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UNDERSTANDING ATTITUDES TO TRAVELLERS AND ROMA IN IRELAND

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study investigates attitudes to Irish Travellers and Roma in Ireland. Travellers are an Irish ethnic group. The Roma community is diverse in terms of linguistic and national backgrounds: many Roma came to live in Ireland in the past 30 years though some were born here. While they are distinct ethnic groups, Travellers and Roma are both marginalised in Irish society: experiencing discrimination and socio-economic disadvantage. Understanding the attitudes of the general population towards Travellers and Roma is important to assess the opportunities and barriers to their social inclusion. This report is based on a unique survey on attitudes to diversity from 2023, which surveyed a large representative sample of respondents living in Ireland about how comfortable they would be having a range of social groups as neighbours, in a love relationship with their child or in their child's class at school. The survey analysis is supplemented by recent figures using Census 2022 data on the situation of Irish Travellers and Roma compared to the White Irish population.

Analysis of the 2022 Census shows that, compared to the White Irish population, Travellers and Roma are very disadvantaged in terms of educational achievement, labour market outcomes and health outcomes. Compared to the White Irish population aged over 15 who have finished their education, 34 per cent of whom have a third-level degree, 3 per cent of Travellers and 26 per cent of Roma have a third-level degree. Considering principal economic status in 2022, 61 per cent of Irish Travellers were unemployed, compared to 16 per cent of Roma and 7 per cent of the White Irish population. This is consistent with previous findings in Ireland for Irish Travellers, though 2022 was the first Census in Ireland that enumerated Roma.

The analysis of the population's attitudes draws on the Equality Attitudes Survey 2023, a representative sample of the population of Ireland commissioned by the Department of Children, Equality, Disability, Integration and Youth (DCEDIY) and carried out by IPSOS. Comparing comfort levels with a range of social, ethnic and religious groups across three life domains (as a neighbour, in a relationship with your child, in a class at school with your child), we find that Travellers and Roma are among the groups which respondents were least comfortable with. The differences are largest in the Neighbour and Relationship domain, whereas differences between groups are much smaller on the School domain.

Exploratory factor analysis reveals that positive attitudes to Travellers and Roma are generally held by those who also have positive attitudes to the most stigmatised groups in Irish society, such as those with substance abuse issues and criminal records. Positive attitudes to Roma were, in some cases, associated with positive attitudes to a broader range of ethnic, religious and migrant groups, but this was largely not the case for attitudes to Travellers.

Using regression modelling, we find women are more comfortable than men with both groups across all the Neighbour and School domains, and the youngest age group are more tolerant than older age groups on the Neighbour and Relationship domains. Increased education is also broadly associated with more tolerant attitudes, although the strength and significance of the relationship varies across domains and levels of education. There may also be a tendency for the highly educated to give 'socially desirable' responses and mask negative sentiment (Creighton et al., 2022). Respondents' principal economic status (employed, unemployed, retired, etc.) was not associated with differences in attitudes, however. For other indicators of socio-economic status, there appears to be a negative relationship with tolerance. Respondents who find it easier to make ends meet were less comfortable with Travellers on the Neighbour and Relationship domains. Those who described themselves as middle class were also more negative across most domains for both groups. Additionally, homeowners were generally less comfortable with Travellers and Roma than those in other forms of tenure, such as privately rented accommodation and social housing. This negative socio-economic gradient is unusual relative to attitudes to other minority groups in Ireland but is in line with earlier research in Ireland regarding Irish Travellers (Mac Gréil, 2011).

Having a child, regardless of age, was associated with significantly more negative attitudes to both Travellers and Roma on the Relationship domain but not on the Neighbour or School domains. Those who believed that quality of life was better in the past were less tolerant across most domains for both groups, whereas those who had confidence in the future were more positive. Those who reported they had volunteered in the past 12 months were also more positive towards having Travellers as neighbours and in a relationship with their child. Using factor analysis, we construct an 'in-group' variable (mean comfort level with Whites and Christians) and an 'out-group' variable (mean comfort level with Blacks and non-Christians) to assess how attitudes to Travellers and Roma are associated with other groups. We find that those more comfortable with Whites and Christians are less tolerant of Roma, whereas those more comfortable with Blacks and non-Christians are more tolerant of both Roma and Travellers.

Some of the strongest associations found in the study were between attitudes to Travellers and Roma and region of residence. Respondents living in the West, South and Midlands of Ireland are significantly less tolerant of Travellers, with residents of the border area and Dublin being the most tolerant. Prejudice towards Roma is most prevalent in the South West and Midlands regions. A preliminary analysis of attitudes to Travellers at the community level using a subsample of respondents showed that respondents living in more deprived small areas are more tolerant of Travellers on the Neighbour domain than those living in more affluent areas.

The extent of negative sentiment towards Travellers and Roma helps to understand the situation and experience of the two groups in Ireland. While policy approaches to changing this context are challenging, a proactive approach is needed to challenge the prevalence of negative attitudes towards Travellers and

Roma. Facilitating positive contact between Travellers and Roma and the communities in which they live may promote understanding (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006; Paluck et al., 2019). Findings indicate that those who volunteered in the past year hold more positive attitudes to Travellers and Roma, suggesting that civic engagement is associated with tolerant attitudes. Further participation of Travellers and Roma in workplaces may also provide opportunities for positive social contact with a shared goal and help challenge negative stereotypes. Providing the population in Ireland with information to counter negative stereotypes about Travellers and Roma through media or other communication channels may help to modify beliefs about the groups. As emphasised in the National Action Plan Against Racism (2023), the societal understanding of racism in Ireland needs to be broadened to include prejudice against Travellers and Roma, as well as to highlight the role of structure and institutions in reproducing racism and preventing people from enjoying their rights on the basis of race, referred to as systemic racism. Broadening participation of Travellers and Roma in society and public life may also create the conditions for further dialogue and better facilitate intergroup understanding.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction and previous literature

1.1 MOTIVATION FOR THE STUDY

Irish Travellers are one of the most disadvantaged groups in Ireland (Watson et al., 2017). Travellers 'are identified (both by themselves and others) as people with a shared history, culture and traditions including, historically, a nomadic way of life on the island of Ireland.' (Ireland, Equal Status Act, 2000, Sec 2). Detailed analysis of 2011 Census of Population data provides insights into poor outcomes for the Traveller population across the domains of education, employment, health and housing, showing extreme disadvantage relative to the settled population (Watson et al., 2017).

Roma are a culturally distinct group, but also face significant levels of social exclusion and discrimination in Ireland. Roma are a diverse group and vary widely in terms of religion, languages and way of living (Council of Europe, 2012). Since their original migration from Northern India between the 5th and 10th centuries, the community have experienced persecution, forced assimilation, slavery and discrimination (Mendizabal, 2011). Less is known about this group in Ireland, as until 2022 they were not identified in the Census in Ireland. However, the most recent study of conditions in the Roma community, Roma in Ireland, finds extreme disadvantage among Roma in Ireland, too (Department of Justice and Equality and Pavee Point, 2018).

To understand disadvantage and discrimination experienced by these groups, investigating attitudes of the general population towards the Traveller and Roma groups is informative. The attitudinal context is important for the groups' experience of life in Ireland – from everyday social interactions to their experience of public services like healthcare, schools and public administrative to private services such as shops, pubs, restaurants and banks. It is also important for the wellbeing, motivation and self-esteem of group members, and for their trust in institutions. Attitudes to Travellers and Roma may also influence decisions concerning the groups, such as the allocation of social housing and private rented accommodation, their ability to obtain credit, or to find a decent job, and political decisions such as funding for services and projects important to Travellers and Roma.

This project will seek to investigate how current attitudes to Travellers and Roma compare to attitudes towards other ethnic, national, social and religious groups, and the factors associated with these attitudes. It will use the Equality Attitudes Survey 2023, commissioned by the Department of Children, Equality, Disability, Integration and Youth (DCEDIY) and carried out by IPSOS. In general, there has been more research on attitudes to immigrants and other minority groups than there has been on Travellers or Roma in Ireland. For example, a recent report in

this research programme[1] (Laurence et al., 2024a) explored attitudes to different immigrant groups, while a recent working paper investigated community-level drivers of attitudes to immigration in particular (Laurence et al., 2024b). This study uses the same data source but investigates attitudes to Irish Travellers and Roma with regard to having them as neighbours, in a love relationship with one's child, and in a class with one's child at school.

This introductory chapter first considers the current situation of Travellers and Roma in Ireland, using the Census of Population 2022 to update earlier evidence. Section 1.3 then considers previous literature on the experience of discrimination and attitudes towards both groups. Section 1.3 also reviews literature on which groups in the population tend to have the most negative attitudes to Travellers (in Ireland) and Roma (in international research). The chapter concludes with a short section on government strategies in Ireland relevant to the social inclusion of Travellers and Roma: the National Traveller and Roma Inclusion Strategy I (2017) and the National Traveller and Roma Inclusion Strategy II (2024); the Traveller and Roma Education Strategy (2024), the National Traveller Health Action Plan (2022) and the National Action Plan Against Racism (2023).

1.2 THE SITUATION OF TRAVELLERS AND ROMA IN IRELAND (2022)

1.2.1 Situation of Travellers and Roma in Ireland

According to Census 2022[2], there are 32,949 Irish Travellers and 16,059 Roma usually resident and present in the state.[3] Given a total population in Ireland of approximately 5 million usually resident in 2022, these groups form a very small proportion of the total population – 0.6% and 0.3% respectively. The number of Irish Travellers enumerated in the census has increased since 2016, which recorded 30,987 Irish Travellers. Census 2022 was the first to include Roma as a category of ethnic or cultural identification, so no direct comparison is possible. However, previous estimates of the Roma population in Ireland were considerably smaller. Roma in Ireland (2018), a rich, in-depth study of the Irish Roma community, estimated that between 4,000–5,000 Roma were living in Ireland in 2016. This is based on estimates by Roma peer researchers and service providers, though they acknowledge some Roma may not be known to either. It is possible that the population estimates from Roma in Ireland (2018) may have significantly underestimated the Roma population, as respondents to its survey were born in a limited number of countries (mainly Romania, Czechia and Slovakia). Census 2022

[1] www.esri.ie/current-research/integration-and-equality-research-programme

[2] www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/ep/p-cpp5/census2022profile5-diversitymigrationethnicityirishtravellersreligion/backgroundnotes/

[3] In Census 2022, respondents were asked: What is your ethnic group/background? A. White – 1. Irish, 2. Irish Traveller, 3. Roma, 4. Any other white background; B. Black or Black Irish – 5. African, 6. Any other Black background; C. Asian or Asian Irish – 7. Chinese, 8. Indian/Pakistani/Bangladeshi, 9. Any other Asian background; D. Other – including mixed group/background – 10. Arabic, 11. Mixed, write in description, 12. Other, write in description; www.cso.ie/en/census/census2027consultation/census2022householdformquestions/

shows that Roma in Ireland were born in a range of countries, though significant numbers were born in either Romania or Ireland (see Figure A.1).[4] It is possible that some of this difference was driven by migration that occurred between 2016 and 2022. Finally, it is possible that some respondents to the Census misunderstood the question and mistakenly identified as Roma, although this seems quite unlikely given the stigma attached to the Roma community by the general population and consistent patterns of underreporting of Roma in other countries. Indeed, it may be that some Roma did not complete the Census or chose not to specify their ethnicity, meaning that this figure could actually be below the true number of Roma in Ireland. Self-identification is deemed best practice internationally in terms of measuring ethnicity (OHCHR, 2018; European Commission, 2021) but is somewhat subjective.

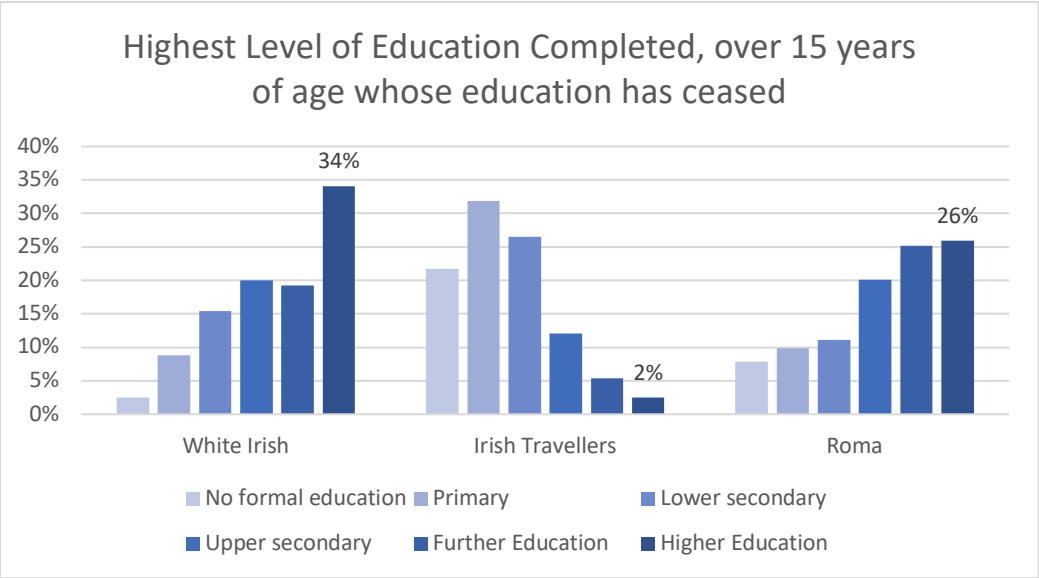
Irish Travellers and Roma are both much younger on average than the general population, although the difference is greater for Travellers, linked to their poorer health (see below) and life expectancy (All Ireland Traveller Health Study Team, 2010). Appendix Table A.1 provides a breakdown of each group by age. From this we can see, for example, that while just over one-quarter of the White Irish group were aged under 20 in 2022, almost half of Irish Travellers and a third of Roma were (Table A.1).

A brief review of publicly available Census 2022 statistics using PxStat[5], presented below, reveals that both Travellers and Roma are highly disadvantaged relative to the general population and to the White Irish majority. These figures also highlight differences between Travellers and Roma, with Travellers facing much poorer educational attainment, labour market outcomes and general health. See Appendix 1 for detailed breakdowns of age distribution (Table A.1), educational attainment (Table A.2), principal economic status (Table A.3) and perceived general health (Table A.4).

[4] A comparison with the UK Census 2021 shows a broadly similar distribution of places of birth for Roma in England and Wales.

[5] PxStat is an open data dissemination platform provided by the CSO, allowing users to browse all publicly available CSO statistics, including tables from the Census. It can be accessed at https://data.cso.ie.

FIGURE 1.1 HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION COMPLETED, OVER 15 YEARS OF AGE



Source: Census 2022 (F8073).
Note: Number of Observations = 3,163,867. This includes some not stated.

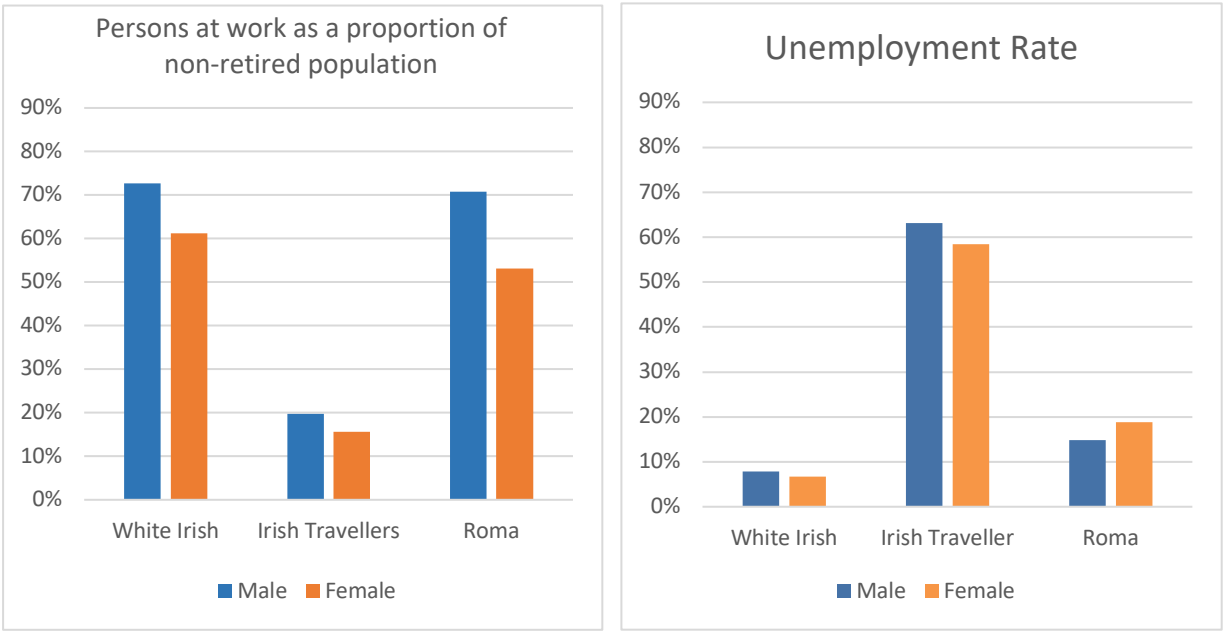
Education is a key determinant of life chances. Figure 1.1 shows the highest level of education achieved, for those over 15 years of age whose education has ceased, for White Irish, Irish Travellers and Roma in 2022. Travellers have much lower educational attainment than any other group, with very few progressing beyond lower secondary level and only 2% with higher education (undergraduate or postgraduate degrees). In contrast, 34% of White Irish had a tertiary degree in 2022. Roma also have lower educational attainment than the general population, but have better progression through each level of education, with 26% having completed higher education. Low educational attainment has been a persistent characteristic of the Traveller community in Ireland (Watson et al., 2017) and is linked to exclusion and discrimination experienced by Traveller children in schools (McGinley and Keane, 2022). These figures are also presented in Appendix Table A.1.

