, following which if it is validated, a company will be contracted to provide a fixed or flexible-route service. Local Link has limited resources and has not consulted specifically or directly with the Traveller community, but does have contact with organizations providing it with services (e.g. Wexford Local Development, FRCs) and bus companies, which are sensitive to demand. Local Link does have a small social inclusion fund (€,24,000) which provides up to 70% once-off funding for transport for particular events (e.g. trips for disadvantaged children) so its sensitivity to disadvantaged groups is evident. A surprising absence is that there is no transport advisory council in Wexford for Local Link or the other bus or train providers (e.g. Wexford Bus, Irish Rail, Bus Eireann), although such councils are the norm in other jurisdictions. There is a case for:

- A consultation to be held with the Traveller community to define more precisely Traveller transport needs;
- A transport advisory committee for the county to advise Local Link and all transport operators, one that would include the Traveller community.

3.6 Traveller organization

The issue of Traveller organization was a key concern raised in the *Needs* chapter (>2.7). Although there is a number of Traveller groups in the county, generally referred to as women's groups or men's groups, they are small, unresourced and do not have a public or formal presence. There is no representative county-wide organization and its absence makes it difficult to develop work with Travellers, express a unified Traveller voice, raise issues of concern, find representatives for consultation, undertake developmental work and support the taking of actions against

discrimination. A particular issue, raised in the section on the Traveller economy (>3.4) is that there is no organization to apply for specific funding opportunities that may exist (e.g. e-inclusion, social enterprise, horses, CE). A related issue is that existing Traveller capacity to manage projects is not high. This is hardly surprising in the light of what we know of the development of educational skills, but is not helped by a lack of confidence on the part of the authorities that a Traveller project could succeed (in one previous case, the providers made clear their low expectations and put in place arrangements to recover the equipment).

An important strand of the work of such an organization would be to take actions or to facilitate Travellers to take actions against discrimination. For this, funding should be sought from the Workplace Relations Commission and or the Irish Human Rights and Equality Commission. Locally, this is an area where the role of the SICAP programme (>1.4) could also be most helpful. Instructive examples already exist of voluntary organizations successfully engaged in such 'soft case law' work - the Free Legal Advice Centres in this jurisdiction and the Committee on the Administration of Justice in Northern Ireland.

Traveller organization in Wexford has an unfortunate history. In the late 1990s, a proposal was initiated for a Traveller Community Development Project (CDP), but this did not come to fruition and in any case the government closed the CDP programme. A Wexford Traveller Women's Network was established in 2008, with a view to being a voice for Travellers in the county and it attracted some funding from the Vocational Education Committee. Its purpose was to build the capacity of the Traveller community in leadership, skills, knowledge, participation in public bodies and the ability to manage projects. It was envisaged that it would carry out project work in the fields of education; mental health; and advocacy in the area of employment and accommodation. Its initial ambition was to set up a Community Employment (CE) project with ten Traveller CE workers and, in cooperation with FAS, the network executed all the organizational and technical requirements for such a project. At the last moment, FAS unexpectedly vetoed the project, no reason being given. This decision was fatal for the group, which, in the face of this and the radical reduction of funding streams during the period, closed not long afterward.

More recently, pre-development work had been undertaken with a new prospective organization, Crushin and a programme of activities sketched (positive imaging, training, sewing), but it did not progress. The case for such an organization nevertheless remains. The initial resource required would be for a coordinator, location (office) and programme budget. It would be important that it bring together all the different Traveller families in their principal locations across the county. There was widespread support for such an organization, but the fear was expressed by Travellers that the 'official world' was not yet well prepared to hear and listen to the voice of assertive Travellers. There was fear of being labelled militants. They stressed that there would have to be funding to enable participation as Travellers simply did not have the financial resources to travel to meetings unassisted.