Figure 1.2A and 1.2B use Census 2022 statistics on principal economic status (PES) to illustrate the economic situation of these groups. It should be noted that census statistics on PES differ from standard definitions of employment and unemployment in two important ways. First, PES is entirely self-reported. Respondents are asked 'How would you describe your present principal economic status?'.[6] The more commonly reported definitions of employment and unemployment based on the Labour Force Survey in Ireland use International Labour Office (ILO) definitions. The ILO definition counts someone who did any hours of paid employment in the past week as employed, and only those who were available for work and actively seeking work as unemployed, so estimates differ

[6] For response categories, see www.cso.ie/en/census/census2027consultation/census2022householdformquestions/.

between measures.[7] Second, publicly available Census statistics on PES do not allow us to filter by both age and ethnicity, so it is not possible to calculate employment rates, which are typically provided as proportions of the working-age population. As age profiles differ considerably between these groups (see Table A.1), we estimate employment rate as the proportion of the non-retired population at work. While this will exclude some working-age people who have retired early, it provides a better approximation of employment rates for these groups.

FIGURES 1.2A AND 1.2B PERSONS AT WORK AND UNEMPLOYMENT RATES



Source: Census 2022 (F5087).
Note: Labour force participation and unemployment rates have been calculated from Census statistics on Principal Economic Status. Number of observations – Persons at Work = 2,581,628. Number of observations – unemployment = 1,856,559.

Figure 1.2A shows the proportion of the non-retired population of each group that reported their principal economic status (PES) as being 'at work'. The rate for White Irish men (73%) is marginally higher than for Roma men (71%), but there is a substantial difference between women for these groups (61% for White Irish compared with 53% for Roma). However, employment rates for Irish Travellers are significantly lower than for the other groups (20% for men and 16% for women). This is likely to be a result of very low educational attainment, health problems (see below) and discrimination. Indeed, Travellers are much more likely to report that they are unable to work because of illness (19.43% of non-retired population over 15, compared with 6.05% of White Irish and 5.28% of Roma) and to report they are caring at home (18.57% of non-retired population over 15, compared with 8.14% of White Irish and 5.28% of Roma).

[7] So, for example, full-time students doing eight hours of paid work per week, in addition to their studies, would count as 'employed' in the ILO definition, but would likely define themselves in the Census as students, and thus 'out of the labour force' for the PES definition.

Figure 1.2B shows unemployment by gender for each group. Travellers and Roma have higher rates of unemployment than the general population, with 61% of Travellers and 17% of Roma reporting that they are unemployed, compared with only 8% of the White Irish. Additional analysis comparing Traveller and Roma unemployment rates with those of other ethnic minority groups in Census 2022 finds that the overall Roma unemployment rate is slightly higher than the rate for the Black ethnic group (15%) but much higher than the unemployment rate for the Asian ethnic group (9%). However, the Traveller unemployment rate is much higher than all of the other ethnic minority groups.[8]

More White Irish and Traveller men are unemployed than women. However, more Roma women are unemployed than Roma men. The unemployment rate for Travellers has fallen since 2016, when McGinnity, Russell et al. (2021) found it was around 80%, compared to 13% among the White Irish population, and by far the highest of all disadvantaged groups studied. Yet, three in every five Travellers in the labour market were unemployed in 2022, compared to less than one in ten White Irish.

As Watson et al. (2017) show, high Traveller unemployment and labour market disadvantage is closely related to lower educational qualifications of the group, although the gap in labour market outcomes remains, even after accounting for educational qualifications. Combined with research on the Travellers' experience of discrimination (McGinnity et al., 2017), this suggests that recruitment discrimination is playing a role (see also section 1.3.1). A survey of Travellers in 2017 also indicates that a significant proportion of Traveller employment is in Traveller organisations (O'Mahony, 2017).

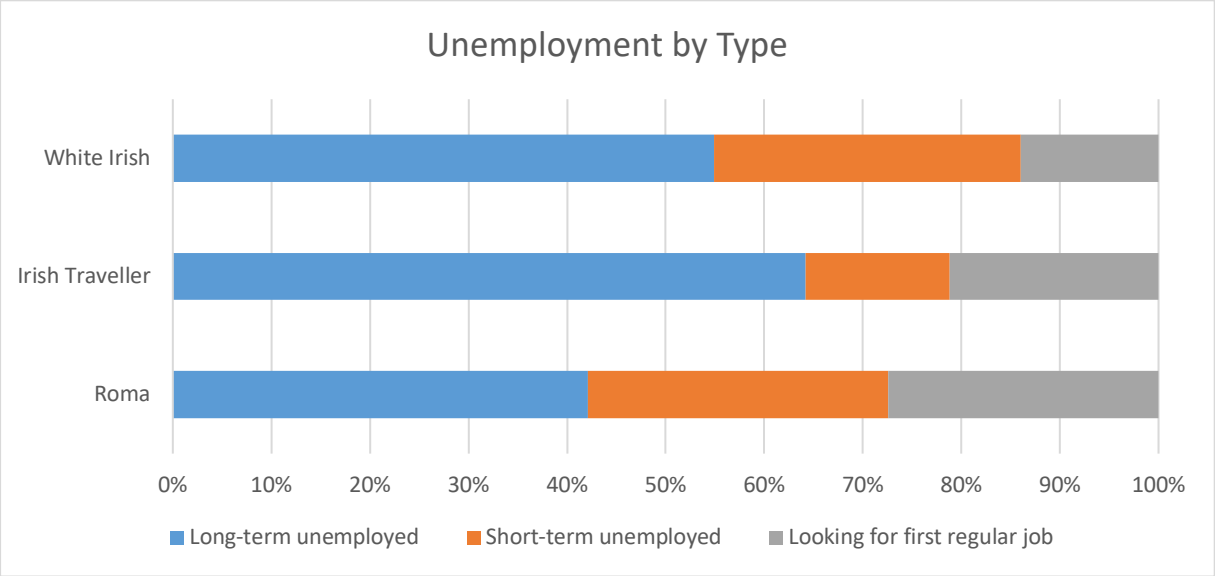
Regarding Roma, these figures differ substantially from findings in Roma in Ireland (Department of Justice and Equality and Pavee Point, 2018), which found that 16.2% of respondents were in employment. This difference may be linked to the difference in estimations of the overall size of the Roma community in Ireland. For instance, if the sample in the Roma in Ireland study was particularly disadvantaged, it may have underestimated the number in employment. On the other hand, if recent migration of Roma to Ireland is behind the difference in estimates of the community's size, the recently-arrived Roma may be more likely to be in employment. Roma may also define their principal economic status in a different way from other respondents in the Census. Previous research has found that due to precarious living conditions, Roma may have difficulty fulfilling the conditions for the Habitual Residence Condition[9] (HRC) applied to social assistance payments, such as unemployment support (Department of Justice and Equality and Pavee Point, 2018; Pavee Point Traveller and Roma Centre and Applied Social Studies, Maynooth University, 2023). If they are not in receipt of unemployment-related payments, Roma may not define themselves as unemployed, even if they are

[8] Based on additional analysis of Census 2022 (F5087). Results available from the authors on request.

[9] www.citizensinformation.ie/en/social-welfare/irish-social-welfare-system/social-assistance-payments/habitual-residence-condition/#:~:text=The%20term%20habitually%20resident%20is,resident%20relies%20heavily%20on%20fact.

actively seeking work. Instead, Roma may report being employed even if their work was intermittent, precarious or with very low hours of work, which may explain why their employment rate in the Census is higher than previous estimates for Roma employment both in Ireland and in other countries (FRA, 2020).

FIGURE 1.3 UNEMPLOYMENT BY TYPE

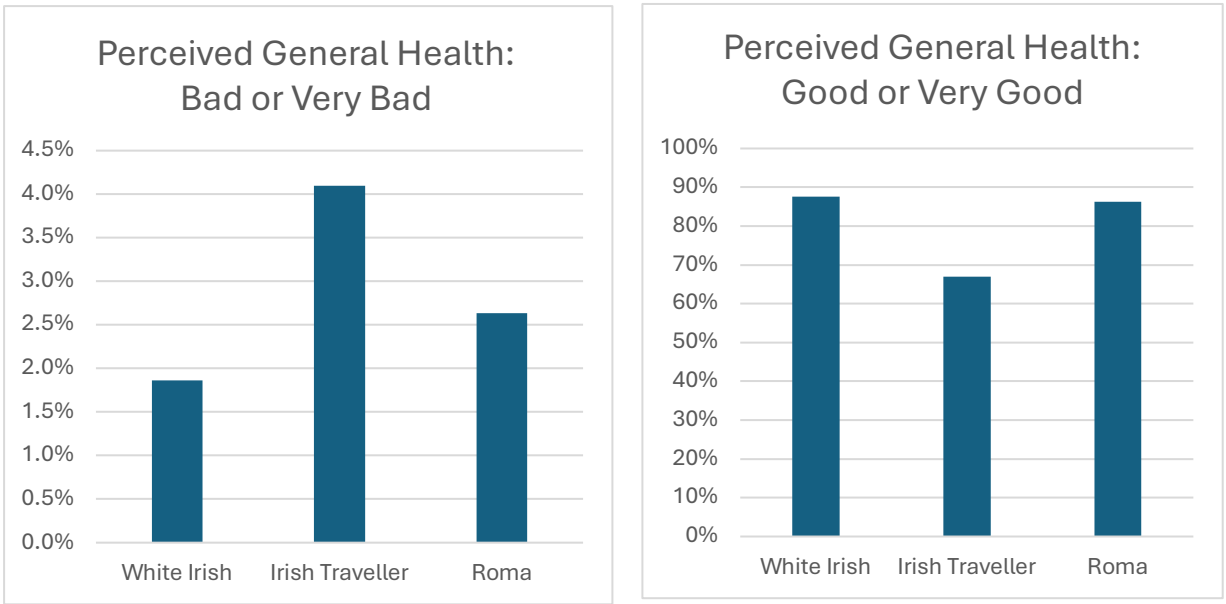


Source: Census 2022 (F5087).
Note: Labour force participation and unemployment rates have been calculated from Census statistics on principal economic status. Number of observations = 3,163,867.

Figure 1.3 shows the proportion of the unemployed in each group who are long-term unemployed (more than 12 months), short-term unemployed (less than 12 months) and who are looking for their first job. This can give an indication of the nature of the challenge. Notably, a much lower proportion of unemployed Travellers are short-term unemployed compared to Roma and White Irish. This may indicate that higher unemployment rates for this group are the result of poorer labour market integration rather than higher frictional unemployment. Roma, by contrast, have a higher proportion of unemployed seeking their first regular job compared to the other two groups.

Figure 1.4 shows the perceived general health of each group. Travellers (4.1%) are more likely to report their health as being bad or very bad compared to White Irish (1.9%) and Roma (2.6%) and less likely to report their health as being good or very good (67%) compared to both the White Irish (88%) and Roma (86%) populations. Roma are somewhat more likely to report their health as being bad or very bad compared with White Irish and are almost as likely to report their health as being good or very good.

FIGURE 1.4 PERCEIVED GENERAL HEALTH



Source: Census 2022 (F5068).
Note: Number of observations = 3,942,064. Those reporting 'fair' health are not included in the figures presented.

The findings on poorer perceived general health among Irish Travellers echo findings from early work, using the 2011 Census (Watson et al., 2017) and the detailed All-Ireland Traveller Health Survey (All Ireland Traveller Health Study Team, 2010). Poor health is also related to lower life expectancy for the Traveller population and their very different age profile (Table A.1). Disability in particular is also closely associated with a lower likelihood of employment in Ireland (Kelly and Maître, 2021), and more general health problems may limit labour market participation. Indeed, one of the most notable differences between Travellers and other groups on principal economic status is the proportion who state that they cannot work due to illness or disability (18.51%), a substantially higher figure than that for the White Irish (4.92%) and Roma (5.18%) populations. O'Sullivan et al. (2023), discussing the health of the Roma community in Ireland, emphasise both the dire health needs of the Roma population and challenges in healthcare delivery, including language barriers, discrimination, poverty and a lack of knowledge of and access to social welfare supports. However, they also highlight the success of community-focused integration and healthcare projects, such as the Tallaght Roma Integration Project (see Jacob and Kirwan, 2016) and the Waterford Integration and Support Unit (see also Pavee Point Traveller and Roma Centre and Applied Social Studies, Maynooth University, 2023).

Travellers and Roma are also much more likely than the general population to be homeless. Homelessness figures from Census 2022 show that while 0.2% of the usually resident general population were homeless on census night, 0.9% of

Travellers and 4% of Roma were homeless.[10] It should be noted that 57% of homeless people enumerated in the Census did not state their ethnic or cultural background, meaning that these numbers may be an underestimate of the true proportion.

Of course, disadvantages may be linked and cumulate across life domains: educational qualifications influence job opportunities, employment influences financial resources, household income, living standards and access to housing. In general, the findings from 2022 echo previous findings for Irish Travellers. This is the first census evidence for Roma in Ireland, and does suggest that, at least in terms of educational qualifications, key labour market indicators and self-rated health, the Roma population are not as disadvantaged as Travellers in Ireland. Nonetheless, Roma in Ireland (Department of Justice and Equality and Pavee Point, 2018) found very high levels of poverty and disadvantage among the Roma, with many Roma living in overcrowded and damp accommodation. It may be that as many Roma are migrants to Ireland, they do not have established social support networks for finding accommodation, avoiding homelessness, or family financial assistance.[11]

1.3 PREVIOUS LITERATURE ON TRAVELLERS AND ROMA

1.3.1 Experience of discrimination in Ireland

The extent of disadvantage documented in the previous section among both groups, particularly the Traveller community, suggests that there may be additional barriers in the labour market and society more generally that make getting a job, accommodation or life in general more difficult for Travellers. In this section, we discuss the experience of racial discrimination of Travellers and Roma in Ireland. NAPAR (2023) defines racism as 'a form of domination which manifests through those power dynamics present in structural and institutional arrangements… which [has] the effect of excluding or discriminating against individuals or groups, based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin'. The extent of discrimination is hard to measure, as discriminatory behaviour is rarely observed directly. A number of methods have been used in previous research – such as asking people directly about their experience of discrimination; field and laboratory experiments, and studies of legal complaints (see Fibbi et al., 2021 for a discussion). One important instrument is evidence from respondents' self-reports of discrimination. These reports are particularly valuable when they are representative of the population under study, and when reports of discrimination can be compared to

[10] Source: (https://data.cso.ie/table/F6010) The homeless count includes people that spent census night in accommodation identified prior to the census as providing shelter specifically for homeless people, rather than by self-identification through the census form. For further details, see www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/ep/p-cpp6/censusofpopulation2022profile6-homelessness/backgroundnotes.

[11] See McGinnity et al. (2022) who discuss lack of wider family and friends as reasons for higher homelessness and overcrowding among migrants in Ireland.

other groups either in the national population or the minority population in other countries.

McGinnity et al. (2017) analyse the experience of discrimination in 2014 in Ireland using the CSO's Equality Module.[12] In line with best practice to minimise bias in reporting discrimination, respondents were asked whether they believed they had experienced discrimination according to a definition they were shown that reflects Irish law. The questions, asked of a representative sample of 15,000 adults in Ireland, also referred to a specific time point and particular context.

Compared to other groups in Ireland, Travellers were ten times as likely to experience discrimination seeking work than White Irish respondents, even accounting for background characteristics.[13] Discrimination in other areas of life may also impact life chances and wellbeing. Irish Travellers were over 22 times as likely to experience discrimination in private services (shops, pubs, restaurants, banks and housing) than White Irish in this survey. While there were no significant differences between Irish Travellers and other White Irish in discrimination accessing public services overall, Irish Travellers were more likely to experience discrimination in access to services such as social welfare and local council services. The discrimination experienced by Travellers reported in this study is consistent with that reported in the All-Ireland Traveller Health Survey (Department of Health, 2010), which contains a larger number of Travellers, though no White Irish group.

How does the experience of Travellers in Ireland compare to Travellers in other countries? A survey carried out by the Fundamental Rights Agency (2020) asked Travellers and Roma in six European countries (Belgium, France, Ireland, the Netherlands and Sweden) about their experience of discrimination across different life domains, although Roma were not surveyed in Ireland.[14] Travellers and Roma in each country were asked about their experience of discrimination across different life domains.[15] In Ireland, 65 per cent of Travellers experienced discrimination in a range of work and service domains, which was the highest proportion across the six countries. Only Roma in the Netherlands reported experiencing more discrimination than Travellers in Ireland. These studies point to a comparatively high level of discrimination affecting the lives of Travellers in Ireland across life domains. Qualitative interviews with Roma in Ireland also highlight their experience of discrimination in the workplace, and additional challenges such as English language difficulties and access to social welfare (Pavee Point Traveller and Roma Centre and Applied Social Studies, Maynooth University, 2023).

[12] This was a special module of the Quarterly National Household Survey (now the Labour Force Survey): www.cso.ie/en/media/csoie/releasespublications/documents/labourmarket/2004/qnhs_equalityq42004.pdf.
[13] The number of Travellers at work in this survey was too low to examine discrimination while at work.
[14] The survey in the Republic of Ireland was carried out in 2019 and the sample size was 518 Travellers aged 16+. Additional information was collected about those living in the respondents' households. Roma respondents were surveyed in the five other countries, but not in Ireland.
[15] Domains were: when looking for work, at work, in education, in access to healthcare, in housing, and when using other public or private services (such as public transport, administrative offices, when entering a restaurant or shop).

1.3.2 Stigma and social distance to Travellers and Roma in Ireland

Extensive literature considers how people construct 'in-groups' and 'out-groups' in society (Hewstone et al., 2002). The concept of social distance is an attempt to capture how 'far' people perceive different groups to be from each other. The social distance scale was first used by Bogardus (1925) and has since become a widely used instrument in the study of intergroup relations (Parrillo and Donoghue, 2013). Typically, responses to a number of social and ethnic groups are compared, facilitating the measurement of what later became known as 'ethnic or social hierarchies' (Hagendoorn, 1995). Often, these studies carry out repeated surveys, exploring how these hierarchies change over time. The only previous research investigating social distance of the general population to Travellers in Ireland was carried out by Mac Gréil (2011). Mac Gréil carried out two national surveys, in 1988 and 2007, and one Dublin survey in 1972, including 46 ethnic, racial, national, social, political and religious categories. These surveys used the Bogardus social distance scale, adapted for Ireland. Respondents were asked to indicate the closest level of association to which they would be willing to admit a member of each category. Choices ranged from admitting to kinship (the lowest social distance) to denying citizenship (the highest social distance).[16] Mac Gréil (2011) observes an average downward trend in mean social distance across all categories between 1988 and 2007, indicating an overall improvement in attitudes over this time. Mean social distance to Travellers decreased by more than the average overall change, indicating an improvement in attitudes, though Travellers still had the third highest social distance score in 2007 across all 46 groups in both surveys. Patterns in responses to items on these surveys revealed a growing polarisation in attitudes of the general population regarding Travellers, however. For instance, the proportion of people who would be willing to admit kinship to Travellers increased, from 13.5% to 39.6%, but those who would deny citizenship to or deport Travellers also increased, from 10% to 18.2%, despite the fact that Irish Travellers are already Irish citizens by birth or descent.

Mac Gréil (2011, p.320) also included the Anti-Traveller Scale on both surveys.[17] Two factors are drawn from this scale: the social factor, emphasising social trust and respect, and the interpersonal factor, indicating willingness to form close personal bonds with Travellers. Responses to the interpersonal factor were much more negative than responses to the social factor in both 1988 and 2007, suggesting that while many may believe that Travellers deserve to be respected

[16] The seven categories of social distance presented to respondents were, in order of lowest social distance to highest: 'Would marry or welcome as a member of my family', 'Would have as a close friend', 'Would have as a next-door neighbour', 'Would work in the same workplace', 'Would welcome as an Irish citizen', 'Would welcome as a visitor only', 'Would debar or deport from Ireland'.

[17] Respondents to the Anti-Traveller Scale were asked to rate each item on a seven-point Likert scale, ranging from Agree Strongly to Disagree Strongly. The four items on the social factor were: 'I would respect a Traveller', 'I would be willing to employ a Traveller', 'I would consider a Traveller competent to serve on a jury', 'I would avoid a Traveller on social occasions'. The three items on the interpersonal factor were: 'I would be reluctant to buy a house next door to a Traveller', 'I would be hesitant to seek a Traveller's company', 'I would exclude a Traveller from my close set of friends'.

'in theory', they are less willing to form enduring relationships with Travellers.[18] The only other previous large-scale social distance survey to include Travellers focused on post-primary school students, comparing attitudes to Travellers, Black African immigrants, Eastern Europeans and Muslims. Tormey and Gleeson (2012) found that only 27% of students expressed no social distance to Travellers, whereas between 64% and 74% of students expressed no social distance to the other three categories.

Intergroup evaluations and social distance may vary by social context (Quillian, 1995). More recent measures of social distance have asked respondents not to select one point on the scale but to evaluate how comfortable or pleasant they are with each group in a range of life domains, mirroring the social distance items prominent in earlier research (Verkuyten and Kinket, 2000).

There are few earlier studies of attitudes to Roma in Ireland, but international research finds that negative attitudes towards Roma people are widespread in countries like Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, Norway, Italy and Spain (Kende et al., 2021). In 2015, the Eurobarometer poll showed that, compared to other ethnic groups, the lowest share of people would feel comfortable if one of their colleagues were of Roma ethnicity (63%), compared to Black or Asian (83% in each case) and White (94%). Furthermore, the lowest share of respondents would feel comfortable if one of their children was in a love relationship with a Romani person. The survey was carried out in the 28 Member States of the European Union (European Commission, 2015).

In Nordic countries, opinion polls showed that the Roma minority is the most negatively viewed ethnic group, with a negative perception ranging from 40% to 72% of the surveyed populations in Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland (Dahlgreen, 2015). Likewise in France, hostility levels against Roma is the highest amongst all the minorities, although slow improvements have been seen over the past decade, especially relating to beliefs on stereotypes (Mayer et al., 2019). Such stereotypes include the belief that Roma came to France to take advantage of public benefits whilst begging and stealing on the streets.

McGinnity et al. (2018) analyse population attitudes to Roma in Ireland. Using European Social Survey data from 2014, they found that only 25% of respondents in Ireland would allow 'many' or 'some' Roma to come to Ireland, compared to 41% who would allow many or some Muslims and 58% of the sample who would allow many or some of the 'same ethnic group as most Irish people' come to Ireland. Attitudes to Roma in Ireland were the most negative of 11 Western European countries considered.[19] The mean of the other ten-country average was 44%, allowing some or many Roma to come to their country, and the maximum value, at 79%, was from respondents in Sweden.

[18] Authors' calculations based on information provided in Mac Gréil (2011).

[19] Western EU countries included: Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, the United Kingdom and Ireland.

1.3.3 Factors associated with antipathy (negative attitudes) towards Travellers and Roma

Which groups in the population have the most negative attitudes, and conversely which groups report being most comfortable with Travellers and Roma? Socio-demographic patterns in prejudice towards Travellers differ considerably from patterns in prejudice towards other out-groups, such as immigrants. In his 2007 survey, Mac Gréil (2011) finds that social distance to Travellers differs by age group, with the oldest respondents being the most tolerant age-group. The least tolerant were those between 41 and 56 years old. He also finds that men were considerably less tolerant than women. Responses to the Anti-Traveller scale are more stable across respondent characteristics than responses to the Social Distance scale. Attitudes vary significantly across age only on the interpersonal factor, with the youngest and oldest age groups being most tolerant, and those between 26 and 70 being less tolerant. Similarly, gender varies significantly only for the interpersonal factor, with men being less tolerant than women. In contrast, age and gender are not consistently associated with statistically significant differences in attitudes to immigrants in Ireland (McGinnity et al., 2018; Laurence et al., 2024a).

The relationship between socio-economic factors and prejudice towards Travellers also differs from the relationships observed with regards to immigrants. For instance, those with higher levels of education typically report more tolerant attitudes towards out-groups (Hainmueller and Hopkins, 2014; McGinnity et al., 2018), though some of this may be due to those with higher education wanting to give 'socially desirable' responses about attitudes to immigrants and immigration (Creighton et al., 2022). Mac Gréil (2011) finds that those with primary education only expressed the most tolerant attitudes towards Travellers. Although the evidence is mixed internationally, in the Irish context those experiencing financial strain and socio-economic disadvantage tend to have less tolerant attitudes towards immigrant out-groups (McGinnity et al., 2018; Laurence et al., 2024a). With regards to Travellers, however, Mac Gréil (2011) finds that tolerance does not increase with higher occupational status. Responses to the Anti-Traveller Scale do not vary significantly across education and occupational status.

In Ireland, urban residents generally have more positive attitudes towards immigrants (Laurence et al., 2024b). The relationship is similar for attitudes towards Travellers. Mac Gréil (2011), who considers area of birth, finds that those born in rural areas or villages were considerably less tolerant towards Travellers than those born in urban areas. On the Anti-Traveller Scale, those born in rural areas or villages are less tolerant on the social factor, whereas those born in rural areas, villages and cities are less tolerant on the interpersonal factor compared to those born in towns. Mac Gréil (2011) also considers region of residence. He finds that Dublin and the Mid-East and South-East areas are more tolerant than the Border-Midlands-West and Mid-West and South-West areas (p.317). By contrast, attitudes to different immigrant groups (EU, Ukrainian refugees, Indians, asylum seekers) show little variation across regions in Ireland (Laurence et al., 2024a).

While the literature on attitudes towards Travellers outside Ireland is scarce, several studies have looked at people's attitudes towards Roma in other European countries.[20] Analyses have found that older respondents were more likely to believe stereotypes about Roma (Villano et al., 2017; Kende et al., 2017), had lower comfort levels with having a Roma neighbour (Loveland and Popescu, 2016) and higher levels of anti-Roma racism in general (Mayer et al., 2019). Regarding educational qualifications, in the EU, and France specifically, discomfort towards Roma is found to go down as educational attainment rises (Loveland and Popescu, 2016, Mayer et al., 2019).

Focusing on Hungary and Slovakia, Kende et al. (2017) found that men tend to believe more negative stereotypes about Roma (referring to criminality, laziness, threat, and receiving undeserved benefits from the State), while women tend to believe more positive stereotypes (e.g., that Roma have superior arts skills and that they are more mobile and free to travel around).

All else being equal, Loveland and Popescu (2016) found that possessing one extra asset (e.g., a computer or a TV) in a household is associated with lower levels of comfort with Roma neighbours in the EU. Similarly, employed respondents were significantly less likely to be comfortable with Roma in general than non-employed respondents. Interestingly, Mayer et al. (2019) find that the highest share of anti-Roma racism was amongst respondents that feel like their financial situation is worse now compared to the past. These respondents are also more likely to see Roma as 'privileged' people, receiving undeserved public benefits. This is consistent with findings from research on attitudes to immigration in Ireland, which found those who believe their life (overall) was better in the past, hold more negative attitudes towards immigrant out-groups (Laurence et al., 2024a).

Regarding occupation, mixed results were found. Mayer et al. (2019) found that from 2016 to 2018, business owners, craftsmen and sellers had the highest prevalence of anti-Roma racism (around 67% in all three years). On the other hand, the highest growth in Romaphobia was found amongst the intermediary profession (from 40% in 2017 to 45% in 2018). Meanwhile, the strongest drop in Romaphobia was found amongst blue-collar workers (from 68% in 2017 to 58% in 2018, Mayer et al., 2019). In Hungary and Slovakia, Babusik (2005) found strong prejudice towards Roma among healthcare professionals and Kusá et al. (2010) and Rosinský (2009) found high levels of prejudice amongst teachers.

One of the most important factors found that helped to explain negative attitudes to Roma is political affiliation. The more right-wing the interviewees, the more hostile towards Roma they tend to be, according to survey analyses in France (Mayer et al., 2019), Italy (Villano et al., 2017), Eastern Europe (Bernát et al., 2012; Halasz, 2009; Kende et al., 2017), and the rest of the European Union (Loveland and Popescu, 2016).

[20] Romaphobia is the term sometimes used to describe negative feelings towards the Roma specifically in other European countries (Ljujic et al., 2012), though the term anti-Roma racism is used in Ireland.

Religiosity can also play a role. Across the EU and in France in particular, Christians were generally found to be less comfortable with Roma neighbours than non-Christians (Loveland and Popescu, 2016). In terms of population density, people in the EU living in larger cities are found to be more comfortable with having Roma neighbours (Loveland and Popescu, 2016). Some of this may be related to increased opportunities for positive social contact: in French urban areas, contacts made at school, in local festivities, and in spaces less associated with stereotypes leads to a reduction of prejudice (Mayer et al., 2019).

Mayer et al. (2019) found a high correlation between having worked or lived abroad and tolerance to Roma. In the EU, Loveland and Popescu (2016) found that knowing Roma as friends or acquaintances is significantly correlated with being comfortable with Roma neighbours. This was also recently found in Ireland – people with immigrant friends and family had more positive attitudes to immigration (McGinnity et al., 2023). However, contact may not always be positive: Kende et al. (2017) found that the frequency of contact with Roma in Hungary and Slovakia was a strong predictor of feeling that they receive undeserved benefits from the State.

1.4 POLICY CONTEXT IN IRELAND

Government policy has sought to address the inequalities faced by Travellers and Roma. Policy targeted at Travellers and Roma specifically is set out in the National Traveller and Roma Inclusion Strategy (NTRIS). The first NTRIS was published in 2017 and expired in 2021. It was preceded by the National Traveller and Roma Integration Strategy (2011) and sought to shift the focus of government policy regarding Travellers and Roma away from 'integration' and towards 'inclusion', which respects the right of Travellers and Roma to embrace their cultural identity while also highlighting the need for support for inclusion into Irish society. NTRIS I was developed in collaboration with NGOs and representatives from the Traveller and Roma communities, and to develop the strategy and monitor its implementation, a steering group was established.[21] Several groups published evaluations of NTRIS I, including the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (2019), Pavee Point and the European Commission (2022) and the Centre for Effective Services (Kavanagh et al., 2023). Themes raised in these evaluations included problems with regards to monitoring and implementation, a lack of indicators and deliverables to measure the success of actions, and a lack of specificity regarding who was responsible for completing actions set out in the report.

NTRIS II was published in July 2024 and is active from 2024 to 2028. Actions are contained within nine themes: 1. Combatting Racism and Discrimination, 2. Children and Young People, 3. Gender Equality, 4. Health and Wellbeing,

[21] The National Traveller and Roma Inclusion Strategy Steering Group consisted of representatives of government departments, NGOs, community groups, the Gardaí, and other government bodies such as the HSE and Tusla.

5. Employment and Enterprise, 6. Accommodation, 7. Education, 8. Culture, Heritage and Identity, 9. Participation, Empowerment, Co-operation, and Accountability. It was developed through consultations with Traveller and Roma organisations in 2023, and with attention to earlier consultations by DCEDIY with children and young people, which included children and young people from the Traveller and Roma communities. The strategy sought to address concerns raised about NTRIS I, and in particular those raised in the report from the Centre for Effective Services (2023). Its implementation is guided by two two-year action plans, the first of which was published alongside the strategy. The Action Plan 2024–2026 breaks each theme down into strategic objectives, assigns actions and associated deliverables for each objective, and states the department, agency, or NGO with responsibility for carrying out those actions. A mid-term review will inform actions for the second two-year action plan. NTRIS II also acknowledges the role of other plans, including the Traveller and Roma Education Strategy (2024), the National Traveller Health Action Plan (2022), and the National Action Plan Against Racism (2023). These strategies are briefly described below.

The Traveller and Roma Education Strategy (TRES), a key component of NTRIS II, was also published in July 2024. The strategy was developed through consultations with stakeholders across the education system, from the Early Learning and Childcare sector to tertiary level institutions. Traveller and Roma children and young people in education were consulted, and their feedback was used to guide the plan. TRES addresses many of the concerns raised about the first NTRIS through publishing both a strategy document setting out goals across the period 2024–2030, as well as an implementation document, detailing actions, timelines, responsible departments, and outcome indicators for the period 2024–2026.

The National Traveller Health Action Plan (NTHAP), active from 2022 to 2027, seeks to address persistent inequalities in Travellers in the area of health and wellbeing through improvements in the health service. It highlights the extreme inequalities faced by Travellers in health, such as their lower life expectancy, higher infant mortality rates, higher rates of disability, mental health issues, and suicide. The NTHAP includes actions set out in NTRIS I and is aligned with Sláintecare reforms. A particular focus of NTHAP is collaboration with Regional Traveller Health Units and Primary Healthcare for Travellers Projects to improve the health status of the Traveller community.

Strategy relating to ethnic and racial discrimination of all kinds is set out in the National Action Plan Against Racism (NAPAR), which was launched in March 2023 and is informed by the EU anti-racism action plan 2020–2025.[22] The NAPAR sets out five key objectives for addressing racial and ethnic inequalities of all kinds over a five-year period, including inequalities faced by Travellers and Roma. These are: 1. Being Safe and Being Heard (supporting people who experience racism and protecting people from racist incidents and crimes). 2. Being Equal – addressing

[22] https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/combatting-discrimination/racism-and-xenophobia/eu-anti-racism-action-plan-2020-2025_en.

ethnic inequalities. 3. Being Seen and Taking Part – enabling minority participation. 4. Being Counted – measuring the impacts of racism. And 5. Being Together – a shared journey to racial inequality.[23] The analysis in this report contributes most directly to objective 4, in particular by seeking to better understand prejudice against these groups (DCEDIY, 2023).

[23]For a summary of the National Action Plan Against Racism, see www.gov.ie/en/publication/14d79-national-action-plan-against-racism/#summary-of-the-plan.

CHAPTER 2

Evidence base and comfort levels with Travellers and Roma

2.1 DATA SOURCE AND METHODS USED

The Department of Children, Equality, Disability, Integration and Youth (DCEDIY) Equality Attitudes Survey forms the main source of data for this study. Fieldwork was carried out by IPSOS and completed between March and April 2023. In total, 3,008 individuals aged 16 years or older were surveyed. Roughly half were contacted by telephone (CATI) and half were contacted in person (CAPI).[24] In all analyses, the data are re-weighted to be representative of the population living in Ireland at the time (for further details on fieldwork and weighting, see DCEDIY, 2023).

Attitudes were measured using an adaptation of the Bogardus social distance scale (1925, 1947), where respondents were asked to rate their comfort level with a given group on a scale from 1 (very uncomfortable) to 10 (very comfortable), on a range of domains. First respondents were asked about how comfortable they would be with having a list of groups as a neighbour; then about having a list of groups in a love relationship with their child; and finally their comfort levels with having each group in their child's class at school. In the following analyses, these domains have been abbreviated to Neighbour, Relationship, and School respectively. Based on previous research on social distance, we would expect that respondents would be more comfortable with having out-groups as neighbours than as in a love relationship with their child, which signals potential kinship. Comfort levels may also be related to perceptions about the groups in different domains. For example, the Logan report[25] notes how 'the Roma have been collectively stigmatised as criminals in both international and national media, including in Ireland…. This Inquiry notes in this regard that a number of media outlets report on Roma and Travellers only in the context of social problems and crime' (pp.107–108).[26] Perceptions of criminality and violence may affect comfort levels in the neighbourhood domain. Perceptions of increased domestic and sexual violence may influence comfort levels in the relationship domain.