As a general principle, Travellers should be represented or have access to those bodies relevant for their most important services, welfare and wellbeing where they are not yet represented (e.g. Education and Training Board, County Childcare Committee, South East Drugs and Alcohol Task Force, Action Implementation Team (AIT)). This need not necessary take the form of full membership, but at the minimum must take the form of a system of visible, regular, structured dialogue. A final point is that

Traveller representation come through channels other than the PPN. Traveller organizations are a small part of the PPN and to channel representation exclusively through the PPN makes it difficult for Travellers to obtain representation. Accordingly, it should best be done through a county-wide Traveller organization when it is established.

3.7 Public safety

Issues of public safety bring into focus the most uncomfortable area of this needs analysis, namely the perceptions of the settled community of Travellers and *vice versa.* This research had already drawn attention to the way in which the priorities of the Traveller agenda might be different from those imagined by the settled community: on the Traveller side, the agenda was one of inequality, discrimination and lack of organization. In some parts of the settled community, there was an extremely negative perception of the problematic of the Traveller community that focussed most on public safety issues (e.g. criminality, anti-social behaviour, substance abuse, dumping, domestic and other violence), with an associated cluster of other negative attitudes (e.g. 'backward' view on the value of education, littering, not looking after its homes, patriarchy and male vetoes, poor work discipline, feuding, handout-demanding, costly to the state, genetic issues, second-class position of women etc). Travellers were perceived to be in denial about many of these problems, just as Travellers perceived settle people to deny the true scale of discrimination. Issues raised by Travellers were played down by the settled community, such as discrimination in sport ('gone now'), transport ('they all have cars or vans') and the issues they raised as questionable ('unreliable testimony'). Travellers were portrayed negatively in the media, although there was sharp criticism of their so doing ('hardly ever a good news story', 'the media making a bad story out of nothing', 'bad news sells best'). One view, strongly expressed and not by a Traveller, was that the 'persistent negative view of the Traveller community' was *the* challenge, *the* need that must be addressed.

In this research, a couple of flashpoint issues raised the salience of this issue, such as questions of dumping and littering, CCTV and 'congregation'. Taking them in order, disproportionate representation by Travellers in littering offences has prompted proposals for stronger enforcement. Whereas there is always a role for improved enforcement, it is also the case that the waste charge is a serious cost for those on low incomes (the charge for waste collection is up to €400-500 a year, normally paid through cards obtained from the post office). Little research was undertaken at the time of the introduction of waste charges on the disincentive effects of such charges on responsible waste disposal. Whereas littering was a problem even during the lengthy period when there were no waste charges, an enforcement-only approach is likely to have less than wholly successful outcomes. Other countries in Europe are likely to have developed schemes to incentivize responsible disposal by low-income communities and there is merit in devoting some small resources into investigating how that could be done here. Kilkenny County Council hires a contractor for twice-weekly clean-ups of public areas near halting sites, which are an additional cost but has reduced the problem.

The second issue, CCTV, concerned the reported lack of consultation and the lack of information on the purpose of the surveillance. The issue does not appear to have been raised in a structured way, at least not recently, even though it continues to be a grievance, emphasizing the importance that the issue be discussed in an appropriate, organized forum, where solutions could be found. At present, it seems that there is a

strong case for confidence-building measures in response, such as information on the use of the CCTV and live and subsequent access to the digital record.

The third was the earlier recorded issues of the congregations in New Ross (>2.8). The key need here is not so much that such issues exist, but the need for structured solutions to respond to them and flashpoint issues. Taking the congregation issue first, mediation services to address disputes between the Traveller and settled communities do not appear to have been developed in Wexford, although they have been in other parts of the country (e.g. midlands).[lviii] Professionally trained and accredited (National University of Ireland Maynooth) mediators are now available, but this does not appear to be widely known. Also absent is a system of contact points in each Traveller community in its main locations and a system of Garda liaison officers in each of the four Wexford Garda divisions. Such a structured system would enable a much speedier response to any conflict situations that might arise.