The groups included on the survey cover the grounds covered by existing equality legislation in Ireland: gender, civil status, family status, sexual orientation, religion, age, disability, race/nationality, social status and some intersectional grounds (see DCEDIY, 2023 for further details). In general, the groups listed were similar for

[24] The CATI respondents were selected using random digit dialling to ensure maximum population coverage. CAPI respondents were identified using stratified random sampling. Weights were constructed separately for each sample.
[25] E Logan, Garda Síochána Act 2005 (Section 42) (Special Inquiries relating to Garda Síochána) Order 2013 – (The Logan Report) (Ombudsman for Children 2014).
[26] See also here: www.irishtimes.com/crime-law/courts/2024/04/15/traveller-feuds-result-in-far-reaching-consequences-for-families-report-finds/.

each domain, though not entirely consistent for plausibility reasons. For instance, people were asked their comfort with having someone with a criminal conviction for drug dealing on the Neighbour domain, whereas they were asked their comfort with having someone whose parent had a criminal conviction for drug dealing on the School domain. The order of groups on the questionnaire was randomised for the phone (CATI) sample; for the in person (CAPI) the order was randomised between start-to-end and end-to-start; with Travellers and Roma listed consecutively in each domain.[27]

While it is informative to assess how people feel about having social groups in different areas of their lives, in some analyses these three domain scales have also been combined to form an overall social distance scale (see also Laurence et al., 2024a).

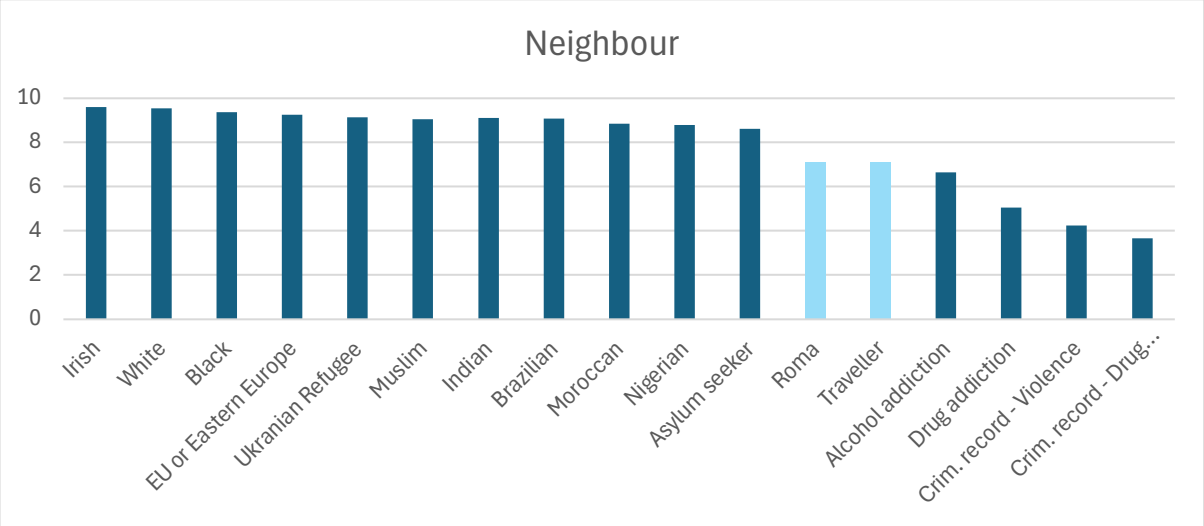
This survey also collected detailed socio-economic and demographic information such as the age, gender, educational qualifications of the respondent, their financial and employment situation, housing, family situation and ethnicity, their location of residence, their civic behaviours, and beliefs about the future. Measurement of these is discussed further in Chapter 3, which explores how these factors are associated with attitudes. For a subsample of respondents, it is possible to match details about the community which they live in (for example, the proportion of Travellers in their area), how disadvantaged the area is, and whether they live in a rural or urban community. This allows us to briefly consider whether community-level factors are associated with attitudes to the groups (see section 3.5 for further details).

Chapter 3 analyses how these factors are associated with attitudes towards Travellers and Roma using linear regression analysis (OLS) for the most part, except section 3.5, which uses multi-level linear regression. The remainder of this chapter investigates how attitudes to Travellers and Roma compare to attitudes to other groups, through comparing mean values in each domain presented in charts and through factor analysis.

[27] As Travellers and Roma were listed consecutively for the CAPI sample, but the CATI sample was fully randomised, an ordering effect could have caused the mean levels of comfort to Travellers and Roma to be closer for the CAPI sample than for the CATI sample. However, we found no statistically significant difference between the CAPI and CATI samples in the difference between mean levels for Travellers and Roma.

2.2 HOW DO LEVELS OF COMFORT WITH TRAVELLERS AND ROMA COMPARE TO OTHER GROUPS?

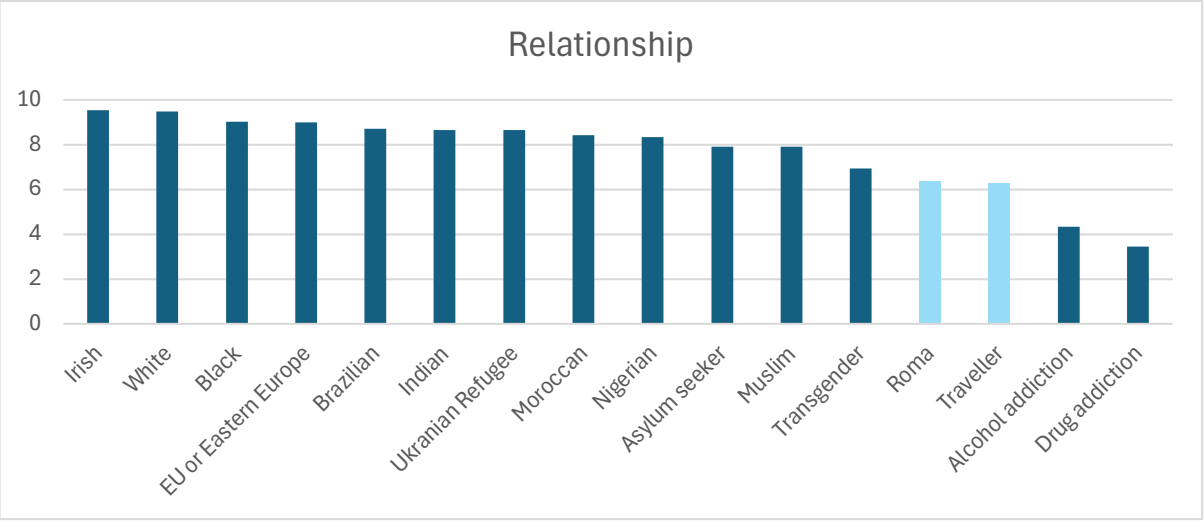
FIGURE 2.1 LEVELS OF COMFORT WITH HAVING THESE GROUPS AS A NEIGHBOUR



Source: Source: DCEDIY Equality Survey 2023.
Note: Number of observations = 2,796.

Figures 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3 present the mean values of responses to each domain across selected social categories. On the Neighbour domain, mean attitudes to most groups are between 8 and 10, indicating high levels of comfort. However, Travellers and Roma score much lower, with mean values of around 7.1 (see Figure 2.1). The only groups which score lower than Travellers and Roma across all groups are those with substance addictions or criminal records.

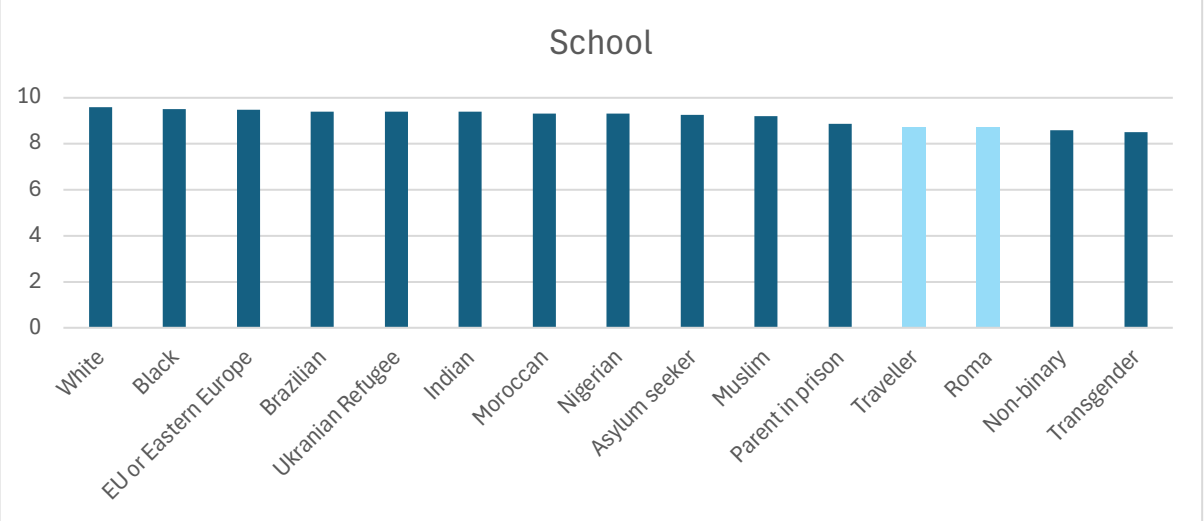
FIGURE 2.2 LEVELS OF COMFORT WITH HAVING A MEMBER OF THESE GROUPS IN A LOVE RELATIONSHIP WITH ONE'S CHILD



Source: Source: DCEDIY Equality Survey 2023.
Note: Number of observations = 2,725.

Figure 2.2 presents mean values for selected social categories on the Relationship domain. Again, Travellers and Roma are much lower than other ethnic groups, with mean scores that are higher only than those with addictions to drugs or alcohol.

FIGURE 2.3 MEAN LEVELS OF COMFORT WITH HAVING A MEMBER OF THESE GROUPS IN A CLASS WITH YOUR CHILD



Source: Source: DCEDIY Equality Survey 2023.
Note: Number of observations = 2,886.

Differences between groups are much less pronounced on the School domain (see Figure 2.3). This may be because of the lower level of association entailed by this domain compared to the others, or because the subject of the question is necessarily a child. Respondents may indicate more tolerant views when considering association with a schoolchild, as compared to a neighbour or a romantic partner of their child. While differences are less pronounced, mean values for Travellers and Roma on the School domain are still lower than those for most other social categories, however. The only social categories lower than Travellers and Roma in this domain are non-binary and transgender children.

2.3 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COMFORT LEVELS WITH DIFFERENT GROUPS

Table 2.1 presents the results of exploratory factor analyses on attitudes towards all groups available on each domain.[28] Factor analysis is a statistical technique used to identify groups of variables that are correlated or associated with each other (referred to as factors), thereby reducing the dimensionality of a dataset (Bandalos and Finney, 2018). It can illuminate the underlying structure in a complex

[28] As noted above, respondents were asked to rate their comfort level from 1–10 towards that group on a given domain. For example, on the Neighbour domain, respondents were asked: 'Out of 10, how comfortable would you be if a _____person was living next door/in the nearest house to where you live?' In this domain, respondents were asked about 46 groups. See www.gov.ie/pdf/?file=https://assets.gov.ie/262032/7adc792f-7eb8-4027-90d7-0e556d277449.pdf#page=null for further details of question wording and groups listed for each domain.

dataset with many variables. Here, each factor represents a group of social categories within which tolerant attitudes tend to cluster. For instance, those who are tolerant towards those with non-European nationalities on the Neighbour domain are also more likely to be tolerant to Roma, Travellers, asylum seekers and each of the other groups included in Factor 2 on the Neighbour domain.

In Table 2.1, the Traveller and Roma groups are highlighted bold for ease of interpretation. Patterns in factor loadings are relatively consistent across domains of Neighbour, Relationship and School. Roma tend to load on to factors including other religious, ethnic and national out-groups, along with non-European nationalities, Muslims and Hindus, and asylum seekers (Factor 2 in the Neighbour domain, and Factor 1 in the Relationship and School domains). Roma and Travellers both load on to a more socially distant factor (4) across all domains, however. This factor includes groups facing high levels of social distance, including those with substance addictions, criminal records and, in the case of the School domain children with mental health difficulties and intellectual disability. This may be linked to stereotypes of both groups, for example of criminality. What is more certain is that those tolerant towards Travellers and Roma are likely to be those who are also tolerant to other extremely marginalised groups in Irish society.

Interestingly, Travellers load on to a factor with religious, ethnic and national groups only on the Neighbour domain, whereas Roma load on to factors with these groups in all three domains. This indicates that attitudes towards Roma is more closely associated with attitudes to other minority ethnic and migrant groups compared to attitudes towards Travellers. Factor loadings, which represent the degree of association between a group and a given factor, are quite high for most groups, but are particularly low for Travellers and Roma, indicating that attitudes to these groups are still quite unique, and are not closely associated with other views a respondent may have.[29] Considering both mean values of responses to each domain and factor analysis across each domain, it is clear that attitudes to Travellers and Roma are quite distinct from attitudes to other groups. This is in line with Mac Gréil's (2011) finding that Travellers face some of the highest levels of prejudice in Irish society, even from those who hold otherwise quite tolerant views. Remarkably, considering their many differences – both in ethnic origin and history as well as across socio-demographic characteristics (as discussed in Chapter 1) – attitudes to Roma and Travellers are very similar. Not only do they face almost identical mean levels of social distance across each domain, but attitudes to them also load on to very similar factors, as shown in Table 2.1.

For each factor, Cronbach's alpha is reported. This is a measure of the strength of the relationship between the items on that factor, and therefore is an indicator of internal consistency. Ideally, items should be strongly related within factors and not related across factors. Generally, values of above 0.8 are considered to have good levels of internal consistency, and values above 0.9 are considered to be

[29] Full factor loadings in each domain are available from the authors on request.

excellent. Table 2.1 shows that all factors are above 0.8, and all except for the fourth factor on each domain are above 0.9. Additionally, there are very few instances of an item having a loading of greater than 0.4 on multiple factors. Taken together, this indicates that the factors identified describe real underlying patterns in the population's attitudes to these groups.

TABLE 2.1 EXPLORATORY FACTOR ANALYIS: WHICH ATTITUDES GO TOGETHER?

Neighbour			
Factor 1 Tolerant to:	**Factor 2 Tolerant to:**	**Factor 3 Tolerant to:**	**Factor 4 Tolerant to:**
Irish White Age* A heterosexual couple Woman Marital status and children* Man Christians and atheists* Intellectual or physical disability* Autistic person Social class and employment status* Other EU Black	Non-European nationalities* Asylum seeker Ukrainian refugee Eastern European **Roma** Black Muslims and Hindus Other EU **Traveller**	Transgender man Transgender woman Non-binary Two men living as a couple Two women living as a couple	Person with drug addiction Criminal record – violence Criminal record – drug dealing Person addicted to alcohol **Traveller** **Roma**
Alpha: 0.97	*Alpha: 0.94*	*Alpha: 0.94*	*Alpha: 0.86*
Relationship			
Factor 1 Tolerant to:	**Factor 2 Tolerant to:**	**Factor 3 Tolerant to:**	**Factor 4 Tolerant to:**
Non-European nationalities* Ukrainian refugee Eastern European Asylum seeker Other EU Black Muslims and Hindus* **Roma**	Non-binary Transgender A person who is bisexual Same sex as child Person who is divorced	Catholic Church of Ireland Irish Other Christian White Atheist Other EU	Person with alcohol addiction Person with drug addiction Mental health difficulties **Traveller** **Roma** Intellectual disability
Alpha: 0.96	*Alpha: 0.92*	*Alpha: 0.91*	*Alpha: 0.88*
School			
Factor 1 Tolerant to:	**Factor 2 Tolerant to:**	**Factor 3 Tolerant to:**	**Factor 4 Tolerant to:**
Non-European nationalities* Autistic person Intellectual disability Mental health difficulties	White Social class* Christians* Other EU Parent receiving HAP	Autistic person Intellectual disability Mental health difficulties Physical disability	**Traveller** **Roma** Parent in prison Child from household where no one works
Alpha: 0.98	*Alpha: 0.96*	*Alpha: 0.92*	*Alpha: 0.89*

Source: DCEDIY Equality Survey 2024.

Note: Factor analysis with oblique promax rotation. All loadings presented are positive. Items are presented only on factors for which they have a loading greater than 0.4. Items followed by * in this table are groups of items which were separate in the factor analysis. Items according in decreasing order of their factor loadings, with the items with the highest loadings appearing first for each factor. For items collapsed into groups, indicated by *, the mean loading of all group items was used to determine order. A key breaking down each group into its constituent items is available from the authors upon request. Full factor loadings for each domain are available from the authors upon request. To determine suitability for factor analysis, a Bartlett Test of Sphericity Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Test was calculated for each domain. On all domains, the Bartlett Test of Sphericity rejected the null hypothesis at the 0.001 level, and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure was greater than 0.5. Neighbour: number of observations = 2,712. Relationship: number of observations = 2,633. School: number of observations = 2,885.

CHAPTER 3

What are the factors associated with comfort with Travellers and Roma?

This chapter considers what factors in people's lives are associated with their attitudes towards Travellers and Roma in each of the three life domains – having them as a neighbour, in a love relationship with their child, and in their child's class at school. Section 3.1 considers the role of gender, age and education of respondents. Section 3.2 considers a wider range of characteristics – economic situation, housing, family status and ethnicity. Section 3.3 explores how region of residence is associated with attitudes, as well as civic behaviours and beliefs about the future. Section 3.4 considers whether overall comfort levels with Travellers and Roma are associated with comfort levels with other ethnic/religious and migrant groups. Finally, section 3.5 presents preliminary analysis of the association between some community-level characteristics (the proportion of Travellers in the area, community-level disadvantage, and whether the community is urban or rural) and comfort levels with the groups. Descriptive statistics of all the characteristics used in the models are presented in Appendix 2, Table A.5.

3.1 THE ROLE OF GENDER, AGE AND EDUCATION IN COMFORT LEVELS

Table 3.1 presents the findings of linear regression model (OLS) estimating how gender, age group and highest education level are associated with comfort levels with Travellers and Roma in each of the three domains. As discussed in Chapter 2, comfort is measured on a scale from 1 to 10, with higher values indicating greater levels of comfort.