There are structures which could help to address these issues, but are not so used. There is no Traveller membership of the Joint Policing Committee (JPC), where there are seven voluntary and community representatives, of whom three are selected through the PPN, but do not appear to include Travellers. Despite issues of public safety and the Traveller community being raised as issues of concern, examination of the minutes of the two most recent meetings and the most recent annual report indicate that such issues were not raised at the JPC.[lix] This means that such issues are debated off-line as it were, rather than in a formal, structured setting, which can lead to a destructive series of public and media exchanges.

The absence of dialogue between the Traveller and settled community presents a serious problem, one in which misunderstanding persists, distrust spreads and rumour abounds, the 'offline discussion'. People from all sides - Travellers, those working with them, the 'settled world' all appealed for ways to be found to try bridge these gaps. This gap of understanding was quite evident in the course of this research. The two worlds had different perceptions of the other to the point - in places - of mutual incomprehension. As one (settled) contributor commented, 'we don't know what [Travellers] *really* want and need'. Many commented on the need for places where 'we could have an honest conversation about what was wrong' in this relationship and deal with 'hard' and uncomfortable issues. Accordingly, a place of dialogue that could begin these conversations in a structured, constructive way was an important part of the infrastructure and a challenge to the TIG. This could take the form of regular, structured, thematic discussion, for example annual dialogues, of some of the key 'hard' issues identified in this needs analyses, moderated by facilitators, possibly drawing in existing external research, all directed to improving such understanding.

3.8 Conclusions

This chapter has addressed the implications arising from the needs analysis across its principal headings. The most striking finding to emerge in exploring how need should be met were as follows:

- Low educational participation and expectations were a rational outcome of a schooling system which, because qualifications could not lead to employment, was of questionable value;
- The key to tackling the problematic of education lay in ensuring Traveller access to employment and the Traveller economy, to which inadequate attention has been given. These were are as important as efforts in the educational field itself;

- Disinvestment, coupled with an unplanned and unmonitored process of mainstreaming, has set back Traveller education and this ground must be recovered. This was most evident in the loss of the Traveller Visiting Service;
- There is scope for the development of an assisted experimental home tuition project;
- The government's e-inclusion programme has missed the Traveller community, making its low rate of connectedness unsurprising, which must be rectified;
- There is scope for the development of a number of specific posts (Mental Health Nurse, Public Health Nurse, youth worker in New Ross, sports and cultural worker); and services (in Bunclody, a Family Resource Centre,Youthreach and youth services);
- Discrimination is an overwhelming issue and the equality legislation of 2000-1 has failed to provide protection or an accessible mechanism for the redress of grievances;
- Travellers make few complaints - and there are few evident complaints procedures - which contribute to a lack of confidence in the authorities. The development of visible, accessible complaints systems should be a priority, with a driving up of complaints and complaints reporting;
- A combination of measures is necessary in employment and training, focussed on the development of the existing Traveller economy - which must first be audited - and extended work-related opportunities through Community Employment, social enterprise, the public service and responsible employers;
- Because of the importance of housing as a social determinant of health, the urgency of accelerating the Traveller accommodation programme and clearing the backlog of applications is apparent;
- The development of a Traveller organization is a priority, one that can be be a voice, raise issues of concern, find representatives for consultation, undertake developmental work and take 'soft law' actions to end discrimination;
- There is a need to open places to representation and visible, public dialogue (e.g. WWETB, SERDATF, JPC, with the addition of a Transport Advisory Council);
- Public safety issues open the door to the importance of understanding the different perceptions and views of the settled community and Travellers of one another and the importance of consultation, confidence-building and finding a place of structured dialogue.

4 Conclusions

This chapter summarizes the needs analysis (5.1) and comes to conclusions as to how they may best be addressed (5.2).

4.1 Conclusions: needs

In summary, the census analysis (1.2) found that there were 1,508 Travellers in co Wexford, concentrated on five locations. It was a stable community in size and movement, youthful in age, with above average household size. The census identified specific needs through statistics on educational levels, early school leaving, ability to speak Irish, social class, occupational groups, transport, computer and internet access, health, disability, accommodation, water, sewerage and fuel. Travellers could be clearly identified as severely disadvantaged compared to the national norm. Previous needs analyses (1.3) identified needs in the areas of education, accommodation and health. It was evident that there is a range of both generic and Traveller specific services in the county (1.4).

The fieldwork analysis (chapter 2) grouped the 14 headings of the terms of reference under a smaller number (7) both for convenience and to reflect the differences in needs that emerged. Weighting needs, the most important identified by Travellers were in accommodation, discrimination and Traveller organization, the most universal needs identified being education, with employment and training followed by health. Other issues emerged ranging from public safety to career guidance.

The analysis of how those needs could be met (chapter 3) focussed on the importance of addressing issues of education from the perspective of employment and the Traveller economy, which would make education and schooling meaningful. It identified the need for reinvestment in Traveller education and investment in e-inclusion, accommodation, specific posts and services, confidence-building measures such as complaints systems and a Traveller organization. The failure of the canon of equality law and its institutions to protect Travellers from discrimination was an egregious matter deserving urgent attention. The chapter emphasized the importance of structures - structures for Traveller representation, structures to make sure that Traveller issues were considered, structures of dialogue to address the corrosive problem of an offline discourse that had negative consequences for the Traveller community.

Some of the investment necessary to meet the needs identified here is necessarily costly, a function of the extent of the gap between the Traveller community and the rest. Cost should be put in the context of the legacy of both historic underinvestment in Traveller services over time and especially in the context of the disinvestment that took place after 2008. In an overall context, most of the investments specifically identified here (e.g. a new Family Resource Centre, specific posts) are quite modest, but could be disproportionately effective. The largest challenges to meeting need may not be financial, but conceptual. Some of the needs identified here can be met by low-cost, low-tech solutions, but conceptual change is more substantial. This report suggests a number of paradigmatic challenges, such as the need for government and public administration in particular to accept the extent, nature and consequences of discrimination and that the apparatus designed to provide protection had failed. It is challenging to accept what have been the practical consequences of the disinvestment and unplanned mainstreaming of 2008 so that they can begin to be put right. There are conceptual challenges in rectifying need by building new forms of consultation, structured dialogue, resourcing Traveller organization and confidence-building measures such as driving up complaints. It is a conceptual challenge to recast the discussion of Traveller education around the Traveller economy, ending discrimination in employment and supporting social enterprise. Providing technical assistance and pre-development help in funding programmes is a conceptual change to the ways in which most funding programmes are run. An assisted home tuition project is a

conceptual challenge to conventional approaches on which there may have been an over-reliance to date. Annual open dialogues challenge the destructive cycle of the off-line discourse and so on.

Amidst the identification of many critical needs, it is important to remember that there is a base of good practice in Wexford: the range of services carried out by voluntary organizations (e.g. Ferns Diocesan Youth Service), developmental work (Wexford Local Development), the county council (library and cultural programmes); initiatives in the field of health and cultural awareness) by the HSE with WLD (primary healthcare workers), welcoming sports organizations (GAA) and responsible employers (e.g. meat factories). Wexford is well placed to become leader of a community of good practice among local authorities working with Travellers, with the TIG the natural leader of such a community of good practice, making Wexford a 'model county' for a local authority working with Travellers.

4.2 Conclusions: recommendations

This section summarises recommendations for actions by the Traveller Interagency Group, based on the needs analysis above.

Those contributing to the research spoke of the importance of there being a sense of strategic direction to the TIG in the area of recommendations. The strategic directions proposed are as follows:

- Structural, which means those structural changes that are necessary to ensure that Traveller issues are addressed by the organizations that concern them;
- Services, where specific services are required;
- Engagement, where the TIG can begin a process of engagement to ensure that issues are addressed, under the seven headings developed in chapters 2 and 3.

An early step must be to engage with the steering committee of the National Traveller and Roma Integration Strategy on these issues with a view to obtaining the additional resources necessary for the implementation of these actions.