Women are more positive than men towards both Travellers and Roma across all domains. In the neighbourhood and school domains, women are on average around 0.6 points higher on the comfort scale. Patterns by age group are also quite consistent across domains. Those aged 16–19 are consistently more positive than the baseline age group (25–34-year-olds) towards Travellers and Roma – between 1 and 1.5 points higher on the comfort scale for the Neighbour and Relationship domain than the baseline. Figure 3.1 presents these results graphically for the Relationship and School domains. Age groups older than the baseline are significantly more negative towards both Travellers and Roma on the Neighbour and Relationship domains. On the School domain, they are somewhat more negative towards Roma, but not towards Travellers (see Figure 3.1). This differs considerably from Mac Gréil's (2011) finding that the oldest age group was the most comfortable with Travellers. However, it is in line with international evidence on attitudes to Roma (Loveland and Popescu, 2016; Mayer et al., 2019).

TABLE 3.1 FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH COMFORT LEVELS WITH TRAVELLERS AND ROMA (OLS MODEL)

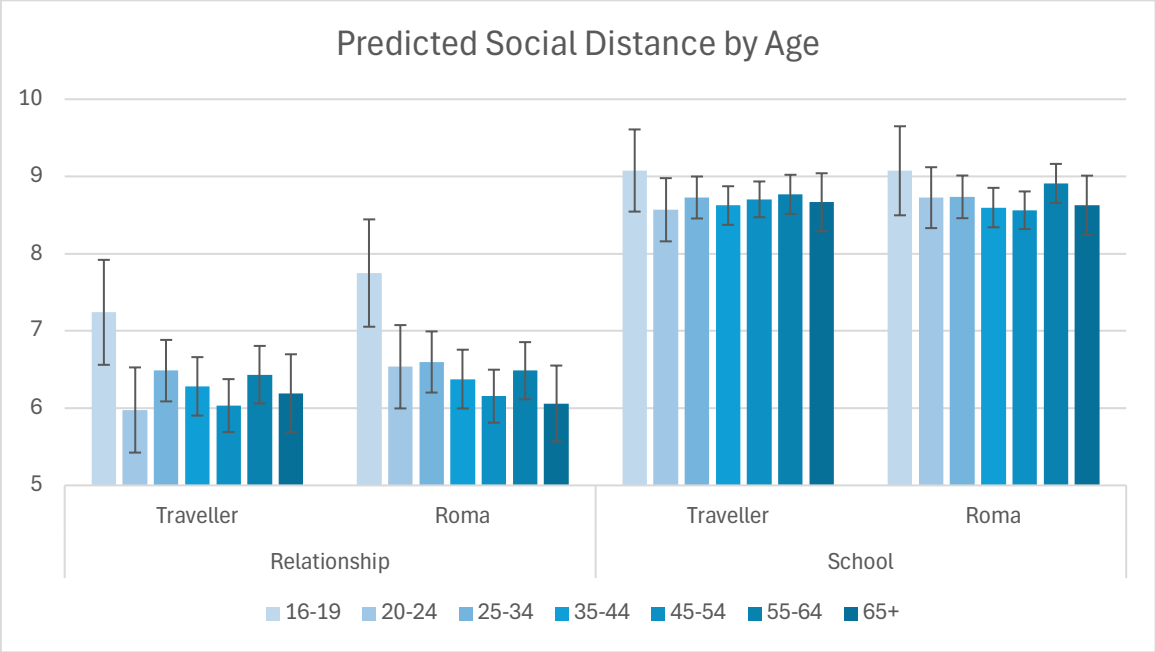
	Traveller			Roma		
	Neighbour	Relationship	School	Neighbour	Relationship	School
Gender						
baseline – Male	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Female	0.677***	0.234+	0.576***	0.566***	0.288*	0.523***
Age						
16–19	1.352***	0.974**	0.469*	1.560***	1.479***	0.514+
20–24	0.060	-0.430	-0.157	0.213	0.017	-0.015
baseline – 25–34	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
35–44	-0.442*	-0.574*	-0.179	-0.511*	-0.594*	-0.216
45–54	-0.347	-0.796***	-0.027	-0.486*	-0.834***	-0.217
55–64	-0.333	-0.685**	0.009	-0.607**	-0.834***	-0.006
65+	-0.696**	-1.281***	-0.148	-0.944***	-1.538***	-0.337+
Education						
baseline – Primary education	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Secondary	0.290	0.263	0.193	0.632+	0.217	0.226
Post-secondary	0.466	0.547	0.512+	0.927**	0.609	0.565+
Tertiary	0.642+	0.596	0.670*	1.017**	0.579	0.747**
Survey Mode						
baseline – CATI	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
CAPI	-0.282*	-0.077	0.072	-0.279*	0.038	0.060
Constant	6.704***	6.355***	7.989***	6.489***	6.415***	8.030***
N	2774	2774	2774	2774	2774	2774
Adjusted R-squared	0.035	0.026	0.026	0.049	0.045	0.028

Source: DCEDIY Equality Survey (2023). Levels of comfort are measured on a scale from 1 (least comfortable) to 10 (most comfortable).
Note: The category 'Other' for gender is estimated in these models but not displayed due its small cell size. + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001.

The relationship between education and attitudes is more mixed. Compared to the baseline group (those with only primary level education), those with tertiary education are more tolerant to both groups on the School domain, and towards Roma on the Neighbour domain, but not on the Relationship domain. Those with only secondary or only post-secondary education are more comfortable with having Roma as neighbours compared to those with primary education only. These results are broadly in line with literature on attitudes to Roma internationally, where increased education is associated with more positive attitudes (Loveland and Popescu 2016; Mayer et al., 2019). However, they differ from Mac Gréil's (2011) finding that increased education was associated with less tolerance towards Travellers. Laurence et al. (2024a) found that those surveyed in person (CAPI) were somewhat more comfortable with migrant groups, particularly asylum seekers,

than those surveyed by telephone (CATI). They suggest that this may indicate some social desirability bias in in-person responses, as we might expect. However, Table 3.1 finds that those surveyed on the telephone (CATI) were actually more likely to have positive attitudes on the Neighbour domain towards Travellers and Roma than those surveyed in person (CAPI), and finds no statistically significant difference on the Relationship and School domains. The lack of a consistent association between attitudes and survey mode suggests that social desirability bias, at least as detected by mode effects, is not playing a role in this case. We cannot rule out some social desirability bias that affects both forms of direct questioning (in-person and by telephone) and is thus not detected by this comparison (see Creighton et al., 2022 for further discussion). Overall, attitudes towards both Travellers and Roma show remarkable consistency across basic socio-demographic characteristics, both within and across domains. Across all models, adjusted R^2 values are quite low, indicating that despite the statistical significance of the variables used in these models, they can account for only a small portion of the difference (or variance) between people in their attitudes.

FIGURE 3.1 PREDICTED LEVELS OF COMFORT WITH TRAVELLERS AND ROMA BY AGE GROUP



Source: DCEDIY Equality Survey (2023).
Note: Predicted levels of comfort by age, based on marginal effects of these coefficients in the OLS models displayed in Table 3.2. Number of observations = 2774. Results for the Neighbour domain are presented in Appendix 2.

3.2 ECONOMIC, HOUSING, FAMILY AND ETHNICITY BY DOMAINS

Table 3.2 presents the results of models containing a wider range of socio-demographic variables, to consider how respondents' economic and housing situation, their family status and ethnicity are associated with attitudes to Travellers and Roma. These models also include the variables presented in Table 3.3.

TABLE 3.2 FULL SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC MODELS – ECONOMIC, HOUSING, FAMILY AND ETHNICITY

	Traveller			Roma		
	Neighbour	Relationship	School	Neighbour	Relationship	School
Gender						
baseline – Male	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Female	0.617***	0.179	0.584***	0.534***	0.242+	0.536***
Age						
16–19	1.356***	0.742+	0.305	1.317***	1.133**	0.297
20–24	0.145	-0.520	-0.196	0.218	-0.077	-0.044
baseline – 25–34	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
35–44	-0.218	-0.199	-0.097	-0.245	-0.216	-0.130
45–54	-0.162	-0.442+	0.004	-0.170	-0.430+	-0.146
55–64	-0.074	-0.034	0.095	0.036	-0.089	0.225
65+	-0.192	-0.284	-0.043	0.028	-0.529	-0.089
Highest educational qualification						
baseline – Primary education	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Secondary	0.518	0.542	0.198	0.701*	0.347	0.170
Post-secondary	0.669+	0.768*	0.432	0.932**	0.662+	0.400
Tertiary	0.927**	0.920*	0.646*	1.070**	0.693+	0.640*
Survey mode						
baseline – CATI	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
CAPI	-0.294*	-0.070	0.095	-0.257*	0.058	0.089
Economic and housing indicators						
Baseline – In work	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Unemployed/seeking work	0.480	0.469	-0.172	0.082	0.139	-0.464
Looking after family	0.285	0.477	0.085	0.078	0.242	0.036
Retired	-0.171	-0.194	-0.070	-0.379	-0.174	-0.111
LLTI/Student/Other	0.092	0.428	0.115	0.137	0.357	0.218
Ease of making ends meet financially	-0.135*	-0.158*	-0.001	-0.048	-0.092	0.038
baseline – Working class	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Middle class	-0.403**	-0.291+	-0.329**	-0.340**	-0.302*	-0.379***
Don't know	-0.210	0.066	0.021	-0.129	0.244	-0.054
baseline – Owns home	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Rents from local authority/housing assoc.	0.745***	0.909***	0.011	0.895***	1.164***	0.144
Rents privately	0.308	0.356	0.276+	0.490*	0.405+	0.400**
Lives rent-free/Other/Refused	0.091	-0.068	0.074	0.191	0.067	0.228
Children						
baseline – No children	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Only children 18+	-0.025	-0.729**	-0.014	-0.408+	-0.748**	-0.086
Has children under 18	-0.178	-0.529*	-0.040	-0.139	-0.440*	0.090
Ethnicity and country of birth						
baseline – White Irish	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Any other white background	0.055	0.146	0.033	0.086	0.576	0.293
Black/Black Irish	-0.065	-0.297	-0.285	0.101	0.116	-0.148
Asian/Asian Irish	-0.255	-1.400**	-0.577+	-0.172	-0.802	-0.242
'Other' ethnicity/No answer	0.266	0.797+	-0.068	0.101	1.111**	0.130
baseline – Not born in Ireland	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Born in Ireland	0.024	-0.131	0.031	-0.129	-0.012	0.125
Constant	7.077***	7.081***	8.592***	6.725***	6.660***	8.490***
Observations	2774	2774	2774	2774	2774	2774
Adjusted R-squared	0.076	0.077	0.041	0.091	0.100	0.060

Source: DCEDIY Equality Survey (2023). Levels of comfort are measured on a scale from 1 (least comfortable) to 10 (most comfortable).
Note: The coefficients displayed in Table 3.3 concerning region, behaviour and beliefs about the future were also estimated as part of these models. 'Other/Not answered' categories for gender, volunteering, and vote are estimated in these models but not displayed. + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001.

Compared to the reduced models shown in Table 3.1, the effect of gender and age are broadly similar. Although effect sizes are reduced, women are still more tolerant than men across most domains and the youngest age group is more positive than older respondents on the Neighbour and Relationship domains, but not on the School domain. Differences by education are more pronounced in the full models. Those with tertiary education are more positive compared to the baseline across all domains and groups except for Roma on the Relationship domain, and those with only post-secondary education are more positive towards both groups on the Neighbour domain and more positive towards Travellers on the Relationship domain.

While there is a positive relationship between tolerance and education, and no relationship between tolerance and principal economic status, there appears to be a negative relationship between tolerance and other indicators of higher socio-economic status, excluding education. Respondents who reported finding it easier to make ends meet were likely to be less tolerant of Travellers on both the Neighbour and Relationship domains.[30] Those who identified as middle class were more negative towards both Travellers and Roma across all domains compared to those who identified as working class.[31] Compared to homeowners, those living in social housing or in housing associations were much more positive towards Travellers and Roma on both the Neighbour and Relationship domain, and those living in privately rented accommodation were more tolerant than homeowners towards both groups on the School domain, and more tolerant towards Roma on the Neighbour and Relationship domains. Taken together, these results indicate that those of higher socio-economic status are broadly less tolerant of Travellers and Roma. This finding is broadly in line with Mac Gréil's finding regarding attitudes to Travellers by occupation and social class (2011) but differs considerably from attitudes to immigrants in Ireland (Laurence et al., 2024a). It is also in line with some previous findings regarding attitudes to Roma (Loveland and Popescu 2016; Mayer et al., 2019).

One possible explanation is that different mechanisms are affecting attitudes for different measures of socio-economic status. While educational attainment is broadly associated with economic security and social class, when those variables are controlled for, it may have a positive effect on attitudes as a result of the greater diversity one is exposed to at third level education (Hainmueller and Hiscox, 2007). On the other hand, measures of economic security and class identity may capture how respondents perceive their social position, with those who perceive themselves as being of higher social status less likely to be comfortable with Travellers and Roma. An alternative explanation is the positive effect of education

[30] Financial strain is measured by the question 'Concerning your household's total monthly or weekly income, with which degree of ease or difficulty is the household able to make ends meet? Would that be…?' Responses were coded on a six point scale, from 'with great difficulty' (one) to 'very easily' (six).

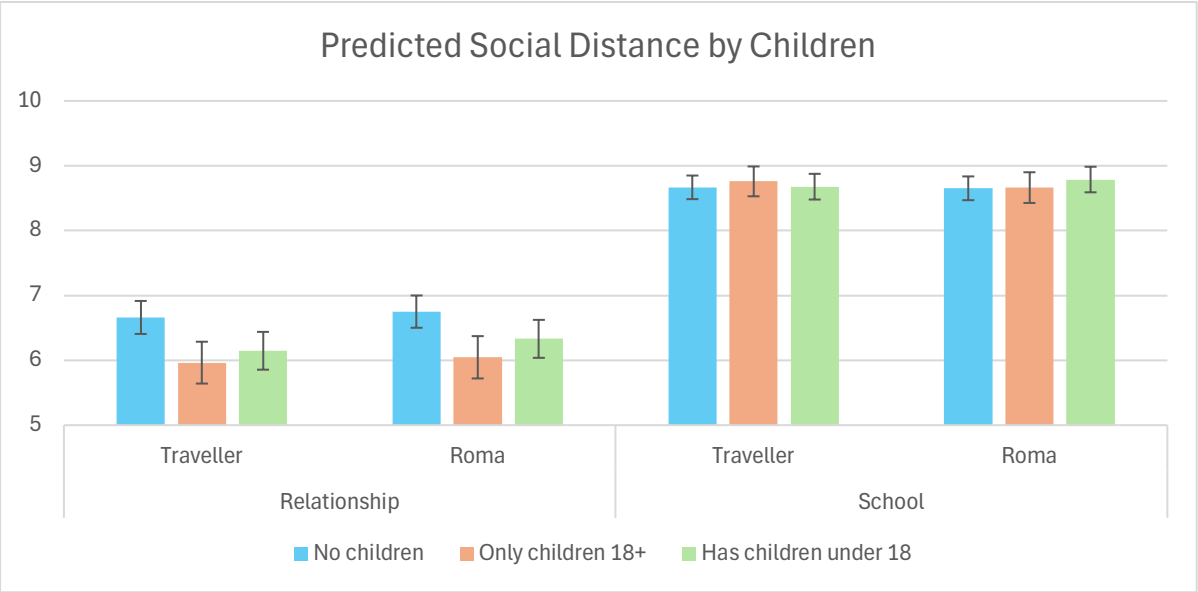
[31] Respondents were asked: 'People sometimes describe themselves as belonging to the working class or the middle class. Would you describe yourself as working class or middle class?' Response categories were: middle class/working class/not sure. See Table A.5 for proportion in each category.

is simply capturing social desirability bias (a tendency to report beliefs in line with what the respondent believes the interviewer feels is 'correct', as opposed to what the respondent actually believes). Creighton et al. (2022) found in Ireland that those with higher levels of education exhibit greater social desirability bias. This could explain differing effects for different measures of social status, with social desirability bias being more salient for education. Further research could explore this issue using detailed occupations as a measure of social class to see if the effects are maintained.

Responses by ethnicity vary on the Relationship domain. Asian or Asian Irish respondents are much less comfortable with having Travellers in a love relationship with their child than White Irish. This may reflect, in part, cultural norms around marriage for some Asians. The group is also less comfortable with having Roma in a relationship with their child, though the effect is smaller and not significant. Further analysis would be required that investigated comfort levels of the Asian group with inter-group kinship (for example with the White Irish group). Respondents in the 'other' ethnic group category or who refused to answer the question were much more positive towards Roma on the Relationship domain. Figure 3.2 presents the results of the models for those with and without children under and over 18 in the Relationship and School domains. In the Relationship domain, respondents with children of any age (adult children or under 18) are less tolerant of Travellers and Roma on the Relationship domain. However, Figure 3.2 also shows that attitudes towards having a child in school with a Traveller or Roma child do not vary by the presence of children. This suggests that in the more 'distant' domain of having a child in school, parents are no less tolerant than non-parents about these groups, but in the question tapping into potential 'kinship' domain, those with children are less tolerant.

Differences between the Neighbour and Relationship domains and the School domain may be considered analogous to the distinction between the interpersonal and social factors measured by Mac Gréil (2011), as discussed in Chapter 1. Mac Gréil observed that tolerance towards Travellers was higher on the social scale compared to the interpersonal, suggesting that the general population accept that Travellers are deserving of respect in general, but are less willing to form personal bonds with Travellers. Mac Gréil (2011) found that responses varied significantly by age only on the personal scale, with the youngest and oldest age groups more tolerant than those in the middle. These results are somewhat similar, with no variation by age on the School domain (analogous to the social factor) but with the youngest age group being significantly more tolerant on the Neighbour and Relationship domains (analogous to the personal factor). However, while Mac Gréil (2011) finds that women are more tolerant than men only on the personal factor, we find that women are more comfortable with Travellers across all three domains.

FIGURE 3.2 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PRESENCE OF CHILDREN AND LEVELS OF COMFORT



Source: DCEDIY Equality Survey (2023).
Note: Predicted levels of comfort by presence of children, based on marginal effects of these coefficients in the OLS models displayed in Table 3.3. Number of observations = 2774. Results for the Neighbour domain are presented in Appendix 2.