Needs analyzed and measures to meet them were included at key points in the text in chapters 2 and 3 and a non-exhaustive list of indicative actions is summarized in table 28 (over). They are concentrated on those actions which the TIG itself could take directly or undertake in cooperation with TIG members and its colleagues in the county council. A suggestion is made that the TIG report on progress in an annual report.

Table 28: List of key recommended actions for Traveller Interagency Group

	Engagement	Services	Structures
Education	TIG engage with: - DES, inspectorate on educational reinvestment, restore visiting teacher service, effective monitoring of existing participation - An Gúm on educational materials - Dept CCAE on bridging e-inclusion deficits	TIG engage with: - DES social inclusion unit on assisted home tuition project; - Pobal, WxCCC to identify locational, access gaps in early years through ethnic identifiers	TIG to - Include WxCCC - Ensure start of structured dialogue on Traveller participation in early years
Health	TIG to: - Ask HSE for evaluation of primary healthcare scheme; view to more, new staffing	TIG ask: - HSE for dedicated Mental Health PHN, - Tusla for DV, sexual assault worker part-time	TIG ask - Hospitals to appoint Traveller Liaison Officers
Employment and training	TIG: - Engage with Dept. Jobs, Enterprise, Innovation on funding audit Traveller economy - Engage with WRC on ending of discrimination - Request funding from WRC, IHREC for 'soft law' actions	TIG: - Engage with Dept. Rural & Community Development on social enterprise project - Dept. Employment Affairs Social Protection on CE - Find ring-fenced funding to extend cultural awareness to named groups - Approach public sector agencies for work opportunities	TIG ask: - WCC to include Traveller economy in next LECP
Arising from housing and accommodation	Engage with housing section on clearance of waiting list, fix deficits in existing homes, consistent support. LTACC survey fuel poverty in Traveller homes, including temperature and insulation levels; devise solutions.		WCC name Traveller Liaison Officer
Sports, arts, recreation, services, transport	TIG: - Seek funding for feasibility study of horse project; - Ask Local Link structured consultation with Travellers	There is scope for the development of a number of specific posts (Mental Health Nurse, Public Health Nurse, youth worker in New Ross, sports and cultural worker); and services (in Bunclody, a Family Resource Centre,Youthreach and youth services);	TIG: - Ask county council to set up county transport advisory committee, including Travellers
Traveller organization	TIG - Compile, publish list of all services relevant to Travellers in county, including mediation	TIG - Fund pre-development work with view to establishing county wide Traveller organization - Obtain funding for voter participation	TIG ask for: - Traveller membership of JPC, SERDATF, AIT and structured dialogue with WWETB - Traveller membership civic list
Public safety	TIG: Ask WCC for confidence-building measures in CCTV; explore incentivization of responsible waste disposal		TIG include Probation Service Gardai appoint liaison officer in each district

	Engagement	Services	Structures
Others	TIG: - Ask all agencies in county to set up complaints services, with subsequent reporting	TIG: - Ask all funding agencies to ask for technical assistance for pre-development of Traveller applications	TIG a - Initiate thematic dialogue on discourse issues - Lift its own visibility

Annex 1: Standard information request

Dear X

My name is Brian Harvey, an independent social researcher. I have been charged by the Traveller Interagency Group (TIG) of Wexford County Council to make a needs assessment of the Traveller community in the county. I have been asked to write a report, due before the end of July, intended to provide information to inform the planning of services based on the location and demographic characteristics of the Traveller community and an assessment of its needs under 14 headings (health and welfare; isolation and loneliness; sports, arts and recreation; education and childcare; services and facilities; employment and training; youth; transport; health and welfare; substance abuse; horse ownership and welfare; families; family make-up and cultural awareness; but not accommodation). The needs assessment will be based both on the views of the Traveller community itself and of those who currently provide services for and with the Traveller community, both voluntary and statutory. The supervisor in the council is Michael Sweeney (michael.sweeney@wexfordcoco.ie). He recommended you to me as someone who could help me through the provision of information, views and impressions that could inform the research. The key questions directed to both the Traveller community and services are:

- What are the key needs, gaps, shortfalls, difficulties, problems, under the 14 headings? What is *not* there? Which are the most important, the most critical, those that make the most difference?
- What kind of services, facilities, opportunities *should* Travellers have under these headings? How can these gaps be filled, needs met, services delivered, by whom and in what way? How can this be done in a way that is respectful of the Traveller community, its identity and rights? What would co Wexford look like for Travellers if these needs were met?