3.3 THE ROLE OF REGION OF RESIDENCE, BEHAVIOUR AND BELIEFS ABOUT THE FUTURE

Table 3.3 presents results about how respondents' region of residence, their civic engagement (whether they voted in the last election and whether they volunteered in the past year), and their beliefs about both the past and the future) and how these are associated with comfort levels with Travellers and Roma in each of the three domains. These models also include the variables presented in Table 3.2.

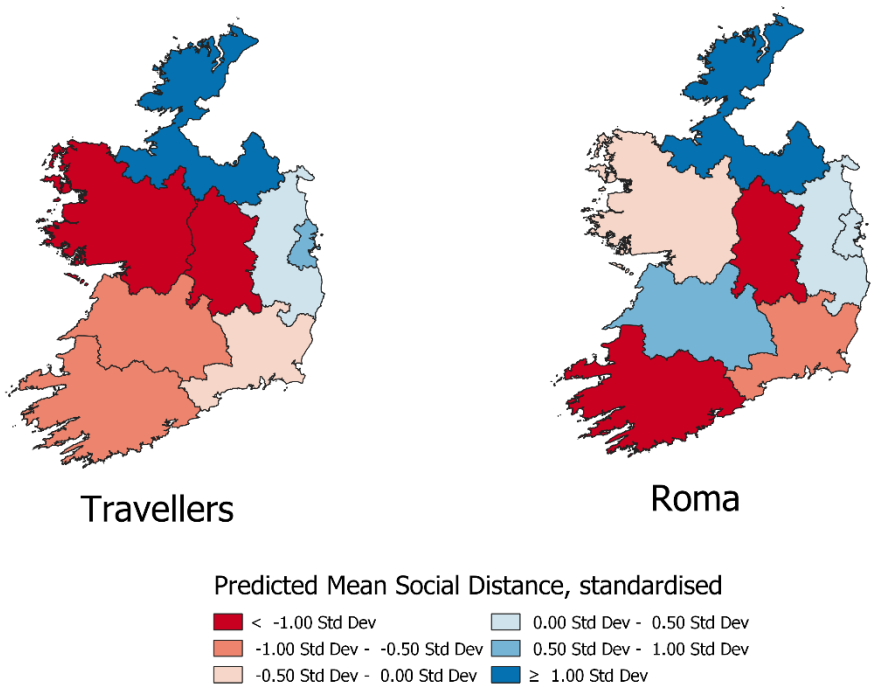
Attitudes vary considerably by region. The Border region and Dublin are the most positive towards Travellers and Roma, whereas the Midlands, West, Mid-West, South East and South West are all considerably less tolerant across almost all domains. Figure 3.3 shows standardised predicted mean social distance by region, controlling for all of the covariates included in Tables 3.2 and 3.3. Blue areas are more tolerant relative to the national average and red areas are less tolerant. Prejudice against Roma is mostly concentrated in the South West and Midlands areas, whereas prejudice against Travellers is prevalent across the whole West, South and Midlands areas of the country. As shown in Table 3.4, these are some of the areas with the highest numbers of Travellers per capita. Dublin, the Mid-East and the Border regions are the most positive towards both groups, while the South West is relatively positive towards Roma. These findings are broadly in line with Mac Gréil's (2011) findings on social distance by region.

TABLE 3.3 FULL SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHICS, CONTINUED – REGION, BEHAVIOUR AND BELIEFS ABOUT THE FUTURE

	Traveller			Roma		
	Neighbour	Relationship	School	Neighbour	Relationship	School
Region						
baseline – Border region	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
West	-1.063***	-1.544***	-0.674**	-0.567*	-0.789*	-0.658**
Mid-West	-0.961**	-0.997**	-0.287	-0.257	-0.564+	-0.210
South East	-0.751**	-0.912**	-0.390+	-0.592*	-0.903**	-0.795***
South West	-1.105***	-1.271***	-0.275	-1.111***	-1.266***	-0.366+
Dublin	-0.343	-0.384	-0.069	-0.363	-0.463	-0.386
Mid-East	-0.446+	-0.578*	-0.234	-0.416	-0.563+	-0.310+
Midlands	-1.165***	-1.244***	-0.661*	-0.994**	-1.188**	-0.770**
Settlement size						
baseline – Rural area/village	-0.138	-0.124	-0.086	-0.037	-0.009	-0.138
A small town (3,000–15,000 people)	-0.254	-0.385+	0.011	-0.312	-0.452*	0.017
A town (15,000–100,000 people)	0.274	-0.019	-0.095	0.016	-0.048	-0.026
City (>100,000 people)	-0.138	-0.124	-0.086	-0.037	-0.009	-0.138
Behaviours and attitudes						
baseline – Did not vote	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Voted	-0.148	-0.125	-0.119	-0.304+	-0.140	-0.058
baseline – Did not volunteer	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Volunteered	0.287*	0.302*	0.109	0.192	0.235	-0.026
Quality of life better in the past	-0.095+	-0.111+	-0.156***	-0.156**	-0.182**	-0.214***
Has confidence in the future	0.188**	0.217***	0.087+	0.273***	0.310***	0.140**
Constant	7.077***	7.081***	8.592***	6.725***	6.660***	8.490***
N	2774	2774	2774	2774	2774	2774
Adjusted R2	0.076	0.077	0.041	0.091	0.100	0.060

Source: DCEDIY Equality Survey (2023).
Note: The coefficients displayed in Table 3.2 were also estimated as part of these models. + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001.

FIGURE 3.3 PREDICTED MEAN SOCIAL DISTANCE BY REGION, CONTROLLING FOR ALL COVARIATES IN TABLES 3.2 AND 3.3



Source: DCEDIY Equality Survey (2023).
Note: Predicted levels of comfort by presence of NUTS3 region, based on marginal effects calculated in OLS models which contained all coefficients included in Table 3.2 and 3.3. Mean social distance was used as the dependent variable, calculated as the mean of responses to the Neighbour, Relationship, and School domains. Number of observations = 2774.

Table 3.3 also shows that attitudes do not vary considerably by the size of the settlement in which the respondent lives, at least after accounting for their region of residence.[32] In terms of civic behaviours, Laurence et al. (2024a) found that those who have voted and volunteered have more positive attitudes to immigration and different immigrant groups. For Travellers and Roma, attitudes are not associated with whether the respondent voted in the last general election. However, those who have volunteered in the past are somewhat more positive towards Travellers on the Neighbour domain, and to both groups on the Relationship domain.[33] Finally, the attitudinal variables are significantly correlated with attitudes towards Travellers and Roma across most domains.[34] Those with more confidence in the future are more positive towards Travellers and Roma across all domains, and

[32] When region is not controlled for, those who live in cities are found to be significantly more positive towards Travellers on the Neighbour variable. When region is controlled for, as in Table 3.3, this effect becomes insignificant – likely because the Dublin region is controlled for. There are no other differences in significance levels.
[33] Respondents were asked 'Which of these statements apply to you?' These included 'I voted in the last general election' and 'I have volunteered in the last 12 months' (with yes/no/not sure) as response categories.
[34] Confidence in the future is measured in response to the question 'You have confidence in the future' and life better in the past was measured as 'Overall, regarding your quality of life, it was better in the past'. Both items had response in a five-item scale from 'agree strongly' to 'disagree strongly' (see Appendix Table A.5 for response distribution).

those who believe life was better in the past are more negative towards Travellers and Roma on the Neighbour and Relationship domains. However, those who believe life was better in the past are less tolerant towards Travellers and Roma on the School domain. Generally, these results echo previous findings in Ireland about the role of optimism and attitudes to out-groups. McGinnity et al. (2023) find that people who believe their life will be the same or better in the next five years are more supportive of immigration in both Ireland (and Northern Ireland) than those who believe life will be worse.[35]

TABLE 3.4 NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF TRAVELLERS BY REGION

Region	Number of Travellers	% Travellers
West	6,116	1.28%
Midlands	3,873	1.23%
Mid-West	4,283	0.86%
South-East	3,260	0.72%
Mid-East	3,735	0.49%
Border	2,003	0.48%
South-West	3,483	0.48%
Dublin	6,196	0.43%

Source: Census Small Area Population Statistics 2022.
Note: Number of observations = 32,949.

3.4 ARE ATTITUDES TO TRAVELLERS AND ROMA RELATED TO ATTITUDES TO OTHER OUT-GROUPS?

To what extent do attitudes to Travellers and Roma relate to attitudes to other out-groups? Table 3.5 presents coefficients for four models which investigate this relationship. The dependent variable in each case is mean comfort level, which is calculated as the average level of comfort in the Neighbourhood, Relationship, and School domains (see section 2.1). Each model also contains all variables included in the models presented in Tables 3.2 and 3.3. Coefficients for these variables are presented in Appendix Table A.6. Overall, these models exhibit much higher R-squared values than the socio-demographic, attitudinal, and behavioural models, with values approaching 0.5. The attitudinal variables included here are highly predictive of attitudes to Travellers and Roma, although it should be noted that the dependent variable is different between these models and the models presented above. This indicates that attitudes to other groups is a better predictor of attitudes to Travellers and Roma than background characteristics, although this doesn't shed

[35] There is only a small increase in R2 values compared with the basic demographics models in Table 3.1. While the increase indicates that these models are better at explaining variation in attitudes, it is clear that they only explain a small magnitude of differences between individuals.

any light on what factors are associated with differences between attitudes generally.

Models 1 and 2 feature an ethnic/religious 'in-group' variable, to capture people's comfort with the dominant ethnic and religious groups in Ireland, calculated as the mean of the mean comfort levels with Whites and Christians in all three domains. An ethnic/religious 'out-group' variable was calculated as the mean of comfort levels to Blacks and non-Christians.[36] Those more tolerant towards Blacks and non-Christians were much more tolerant towards Travellers and Roma, whereas those more tolerant towards Whites and Christians were less tolerant of Roma.

TABLE 3.5 COMFORT LEVELS WITH TRAVELLERS AND ROMA: ASSOCIATION WITH COMFORT TOWARDS OTHER GROUPS

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Mean Comfort – Travellers	Mean Comfort – Roma	Mean Comfort – Travellers	Mean Comfort – Roma
All socio-demographic and attitudinal variables	✓	✓	✓	✓
Mean social distance to other groups				
Whites and Christians	-0.046	-0.237***		
Blacks and non-Christians	0.966***	1.122***		
A person from another EU country or Eastern Europe			0.256*	0.214*
A Ukrainian refugee			-0.029	-0.051
An asylum seeker			0.484***	0.619***
An Indian person			0.345***	0.366***
An Irish person			-0.138*	-0.245***
Constant	0.253	0.446	0.446	0.543
N	2657	2657	2657	2657
Adjusted R2	0.376	0.433	0.417	0.499

Source: DCEDIY Equality Survey (2023).
Note: These models were estimated along with all independent variables used in the models presented in Tables 3.3 and 3.4. Full models are displayed in Appendix 2, Table A.6. + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001.

For Roma, the findings mirror those for attitudes to immigration: those more comfortable with ethnic/religious out-groups were more supportive of immigration and those more comfortable with Whites and Christians were less supportive of immigration (see Laurence et al., 2024a, Table 4.1B). Interestingly, there was no significant association between attitudes to Whites and Christians and attitudes to Travellers. This may be because Travellers are White, and many of them are

[36] Respondents were asked how comfortable they felt (neighbour, child's love relationship, child's classmate) towards someone who is 'White'. They were also asked about their comfort towards someone/families who are 'Christian – Catholic', 'Christian – Church of Ireland', and 'Christian – Other'. Their scores towards all these groups were averaged to measure respondents' average comfort towards White people and Christians. Respondents were also asked about their comfort levels towards someone/a family who is 'Black', someone/a family who is 'Hindu' and someone/a family who is 'Muslim'. Their scores towards these groups were averaged to measure respondents' average comfort towards Black, Hindu and Muslim people.

Christian. Models 3 and 4 consider mean comfort levels with a variety of individual groups. Those more tolerant towards people from the EU or Eastern Europe, asylum seekers, or Indians are more tolerant towards Travellers and Roma, whereas those more positive towards Irish people are somewhat less tolerant towards Travellers and Roma. There was no association between attitudes to Ukrainian refugees and attitudes to Travellers and Roma when included with the other groups.[37]

3.5 ARE ATTITUDES TO TRAVELLERS LINKED TO COMMUNITY-LEVEL FACTORS? A PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS

An individual's attitudes towards out-groups can be affected by factors at the community level. For instance, Laurence et al. (2024b) have found that community-level factors influence attitudes to immigrants in Ireland. These factors include the proportion of immigrants in an area and how this has changed over time, as well as measures of community-level deprivation, rural/urban location and how segregated the immigrant group is at area-level. In this section, we present a preliminary analysis of community-level effects on attitudes to Travellers.[38] These models are estimated just using the sample of respondents who were surveyed in person, as many who were surveyed on the telephone did not provide their address (see Laurence et al., 2024b for details).

These models include all socio-economic and attitudinal variables in Tables 3.2 and 3.3 and are specially designed for using with area-level characteristics. They are estimated with Electoral District and Small Area level random-intercept mixed effects.[39] Small Areas are the most granular level of spatially aggregated official statistics in Ireland. They generally contain between 50–200 households. They nest within Electoral Districts, which contain around 300–500 households each, although they vary considerably.[40]

[37] Results available from the authors on request.

[38] There was no available data on the proportion or number of Roma by small area in the 2022 Census data.

[39] The models include all CAPI respondents from whom data on individual and area-level characteristics are available. Mixed effects models estimate shared parameters (intercepts or slopes or both) for observations located within specified clusters (e.g. respondents within Electoral Districts). Whereas OLS regression estimates a single intercept for the model, we estimate shared intercepts for each group of respondents within a Small Area, and each group of Small Areas within an Electoral District. This allows for the fact that different areas have different mean levels of comfort towards Travellers (the dependent variable) but assumes that the relationship between comfort towards Travellers and any given independent variable is the same in all locations.

[40] www.cso.ie/en/census/census2022/census2022smallareapopulationstatistics/.

TABLE 3.6 ASSOCIATION BETWEEN COMFORT WITH TRAVELLERS AND COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Neighbour – Traveller	Relationship – Traveller	School – Traveller	Neighbour – Traveller	Relationship – Traveller	School – Traveller
All socio-demographic and attitudinal variables	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Community level factors						
Percentage Travellers in ED (2022)	0.150*	0.013	0.097+	0.067	-0.063	0.053
Community Disadvantage – SA (2022)				0.278*	0.254+	0.186
baseline – Urban				ref.	ref.	ref.
Rural				-0.486+	-0.418	-0.088
N	1316	1316	1316	1316	1316	1316

Source: DCEDIY Equality Survey (2023).
Note: These models were estimated along with all independent variables used in the models presented in Tables 3.3 and 3.4, as well as ED- and SA-level mixed effects. Full models are displayed in Table A.7. Rural/urban classification is based on 2016 classifications as this captures population density, whereas the 2022 classification focuses on land use. + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001.

Figure 3.3 and Table 3.3 show that in regions where a higher proportion of the population are Irish Travellers (see Table 3.4), respondents were less comfortable with Travellers overall. We might expect this relationship to also hold at the community level, meaning that respondents living in communities with higher proportions of Travellers are on average less tolerant of Travellers. Alternatively, it may be that more frequent contact with Travellers increases tolerance on some or all domains, at least where that contact is positive (Hewstone and Swart, 2011). In any case, results may differ as these areas (Small Area, Electoral Division) are much smaller than regions of Ireland presented in Figure 3.3.

Table 3.6 shows the results relating to these community level variables. Models 1, 2 and 3 include the percentage of Travellers in the respondent's Electoral District for each of the three domains.[41] We find that a one percentage point increase in the proportion of Travellers in an area is significantly associated with somewhat more positive attitudes on the Neighbour domain. So even though regions with a higher proportion of Travellers hold generally more negative attitudes, at a much smaller spatial scale Electoral District, this is not found. Previous research has found the effects of minority group share in an area may differ by spatial scale (see Laurence et al., 2024b for a discussion). However, this effect becomes insignificant in Models 4, 5 and 6, which introduce two more area characteristics: a measure of deprivation at the Small Area level, and whether the respondent's Small Area is urban or rural.

[41] The proportion of Travellers at Electoral District was used as there were a limited number of Small Areas in the data with Travellers so the estimates were unstable.

To capture disadvantage, we generate an index of socio-economic disadvantage in 2022 (combining proportion with semi-/unskilled occupations, proportion of households headed by lone-parents, proportion with low education, and proportion unemployed – see Laurence et al., 2024b for further details). The greater an area's score on the index, the more disadvantaged it is. Disadvantage of a respondent's Small Area, after controlling for all socio-demographic and attitudinal variables included above, is associated with more tolerant attitudes on the Neighbour domain. This is the opposite of the findings in Laurence et al. (2024b), namely that people living in advantaged areas were more supportive of immigration. Similarly, whether a respondent's Small Area is urban or rural affects attitudes only on the Neighbour and Relationship domains only. In this case, rural dwellers are less tolerant than those living in urban small areas. This is consistent with findings on attitudes to immigration (Laurence et al., 2024b). The findings do suggest that firstly, comfort levels in the love relationship/potential kinship domain are not sensitive to the community-level factors considered and secondly that community-level factors associated with attitudes to Travellers are not necessarily the same as those associated with attitudes to immigration. The findings also show that because Travellers are more likely to live in disadvantaged areas, once area-level disadvantage is accounted for, there is no additional effect of having more Travellers in an area on comfort levels. There is considerable potential to extend this analysis. This is beyond the scope of this report, but a possible avenue for future research.

CHAPTER 4

Summary of findings and implications

4.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Existing literature shows that both Travellers and Roma are very disadvantaged groups in Ireland (All Ireland Traveller Health Survey Team, 2010; Watson et al., 2017; Department of Justice and Equality, Pavee Point Traveller and Roma Centre, 2018). Analysis of publicly available statistics from Census 2022 in Chapter 1 confirmed that this is the case, although Travellers are generally much worse off on a range of socio-demographic characteristics.

Attitudes to Travellers and Roma among the general population are startlingly negative. Drawing on the DCEDIY Equality Survey (2023), we find that Travellers and Roma are among the groups which respondents were least comfortable with, across all three domains examined: as a neighbour, in a love relationship with one's child, and in the same class as one's child at school. The differences are most stark on the Neighbour and Relationship domains, whereas differences between groups are much smaller on the School domain. A simple exploratory factor analysis, presented in Table 2.1, reveals that tolerant attitudes to Travellers and Roma are generally held by those who also have tolerant attitudes to the most stigmatised groups in Irish society, such as those with substance abuse issues and criminal records. Positive attitudes to Roma were in some cases associated with positive attitudes to a broader range of ethnic, religious and social groups, but Travellers were almost completely excluded from these factors. These data also show that reported attitudes to both groups were much more negative than to other minority ethnic, religious or national groups in Ireland. While some people in Ireland may associate Roma with other migrant groups, and their labour market outcomes are more similar to other ethnic minority groups, in terms of comfort levels in the three domains studied in this survey, Roma are very similar to Travellers.

Chapter 3 presents a series of regression models that seek to answer the question: What drives differences in attitudes to Travellers and Roma? We find that gender and age are strong predictors, with women being more tolerant than men and the youngest age group being more tolerant than older age groups, across most domains for both groups. Increased education is also broadly associated with more tolerant attitudes, although the strength and significance of the relationship varies across domains and levels of education. While there are no effects of principal economic status on attitudes, for other indicators of socio-economic status there appears to be a negative relationship with tolerance. Respondents who find it easier to make ends meet were likely to be less tolerant towards Travellers on the Neighbour and Relationship domains. Those who describe themselves as middle class, instead of working class, were also broadly less tolerant. Additionally, homeowners were less tolerant than those in less secure or 'lower-status' forms of

tenure, such as privately rented accommodation and social housing. This negative socio-economic gradient is unusual relative to attitudes to immigrant groups in Ireland (Laurence et al., 2024a) but is in line with some findings by Mac Gréil (2011) in relation to Irish Travellers, and by Loveland and Popescu (2016) and Mayer et al. (2019) in relation to Roma in other countries. The finding that different aspects of socio-economic status are associated with opposite effects on attitudes towards Travellers and Roma may indicate that mechanisms affecting attitudes differ for education and economic class. However, it is also possible that it is caused by a stronger social desirability bias among the more educated (see Creighton et al., 2022).

Attitudes vary by ethnicity only on the Relationship domain, with the Asian/Asian Irish respondents less comfortable with Travellers in a love relationship with their child. Having a child, regardless of age, was associated with significantly more negative attitudes on the Relationship domain but not on the School domain. Those who reported they had volunteered in the last 12 months were more positive to having Travellers as neighbours and in a relationship with their child. Those who believed that quality of life was better in the past were less tolerant across most domains for both groups, whereas those who had confidence in the future were more positive.

Attitudes to ethnic and cultural 'out-groups' in Ireland are highly predictive of attitudes to Travellers and Roma. Those more comfortable with Whites and Christians are less tolerant of Roma, whereas those more comfortable with Blacks and non-Christians are more tolerant of both Roma and Travellers. Considering a wider range of groups, those more tolerant towards people from the EU or Eastern Europe, India, or asylum seekers are more tolerant towards Travellers and Roma.

We also consider regional and community level predictors of attitudes. Attitudes to Travellers are significantly less positive in the West, South, and Midlands of Ireland, with the Border area and Dublin being the most tolerant areas. These are also the areas in Ireland that have the highest percentage of Travellers resident. Attitudes to Roma are least positive in the South West and Midlands areas. A preliminary analysis of attitudes to Travellers at the community-level showed that people living in areas with higher levels of deprivation hold more positive attitudes to Travellers on the Neighbour domain.

4.2 LIMITATIONS AND AVENUES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

An important caveat underlying all research that considers population attitudes to potentially stigmatised groups is that the questions rely on people recognising the group. For Roma, previous research in other countries show considerable national and linguistic variation among the Roma group, and in Ireland analysis of Census 2022 statistics confirms this. This diversity may affect people's attitudes towards Roma and their day-to-day experiences of discrimination, in particular variety in skin colour and ability to 'pass' as non-Roma (Pavee Point Traveller and Roma Centre and Applied Social Studies, Maynooth University, 2023). Similarly, in certain

circumstances – on public transport, for example – Irish Travellers may not be recognised as Travellers. Of course, a decrease in the salience or importance of group boundaries is a potentially positive development, as long as it does not imply assimilation, but it does mean that we need to be careful in interpreting what attitudinal data can reveal. Of course, people may also overstate support for out-groups. For instance, Creighton et al. (2022) find evidence of masking of negative sentiment towards Black and Polish migrant groups in Ireland. By extension, people may mask negative sentiment towards other groups like Travellers and Roma. However, the extent of prejudice to both groups revealed in this survey suggests this may be less of an issue than for immigrant groups.

Considering possibilities for future research, this report provided a preliminary exploratory factor analysis of the relationships between attitudes to various groups, with a focus on interpreting the position of attitudes to Travellers and Roma (section 2.2). Future research could investigate how the factors identified are related to other personal and area-level characteristics, as well as political orientation, such as position on a left-right scale. Latent Class Analysis could also be used to identify subgroups within the population that tend to hold similar beliefs, with the goal of understanding how attitudes are related to each other and to personal and community-level characteristics. Similarly, these data permit matching to community-level characteristics, so the preliminary analysis in section 3.5 could be further developed to investigate other characteristics of communities that are most tolerant or most hostile to Travellers and Roma (see Laurence et al., 2024b for other community-level measures). In particular, the finding that more affluent areas are less tolerant of Travellers than disadvantaged areas is notable and deserves future research. This is the opposite finding to recent work on attitudes to immigrants in Ireland (Laurence et al., 2024b).

The data analysed in this report were collected during spring 2023. Laurence et al. (2024a) show that there has been an increase in the salience of immigration since then in Ireland. This is likely most important for attitudes to immigrant groups and immigration more generally, meaning this may have affected attitudes towards Roma, as they are a predominantly immigrant group, to a greater extent than Travellers. A future survey fielding the same questions in the near future could address this issue. Any future survey could also usefully collect data on the political orientation of respondents (on the left-right scale), given how important this is in understanding attitudes to Roma in other countries (Mayer et al., 2019; Kende et al., 2017; Loveland and Popescu, 2016). Earlier research in Ireland had not found an effect of left-right orientation on attitudes to immigrants and immigration (McGinnity and Kingston, 2017; McGinnity et al., 2018), but a more recent study did (Laurence et al., 2024a, Chapter 5). Religious practice might also be a useful addition, given previous research using the European Social Survey which showed that those who regularly attended church services were more negative towards Muslim immigrants (Fahey et al., 2019). Finally, given ongoing debates on intersectionality, probing attitudes towards different groups of Travellers and Roma might also be informative. For example, do people's attitudes to Traveller

women and Traveller men differ? Are people more tolerant towards children from these groups, as opposed to adults? In addition, investigating the attitudes of people who may have contact with Travellers and Roma and who make decisions that shape their lives – such as healthcare workers, Gardaí or landlords – would be informative, either using survey methodology or qualitative methods.

While population attitudes are important for understanding the social context in which Travellers and Roma live, it is only one form of evidence. The implementation of ethnic equality monitoring across all routine administrative data collection systems as per the forthcoming National Equality Data Strategy[42] in Ireland would considerably enhance what we know about both groups in a range of life domains. A survey of Travellers and Roma, such as the All-Ireland Traveller Health Survey (AITHS, 2010), collecting data on their situation and experience, would provide a whole new range of insights; potentially also about how the situation of these groups compares to their situation and experience in other European countries (FRA, 2020). Field experiments also provide compelling evidence of discrimination in recruitment (McGinnity and Lunn, 2011) and in housing (Gusciute et al., 2020), but a field experiment of discrimination against Travellers or Roma in Ireland has yet to be fielded.

4.3 DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

In the context of increasing diversity in Ireland, in the past 25 years, accompanied by rapidly changing attitudes on social issues such as LGBTQ+ rights and abortion (see Laurence et al., 2023), this report is a clear reminder that attitudes to some groups have changed less. While people in Ireland may be more tolerant of having a range of out-groups in their child's class in school, as neighbours and in a love relationship with their child, this is much less the case for Travellers and Roma. This helps understand the situation and experience of Travellers and Roma in Ireland, but policy approaches to changing this context are challenging. As McGinnity et al. (2021) discuss in their review of measures to combat labour market discrimination, deep-seated prejudice may not be so amenable to change.

One area where policy may help is in facilitating positive contact between Travellers and Roma and the communities in which they live, given international evidence on the topic (Paluck et al., 2019). Previous evidence in Ireland finds that the frequency of positive (casual) contacts is associated with more positive attitudes to immigration (McGinnity et al., 2018). More recent evidence suggests those who have close contacts – immigrant friends and family – also hold more positive attitudes (McGinnity et al., 2023). Of course, very negative attitudes to Travellers and Roma may inhibit the formation of close contacts, but the findings on casual encounters are also positive. This has also been found for contact with Roma in other countries (Mayer et al., 2019) – though not always (Kende et al.,

[42] www.gov.ie/en/press-release/5a7f4-minister-ogorman-announces-the-development-of-a-national-equality-data-strategy/.

2017). Studies have found that in general, intergroup contact tends to reduce prejudice when it is positive and sustained – including projects that involve people working towards a common goal, such as on a cross-group sports team (Hewstone and Swart, 2011; Paluck et al., 2019). Mechanisms by which intergroup contact reduces prejudice are less well understood, though reducing intergroup anxiety is one possible mechanism (Hewstone and Swart, 2011). Laurence (2020) argues that one site amenable to intervention in the short term is via fostering civic engagement, like cross-group volunteering, which can provide opportunities for interaction. Indeed, results from this report indicate that those who volunteered in the past year hold more positive attitudes to Travellers and Roma (see section 3.3). That said, the size of these groups may make it challenging to create opportunities for interaction, but where possible, it may make a difference. Community organisations working with Travellers and Roma have an important role in integrating the groups too (Pavee Point Traveller and Roma Centre and Applied Social Studies, Maynooth University, 2023; DCEDIY, 2024).

Of course, the community is only one site of potential interaction. Two other important areas of cross-group mixing are schools and workplaces. On workplaces, further inclusion of Traveller and Roma groups into workplaces may provide opportunities for positive social contact with a shared goal and help address negative stereotypes, particularly initiatives such as cross-group mentoring and sponsorship within organisations (McGinnity et al., 2021). Our analysis of Census 2022 data in Chapter 1 shows how unemployment for both groups is much higher than for the White Irish population, though unemployment among Travellers has fallen since 2016. There is a strong need for targeted action to address this situation, for instance in the actions outlined in NTRIS II (2024) in the area of employment and enterprise, which also highlights the commitment in the Programme for Government to develop a Traveller and Roma Training, Employment and Enterprise plan, to support the delivery of these actions (DCEDIY, 2024). Further decreases in the Traveller unemployment rate might lead to increased positive social contact and representation. In schools, the implementation of the Traveller and Roma Education Strategy (2024) should improve outcomes for these groups. Actions planned in the strategy with strong potential impacts include new literacy and English language supports targeted towards Roma in particular, the full rollout of the Traveller Parenting Support Programme, and the inclusion of lessons on Traveller culture and history in schools.

One theme in the NTRIS II (2024) concerns participation, empowerment and co-operation. If successful, actions under this theme have the potential to increase participation of the groups in electoral processes and in community, regional and national structures, and thus strengthen their ability to influence the development of policy and services. Such participation might empower the communities to not only contribute to society but challenge negative perceptions about them.

Findings from France suggest that the media has an important role to play in breaking down the stereotypes and resulting fears against Roma (Mayer et al., 2019). As an example, recent public campaigns in remembrance of the Roma

Genocide during the Nazi era of World War II led to a rise in the share of the French population who think that this event is not mentioned enough in history textbooks. Likewise, the works of associations in changing the image of Roma presented to the population, including in movies and public debates, led to a reduction in hostility towards this group (Mayer et al., 2019). Therefore, providing the population in Ireland with information to counter negative stereotypes about Travellers and Roma – however this is done – may help to modify beliefs about the groups.

Of course, there are limits to what policymakers and other actors can do: like with migrant integration, it takes a whole-of-society approach to meaningfully include minority groups. It requires the participation of the minority and majority groups (McGinnity et al., 2021). Broadening people's understanding of racism in Ireland to include these groups, as in the National Action Plan Against Racism, may help in this regard. Policies such as this plan have an important role to play in shaping and reinforcing this message, though effective implementation is key.

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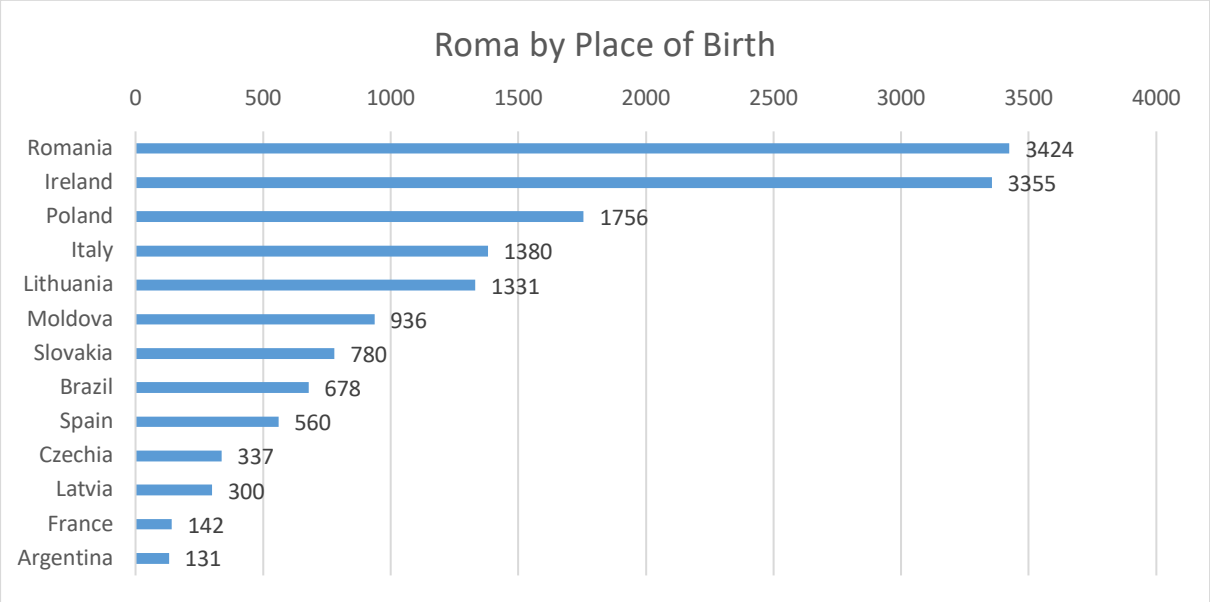
APPENDIX I

Tables and charts from Census 2022

FIGURE A.1 ROMA USUALLY RESIDENT AND PRESENT IN THE STATE, BY PLACE OF BIRTH



Source: Census 2022 (F5084)
Note: Places of birth with less than 100 observations are not shown. Number of observations = 15,110 (excluding Roma born in places that are not displayed above).

TABLE A.1 AGE DISTRIBUTION BY ETHNICITY

	Total Population	White Irish	White Irish Traveller	Roma
0–4 years	5.76%	5.67%	11.28%	7.44%
5–9 years	6.69%	6.61%	12.67%	9.41%
10–14 years	7.30%	7.29%	12.40%	9.45%
15–19 years	6.53%	6.57%	10.17%	6.30%
20–24 years	5.87%	5.68%	8.01%	6.76%
25–29 years	5.70%	4.96%	7.07%	8.65%
30–34 years	6.43%	5.35%	7.16%	10.49%
35–39 years	7.44%	6.32%	6.45%	13.00%
40–44 years	8.02%	7.24%	5.62%	10.87%
45–49 years	7.28%	7.07%	4.43%	7.32%
50–54 years	6.62%	6.85%	4.30%	4.33%
55–59 years	5.97%	6.54%	3.31%	2.50%
60–64 years	5.29%	5.99%	2.62%	1.89%
65–69 years	4.62%	5.38%	1.90%	0.81%
70–74 years	3.94%	4.65%	1.24%	0.39%
75–79 years	3.01%	3.57%	0.78%	0.18%
80–84 years	1.89%	2.26%	0.36%	0.12%
85 years and over	1.65%	1.97%	0.24%	0.10%

Source: Census 2022 (F8073)

TABLE A.2 HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION COMPLETED, OVER 15

	Total Population	White Irish	White Irish Traveller	Roma
Total education ceased	3,131,019	2,616,806	12,685	6,641
No formal education	2.6%	2.5%	21.8%	7.9%
Primary	8.0%	8.8%	31.9%	9.9%
Lower secondary	14.2%	15.4%	26.5%	11.1%
Upper secondary	19.5%	20.0%	12.1%	20.1%
Further education	20.0%	19.2%	5.3%	25.1%
Higher education	35.8%	34.0%	2.5%	25.9%

Source: Census 2022 (F8073)

TABLE A.3 PRINCIPAL ECONOMIC STATUS

Both sexes	Total Population	White Irish	Irish Traveller	Roma
Both sexes				
Persons at work as a proportion of non-retired population	66.84%	66.84%	17.61%	62.51%
Unemployment	8.27%	7.31%	61.08%	16.50%
Unemployed, of whom:				
Looking for first regular job	16.19%	13.95%	21.20%	27.42%
Short-term unemployed	32.92%	31.12%	14.58%	30.50%
Long-term unemployed	50.89%	54.94%	64.22%	42.08%
Male				
Persons at work as a proportion of non-retired population	72.64%	72.68%	19.72%	70.76%
Unemployment	8.58%	7.88%	63.12%	14.86%
Unemployed, of whom:				
Looking for first regular job	16.42%	14.79%	21.21%	26.67%
Short-term unemployed	32.27%	29.60%	14.60%	33.46%
Long-term unemployed	51.31%	55.61%	64.19%	39.87%
Female				
Persons at work as a proportion of non-retired population	61.20%	61.20%	15.67%	53.07%
Unemployment	7.92%	6.66%	58.41%	18.88%
Unemployed, of whom:				
Looking for first regular job	15.91%	12.78%	21.18%	28.29%
Short-term unemployed	33.73%	33.21%	14.55%	27.10%
Long-term unemployed	50.36%	54.01%	64.27%	44.61%

Source: Census 2022 (F5087)
Note: Statistics relate to principal economic activity. Calculations of unemployment and labour force participation rates may differ from estimates which use ILO definitions of unemployment. Short-term unemployment is less than 12 months. Long-term unemployment is 12 months or more.