I am therefore contacting you to ask you for:

- Any information available on your own work with the Traveller community, both (1) documentation, reports, surveys, statistics; and (2) your views, impressions and opinions that could shed light on Traveller needs in your field; and
- Your views as to how Traveller needs in the county could best be met in the future?

I would be very interested to hear from you, both to obtain any information that you may have available and also to learn of your views and assessments of needs and how they may best be met in the future. If you were able to help me, please could you let me know and we could follow that up with a phone call and a meeting if you felt that would be useful. Conversations are on a not-for-attribution basis, but I would like to list you in the acknowledgements, unless you prefer otherwise.

I would be most grateful to you for your assistance. Thank you.

Yours sincerely,

Brian Harvey

Annex 2: Needs analysis of Traveller community in co Wexford prompt sheet

The Traveller Interagency Group (TIG) in Wexford has asked for a needs analysis of the Traveller community in the county under 14 headings (below). In particular I would like to ask you about your views, impressions and opinions of Traveller needs under the 14 headings set by the TIG. Consideration of 'needs' means:

- What are the key needs, gaps, shortfalls, difficulties, problems, under these headings? What is *not* there? Which are the most important, the most critical, those that make the most difference?
- What kind of services, facilities, opportunities *should* Travellers have under these headings? How can these gaps be filled, needs met, services delivered, by whom and in what way? How can this be done in a way that is respectful of the Traveller community, its identity and rights? What would co Wexford look like for Travellers if these needs were met?

1. Women's health & welfare
2. Isolation and loneliness
3. Sport, arts, culture & recreation
4. Education and childcare
5. Access to services and facilities
6. Employment and training
7. Young Travellers
8. Transport
9. Health and welfare
10. Substance abuse
11. Horse ownership & welfare
12. Family services
13. Where Travellers live in the county and family make-up (ensuring services best reach Travellers where they are and suit their family profile)
14. Cultural awareness

Note that the needs analysis does not cover accommodation, which is dealt with separately by the council, but participants in the needs analysis should feel free to raise any issues that concern them on and beyond this list. It would be especially important to identify any new or emerging needs, or those which might not be important now, but might be in several years time.