TABLE A.4 PERCEIVED GENERAL HEALTH

	Very Bad	Bad	Fair	Good	Very Good	Not stated
Both sexes						
Total Population	0.33%	1.42%	8.67%	29.66%	53.22%	6.71%
White Irish	0.36%	1.50%	9.41%	30.73%	56.93%	1.07%
White Irish Traveller	0.95%	3.15%	11.83%	25.81%	41.11%	17.15%
Roma	0.50%	2.14%	8.03%	38.38%	47.88%	3.08%
Male						
Total Population	0.34%	1.49%	8.94%	29.89%	52.90%	6.43%
White Irish	0.38%	1.58%	9.65%	30.80%	56.56%	1.04%
White Irish Traveller	0.98%	2.97%	11.61%	25.92%	41.62%	16.90%
Roma	0.53%	2.16%	8.72%	38.94%	46.62%	3.02%
Female						
Total Population	0.31%	1.34%	8.39%	29.42%	53.54%	6.99%
White Irish	0.35%	1.43%	9.16%	30.66%	57.30%	1.10%
White Irish Traveller	0.92%	3.33%	12.06%	25.70%	40.58%	17.41%
Roma	0.47%	2.12%	7.43%	37.88%	48.98%	3.12%

Source: Census 2022 (F5087).

APPENDIX II

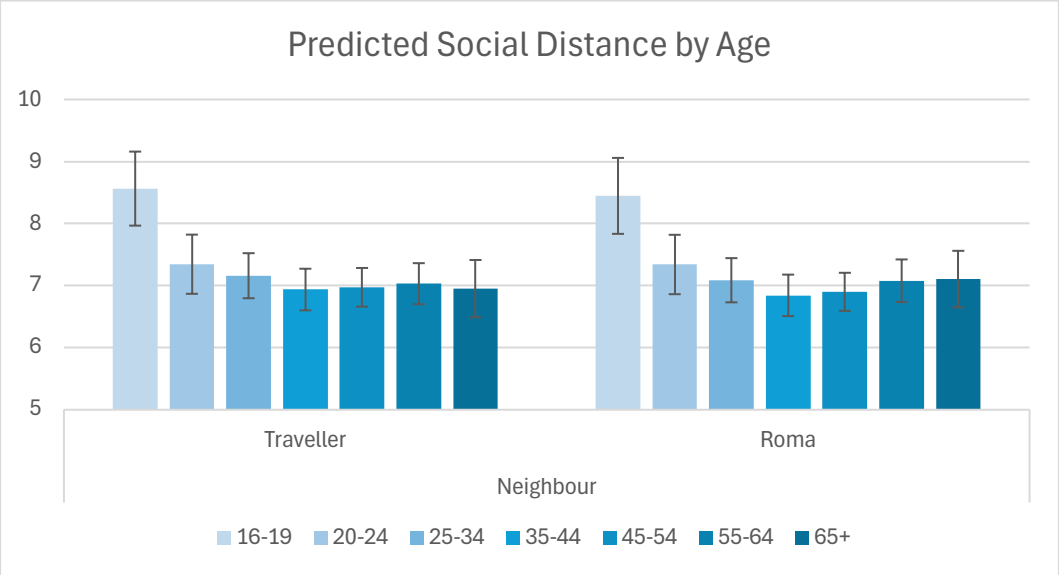
Tables from the Equality Attitudes Data

TABLE A.5 DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

	Mean/%		%
N	2987.11	**Tenancy type**	
Neighbour – Traveller	7.08	Owns	67.14%
Neighbour – Roma	7.10	Rents from local authority/housing assoc.	11.95%
Relationship – Traveller	6.23	Rents privately	16.24%
Relationship – Roma	6.37	Lives rent-free/Other/Refused	4.66%
School – Traveller	8.71	**Children**	
School – Roma	8.71	No children	39.09%
Ease of making ends meet financially	3.70	Only children 18+	30.06%
Quality of life better in the past	3.18	Has children under 18	30.85%
Has confidence in the future	3.61	**Ethnicity**	
Prop. Travellers in ED	0.01	White Irish	81.94%
HP Deprivation Index – ED	0.04	Other White	10.34%
Gender		Black/Black Irish	1.61%
Male	48.79%	Asian/Asian Irish	2.93%
Female	50.94%	Other groups/No answer	3.18%
Other	0.27%	**Place of birth**	
Age categories		Not born in Ireland	21.93%
16–19	5.08%	Born in Ireland	78.07%
20–24	9.58%	**Region**	
25–34	15.20%	Border	7.81%
35–44	19.25%	West	9.63%
45–54	17.49%	Mid-west	9.24%
55–64	14.25%	South East	9.12%
65+	19.14%	South West	14.35%
Highest Qualification Achieved		Dublin	29.16%
Primary	5.50%	Mid-East	14.22%
Secondary	34.53%	Midlands	6.47%
Post-secondary	18.86%	**Voting**	
Tertiary	41.11%	Did not vote	31.06%
Employment Status		Voted	68.30%
In work	58.04%	Not sure	0.64%
Unemployed/seeking work	4.65%	**Volunteering**	
Looking after family	6.72%	Did not volunteer	65.92%
Retired	18.17%	Volunteered	33.84%
LLTI/Student/Other	12.42%	Not sure	0.24%
Subjective social class		**Settlement Size**	
Working class	50.75%	A village or rural area (<3 000 people)	33.63%
Middle class	42.85%	A small town (3 000-15 000 people)	14.23%
Don't know	6.40%	A town (15 000-100 000)	14.51%
Survey mode		City (>100 000)	37.64%
CATI	50.00%	**Small Area – Urban or Rural**	
CAPI	50.00%	Urban	77.47%
		Rural	22.53%

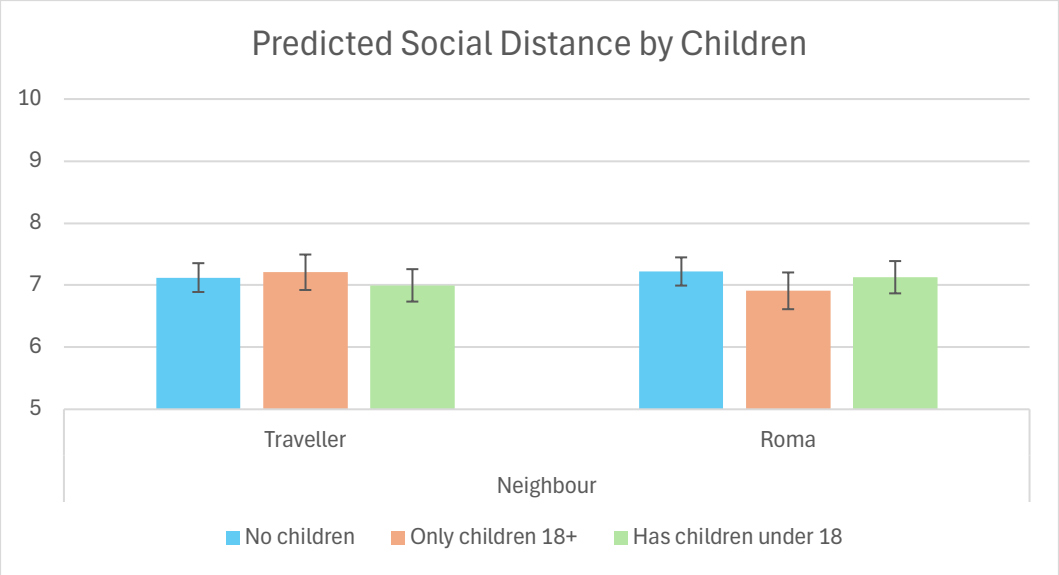
Source: DCEDIY Equality Survey (2023).

FIGURE A.2 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RESPONDENT AGE AND LEVELS OF COMFORT IN THE NEIGHBOUR DOMAIN



Source: DCEDIY Equality Survey (2023).
Note: Predicted levels of comfort by presence of children, based on marginal effects of these coefficients in the OLS models displayed in Table 3.2. Number of observations = 2774.

FIGURE A.3 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PRESENCE OF CHILDREN AND LEVELS OF COMFORT IN THE NEIGHBOUR DOMAIN



Source: DCEDIY Equality Survey (2023).
Note: Predicted levels of comfort by presence of children, based on marginal effects of these coefficients in the OLS models displayed in Table 3.2. Number of observations = 2774.

TABLE A.6 MEAN SOCIAL DISTANCE TO OUT-GROUPS – ALL COEFFICIENTS

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	MSD – Travellers	MSD – Roma	MSD – Travellers	MSD – Roma
Gender				
baseline – Male	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Female	0.280***	0.257**	0.263**	0.230**
Other	0.010	-0.362	0.154	-0.186
Age				
16–19	0.658*	0.703**	0.615*	0.620**
20–24	-0.125	0.105	-0.092	0.130
25–34	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
35–44	0.011	-0.009	0.049	0.019
45–54	-0.147	-0.168	-0.179	-0.218
55–64	0.159	0.232	0.024	0.055
65+	0.153	0.166	-0.037	-0.083
Highest education completed				
baseline – Primary education	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Secondary	0.147	0.097	0.163	0.100
Post-secondary	0.295	0.260	0.272	0.209
Tertiary	0.249	0.135	0.271	0.137
Employment status, economic indicators, and housing				
Baseline – In work	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Unemployed/seeking work	0.167	-0.250	0.239	-0.151
Looking after family	-0.081	-0.214	-0.128	-0.282
Retired	-0.184	-0.267+	-0.171	-0.244
LLTI/Student/Other	0.103	0.104	0.093	0.088
Ease of making ends meet financially	-0.151***	-0.074+	-0.152***	-0.074*
baseline – Working Class	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Middle class	-0.141	-0.168+	-0.104	-0.112
Don't know	0.054	0.050	0.049	0.053
baseline – Owns home	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Rents from local authority/housing assoc.	0.587***	0.726***	0.571***	0.711***
Rents privately	0.294*	0.411**	0.181	0.271*
Lives rent-free/Other/Refused	0.069	0.218	0.075	0.214
Children				
baseline – No children	-0.275+	-0.439**	-0.119	-0.260+
Only children 18+	-0.378**	-0.301*	-0.294*	-0.212+
Has children under 18	-0.275+	-0.439**	-0.119	-0.260+
Ethnicity, place of birth, region of residence, and settlement size				
baseline – White Irish	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Any other white background	-0.078	0.117	-0.099	0.124
Black/Black Irish	-0.464	-0.247	-0.647	-0.433
Asian/Asian Irish	-0.129	0.011	0.028	0.244
Other groups/No answer	0.250	0.340	0.106	0.189

baseline – Not born in Ireland	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Born in Ireland	-0.294	-0.295+	-0.158	-0.131
baseline – Border region	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
West	-1.040***	-0.567**	-1.024***	-0.540**
Mid-West	-0.857***	-0.398*	-0.850***	-0.399*
South East	-0.781***	-0.819***	-0.665***	-0.686***
South West	-0.701***	-0.654***	-0.575**	-0.507**
Dublin	-0.247	-0.395+	-0.264	-0.419*
Mid-East	-0.437*	-0.418*	-0.426*	-0.398*
Midlands	-0.704**	-0.663**	-0.749***	-0.720***
baseline – Rural area/village	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
A small town (3,000–15,000 people)	-0.060	-0.004	-0.135	-0.096
A town (15,000–100,000)	-0.244+	-0.286*	-0.189	-0.212+
City (>100,000)	0.017	-0.028	0.042	0.002
Survey mode				
baseline – CATI	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
CAPI	-0.278***	-0.204*	-0.356***	-0.323***
Civic behaviours				
baseline – Did not vote	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Voted	0.039	-0.022	-0.011	-0.071
Not sure	-0.110	0.105	-0.218	-0.041
baseline – Did not volunteer	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Volunteered	0.159+	0.040	0.142+	0.021
Not sure	-0.783	-0.166	-0.940+	-0.363
Attitudes about the past and future				
Quality of life better in the past	-0.026	-0.085*	0.023	-0.027
Has confidence in the future	0.044	0.105**	-0.029	0.018
Attitudes to other groups				
Whites and Christians	-0.046	-0.237***		
Blacks and non-Christians	0.966***	1.122***		
A person from another EU country or Eastern Europe			0.256*	0.214*
A Ukrainian refugee			-0.029	-0.051
An asylum seeker			0.484***	0.619***
An Indian person			0.345***	0.366***
An Irish person			-0.138*	-0.245***
Constant	0.253	0.446	0.446	0.543
N	2657	2657	2657	2657
r2	0.376	0.433	0.417	0.499

Source: DCEDIY Equality Survey (2023).

Note: The coefficients displayed in Table 3.2 were also estimated as part of these models. + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001.

TABLE A.7 COMMUNITY LEVEL MODELS

	Traveller			Roma		
	Neighbour	Relationship	School	Neighbour	Relationship	School
Gender						
baseline – Male	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Female	0.548**	-0.125	0.387**	0.529**	-0.141	0.377**
Other	3.488***	5.280***	3.188***	3.399***	5.199***	3.178***
Age						
16–19	0.859+	0.268	0.084	0.940*	0.333	0.112
20–24	0.226	-1.119**	-0.474+	0.285	-1.070**	-0.460+
baseline – 25–34	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
35–44	-0.177	-0.276	-0.124	-0.148	-0.253	-0.120
45–54	-0.071	-0.493	0.085	-0.069	-0.485	0.087
55–64	0.394	-0.170	0.334	0.412	-0.154	0.342
65+	-0.012	-0.194	0.174	-0.050	-0.224	0.149
Highest level of education completed						
baseline – Primary education	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Secondary	0.444	0.470	0.509	0.393	0.431	0.487
Post-secondary	0.469	0.433	0.464	0.450	0.421	0.460
Tertiary	1.079*	0.699	0.732+	1.057*	0.688	0.745+
Employment status, economic indicators, and housing						
baseline – In work	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Unemployed/seeking work	1.271**	1.089*	-0.166	1.206**	1.039*	-0.179
Looking after family	0.094	0.205	-0.027	0.061	0.177	-0.040
Retired	-0.157	-0.561	-0.151	-0.177	-0.575	-0.143
LLTI/Student/Other	0.549+	0.875**	0.318	0.484+	0.827**	0.302
With difficulty	-0.257	-0.196	0.126	-0.264	-0.200	0.120
With some difficulty	0.009	-0.006	0.432	0.039	0.018	0.439
Fairly easily	0.275	0.110	0.769+	0.327	0.153	0.788+
Easily	-0.254	-0.202	0.650	-0.186	-0.146	0.678
Very easily	-0.063	-0.196	0.506	-0.020	-0.158	0.533
baseline – Working class	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Middle class	-0.332+	0.080	-0.339*	-0.313	0.095	-0.325*
Don't know	-0.260	0.695	0.198	-0.220	0.733+	0.214
baseline – Owns home	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Rents from local authority/housing assoc.	0.828**	1.310***	0.060	0.650*	1.148***	-0.033
Rents privately	0.158	-0.073	0.313	0.137	-0.092	0.312
Lives rent-free/Other/Refused	0.033	-0.277	-0.099	0.014	-0.292	-0.115
Children						
baseline – no children	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Only children 18+	-0.238	-0.856**	-0.225	-0.243	-0.862**	-0.238
Has children under 18	0.042	-0.366	-0.006	0.030	-0.376	-0.014

Ethnicity and place of birth						
baseline – White Irish	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Any other white background	0.217	0.444	-0.400	0.180	0.419	-0.418
Black/Black Irish	1.022	0.479	-0.368	1.037	0.498	-0.362
Asian/Asian Irish	-0.154	-0.820	-0.634	-0.183	-0.832	-0.632
Other groups/No answer	-0.088	-0.057	-0.590	-0.063	-0.028	-0.560
baseline – Not born in Ireland	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Born in Ireland	0.037	-0.110	-0.460*	0.036	-0.108	-0.472**
Civic behaviours						
baseline – did not vote	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Voted	-0.132	0.206	-0.166	-0.109	0.227	-0.153
Not sure	1.299+	0.268	1.355*	1.309+	0.283	1.354*
baseline – did not volunteer	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Volunteered	0.177	0.249	0.224+	0.183	0.257	0.229+
Not sure	0.338	-1.324	0.747+	0.362	-1.306	0.704+
Attitudes about the past and future						
Quality of life was better in the past	-0.118	-0.133	-0.115+	-0.118	-0.133	-0.117+
Confidence in the future	0.149+	0.210*	0.056	0.151+	0.213*	0.059
Community level variables						
Percentage Travellers in ED	0.150*	0.013	0.097+	0.067	-0.063	0.053
SA community disadvantage				0.278*	0.254+	0.186
baseline – Urban				ref.	ref.	ref.
Rural				-0.486+	-0.418	-0.088
Constant	1.033***	1.106***	0.709***	1.032***	1.105***	0.709***
N	1316.000	1316.000	1316.000	1316.000	1316.000	1316.000

Source: DCEDIY Equality Survey (2023).

Note: These models were estimated with ED- and SA-level mixed effects. Rural/urban classification is based on 2016 classifications as this captures population density, whereas the 2022 classification focuses on land use. + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001.

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