Brian Harvey

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Endnotes

[i] Central Statistics Office: *Census 2016: 6: Ethnicity and Irish Travellers,* Dublin and Cork, 2016. Traveller organizations caution that some may not identify as Travellers, so this may be an under-estimate.
[ii] For a social and political context, see Pavee Point: *Toward a National Traveller and Roma integration strategy*. Dublin, author.
[iii] Holland, Kitty: *Travellers call for reparations and apology from state.* Irish Times, 4th July 2018.
[iv] Pavee Point: *Travelling with austerity - the impact of cuts on Travellers, projects and services.* Dublin, author, 2014.
[v] Department of Justice & Equality: *National Traveller and Roma inclusion strategy, 2017-2021*. Dublin, author, 2017.
[vi] An extensive literature research found only one report: John McEvoy (ed): Developing strategies to engage Traveller men - a project by the co. Wexford Travellers Interagency Group. Wexford, Wexford Traveller Interagency Group, 2007.
[vii] Wexford County Development Board (CDB): *Assessing service provision for Travellers in county Wexford*. Wexford, author, 2003.
[viii] McNasser, Sheila: *Take away the stones - review of Traveller Transition Programme*. Wexford County Development Board, Ferns Diocesan Youth Service and the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, 2009.
[ix] All-Ireland Research Observatory: *Local Economic and Community Plan - Wexford Socio-Economic Baseline Report, 2015*. National University of Ireland, Maynooth, 2015.
[x] Wexford Local Community Development Committee: *Wexford Local Economic and Community Plan 2016-2020.* Wexford, author, 2016.
[xi] Wexford Local Authorities: *Traveller accommodation programme, 2014-2018.* Wexford, author.
[xii] Co Wexford Local Authority: *Traveller accommodation programme 2014-2018, official review 2016.* Wexford, author
[xiii] HSE: *Submission from the Traveller Health Unit South East to the local authorities in the south east regarding the Traveller accommodation plans 2014-2018*. Kilkenny, author.
[xiv] South East Traveller Health Unit: *Strategic plan 2015-2020.* Kilkenny, Health Service Executive 2015.
[xv] Abdalla S *et al*: *All Ireland Traveller health study - our geels*. Dublin, University College Dublin, 2010.
[xvi] McCarthy, Deirdre & Muldowney, Sian: *Final report Traveller men's shed evaluation.* Kilkenny, 2017, Traveller Health Unit of the Health Service Executive.
[xvii] Wexford Local Development (WLD): *Travellers*. Unpublished report provided by WLD, May 2018; see also Wexford Local Development: *Annual report, 2016.* Wexford, author, 2017.
[xviii] Wexford Children and Young People Services Committee: *Children and young people's plan, 2017-2019.* Tusla, Wexford.
[xix] Original documentation of consultation notes supplied by Wexford County Council.
[xx] South East Traveller Health Unit: *Strategic plan 2015-2020*. Kilkenny, Health Service Executive 2015.
[xxi] The term 'early years' will be used generically to refer to early childhood care and education, childcare and services such as creches and pre-schools.
[xxii] Walker, Mary Rose: *Suicide among the Traveller community, 2000-6.* Wicklow, Wicklow County Council Interagency Group, 2008.
[xxiii] Medcalf, David: *Travellers take steps to tackle life expectancy*. Gorey Guardian, 13th June 2018.
[xxiv] A treatment case is an individual using a service for a course of treatment. It is possible that one individual will obtain more than one course of treatment in the course of a year. Information supplied for this research by Social Inclusion Services, St Otteran's Hospital, John's Hill, Waterford. 37.5% continued treatment into 2017, while the balance of 62.5% either completed treatment, went to another service, declined or discontinued treatment or were imprisoned.
[xxv] This information was requested from Tusla.
[xxvi] The poverty threshold is €230.76, whereas the basic welfare rate is €198, 14% below. The Vincentian Partneship for Social Justice has set €245 as the Minimum Essential Standard of Living (MESL)(Vincentian Partnership for Social Justice: *MESL 2018 - Minimum Essential Standard of Living, update report.* Dublin, author, 2018).
[xxvii] Estimate provided by the Society of St Vincent de Paul.
[xxviii] For an exploration of these issues, see Davis, Rebecca: *How racism may cause black mothers to suffer the deaths of their infants.* Morning Edition, 20th December 2017.
[xxix] Typical existing sponsors are the Society of St Vincent de Paul, Tidy Towns, hospitals, day care centres, sports aclubs (e.g. soccer, GAA), social care and child care organizations.

[xxx] See O'Prey, Monina & Magowan, James: *Weak community infrastructure*. Belfast, Northern Ireland Voluntary Trust, 2011; Rural Community Network: *Low community infrastructure*. Cookstown, author, 2006.
[xxxi] Crushin, New Ross Traveller Women's Group, Clonroche Traveller Women's Group, Taghmon Traveller Women's Group, Enniscorthy Traveller Women, Enniscorthy Traveller Girls, Gorey Traveller Women's Group, Bunclody Traveller Women's Group
[xxxii] Bunclody, Clonroche and New Ross (Medcalf, David: *Travellers take steps to tackle life expectancy*. Gorey Guardian, 13th June 2018).
[xxxiii] The civic list is the list of people in the county - apart from officials and councillors - invited to civic occasions and events hosted by the council.
[xxxiv] Such campaigns have been developed by the Vincentian Partnership for Social Justice: see *Ballots and budgets - history of the first 21 years*. Vincentian Partnership for Social Justice, 2017.
[xxxv] O'Mahony, Paul (ed): *Criminal justice in Ireland.* Dublin, Institute of Public Administration, 2002, p 227.
[xxxvi] Evidence of this from another part of the country may be found in Tusla: *Domestic, sexual and gender-based violence services: needs analysis for Fingal*. Dublin, author, due for publication, 2018.
[xxxvii] Department of Justice & Equality: *National Traveller and Roma inclusion strategy 2017-2021*. Dublin, author, 2017.
[xxxviii] Pobal: *Early years sector profile, 2016-2017.* Dublin, author, 2017
[xxxix] For information on these centres, see National Association of Travellers' Centres: *A year in review, 2006-7*; and *Strategic plan, 2007-2011*. Author, 2007.
[xl] Pavee Point: *Travelling with austerity - the impact of cuts on Travellers, projects and services*. Dublin, author, 2014.
[xli] Rostas, Iulius (ed): *Ten years after - a history of Roma school desegregation in central and eastern Europe.* Budapest, CEU Press, 2012.
[xlii] Illich, Ivan: *Deschooling society*. 1971.
[xliii] www.changed.ie and www.henireland.org.
[xliv] Department of Communications, Energy and Natural Resources: *Connecting communities - Ireland's broadband intervention strategy*. Dublin, author, 2015.
[xlv] Department of Communications, Energy and Natural Resources: *Doing more with digital*. Dublin, author, 2013.
[xlvi] Department of Communications, Climate Action and Environment: *Annual report, 2016*. Dublin, author, 2016.
[xlvii] Department of Communications, Climate Action and Environment: *Statement of strategy, 2016-2019.* Dublin, author, 2016.
[xlviii] Work Relations Commission: *Procedures in the investigation of employment and equality complaints.* Dublin, author, undated.
[xlix] Information supplied by the Workplace Relations Commission.
[l] Under the Intoxicating Liquor Act, 2003 and following a campaign by the Vintners Federation, the jurisdiction of the Equality Tribunal was transferred to the district courts, leading to a substantial reduction in complaints of discrimination by publicans. For a history, see Crowley, Niall: *An ambition for equality. Dublin,* Academic Press, 2006.
[li] One local authority, Fingal, has a quite different approach, with a system whereby people can make a report *about* Travellers (Travelleraccommodation@fingal.ie) but does not appear to have a dedicated system encouraging Travellers themselves to make complaints.
[lii] Local Enterprise Office: *Wexford development plan 2017-2020.* Wexford, author.
[liii] Irish Social Enterprise Network: *Social enterprise strategy*. Dublin, author, 2017.
[liv] Four include Travellers (Baptec, Blanchardstown; Masamba, Dublin 8; Mobile IT, Limerick; Clara & District Recreational Association) and three are Traveller-specific projects (Galway Traveller Movement insulation company); North and East Kerry LEADER (furniture recycling) and Involve, Roscommon (publications).
[lv] Competence-based recruiting replaced formal requirements for the Leaving Certificate, which because few Travellers had the certificate, meant that they were not in a position to apply for work. Under competence-based recruitment, a range of certifications could be considered.
[lvi] Pavee Point: *Toward a national Traveller and Roma integration strategy 2020.* Dublin, author.
[lvii] The other candidates are understood to be Bridgetown and Riverchapel. The unsuccessful Wexford applicants in 2018 were understood to be FAB in Wexford (a former CDP) and Kilmuckridge Social Services.
[lviii] Midlands Traveller Mediation and Conflict Training Programme: *Evaluation*. Tullamore, author, 2017.

[lix] Wexford County Council and An Garda Siochana Joint Policing Committee: *Annual report, 2016*; minutes of meetings, 10th July 2017; 9th October 2017.