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OLLSCOIL LUIMNIGH

One Size Does Not Fit All!

*The Relevance to Travellers of Labour Market Approaches
in Addressing Social Exclusion*

by

Miriam Ryan

Bachelor of Arts in Politics and Public Administration

One Size Does Not Fit All!
The Relevance to Travellers of Labour Market Approaches
in Addressing Social Exclusion

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by

Miriam Ryan

10003961

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Internal Supervisor: Dr. Chris McInerney

External Examiner: Dr. Muiris MacCarthaigh

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Abstract

The central aim of this paper is to determine if the social integration / job response to social exclusion offers any benefit for members of the Traveller community excluded from the labour market due to discrimination, and if so, to what extent. This is based on the premise that Travellers are largely excluded from accessing the mainstream labour market due to discrimination. This is a fundamental aspect given social and employment policies have merged both within the European Union and Irish domain, with the dominant belief that integration into the workforce is the answer to addressing poverty and social exclusion. Despite the political rhetoric about the link between employment and poverty, this paper shows that the route out of poverty and social exclusion is not merely down to employment alone. This is particularly true for Travellers who experience multiple forms of exclusion in areas of health, accommodation, as well as employment. If Travellers are impeded from accessing mainstream employment due to discrimination, it therefore discredits this political way of thinking given it is not solely down to individualism. Rather there is a need to address and implement adequate policies, such as equality mainstreaming, both within the public and private sectors in order for those endeavouring to access mainstream employment to have a fair and just entry route.

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this dissertation is entirely my own work, in my own words, and that all sources used in researching it are fully acknowledged and all quotations properly identified and fully referenced both (in-text) and in my completed reference list / bibliography. This body of work has not been submitted, in whole or in part, by me or another person, for the purpose of obtaining any other credit / grade. I fully understand the ethical implications of my research, and this work meets the requirements of the Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee.

SIGNED: _____

DATE: _____

List of Abbreviations

AGS	Annual Growth Survey
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CSO	Central Statistics Office
EAPNI	European Anti-Poverty Network Ireland
EEA	Employment Equality Act
EEC	European Economic Community
EES	European Employment Strategy
ESF	European Social Fund
EU	European Union
FCI	First Class Insulation
GTM	Galway Traveller Movement
GTSG	Galway Travellers' Support Group
HAP	Housing Assistance Payment
HSE	Health Service Executive
INOUE	Irish National Organisation for the Unemployed
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JER	Joint Employment Report
MUD	Moral Underclass Discourse
NAPS	National Anti-Poverty Strategy
NRPs	National Reform Programmes
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OMC	Open Method of Coordination
PHC	Primary Health Care
PESP	Programme for Economic Social Progress
RED	Redistributive Discourse
SEAI	Sustainable Energy Authority of Ireland
SID	Social Integration Discourse
SILC	Survey on Income Living Conditions
UK	United Kingdom

Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 Rationale

This dissertation considers if the social integration / job response to social exclusion offers any benefit for Travellers excluded from the labour market due to discrimination, and if so, to what extent. The central theme is based around the political dominant narrative that employment is the primary route out of poverty and social exclusion. This is evident by Taoiseach Enda Kenny’s speech last year during the launch of the Low Pay Commission when he stated “the Government has established the Low Pay Commission because it believes that gainful employment is the only sustainable route out of poverty” (Kenny 2015). However, despite the political rhetoric linking employment and poverty, it fails to address underlying issues such as discrimination in accessing mainstream employment for already marginalised groups who experience multiple forms of exclusion within Irish society. Moreover, it lacks real understanding for those employed who still experience poverty. Thus, the pertinent question to be asked is, if employment is seen as the primary route out of poverty and social exclusion, how are groups of Travellers likely to fare. Therefore, consideration must be given to how members of this ethnic minority¹ are expected to advance their life opportunities if doors are shut and walls put up which impede access.

1.2 Outline of Subsequent Chapters

The second chapter presents academic arguments surrounding the concepts of poverty and social exclusion in order to lay the foundation of our understanding of the terms. The third chapter highlights the evolution of social policy within the European Union and Ireland and illustrates the link between employment policy and social policy. Chapter four explores poverty in the Irish context by drawing on official statistics and highlights some of the most

¹ Ethnicity is a contested concept however, ‘it maintains distinct though overlapping anthropological, sociological, political and legal meanings’ (McVeigh 2007, p.91). The Traveller community meet all the markers of ethnicity (see Narroll 1964 cited in Barth 1969), which is learned not inherited, within anthropological and other academic literature, as well as the legislative “objective’ criteria to establish ethnicity’ (McVeigh 2007, p.94) as set out by Lord Fraser of the British House of Lords in respect of *Mandla v. Dowell Lee* [1983]. Thus, Britain and Northern Ireland formally recognise Traveller ethnicity which in turn affords protection against racial discrimination. As this was a British legal judgement it only has ‘indirect formal precedent for Irish jurisprudence’ (ibid p.95). However, successive Irish Governments have thus far failed to recognise Traveller ethnicity despite direct recommendations from the: United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) (ibid p.100); Irish Human Rights Commission (IHRC) (2004; 2013); Equality Authority (2006); Joint Committee on Justice, Defence and Equality (2014); as well as repeated calls from major Traveller organisations such as Pavee Point and the Irish Traveller Movement.

marginalised groups within Irish society. Furthermore, it specifically looks to the Traveller community as one of the most marginalised groups and briefly explores the complex issues relating to inadequate income such as education, health, accommodation and access to the labour market. Chapter five is a case study using a qualitative approach to establish the outcomes that have resulted for members of the Traveller community employed on Traveller specific job initiatives. Chapter six provides an analysis of the main findings throughout this body of research. It also offers suggestions from participants on what the State needs to implement in order to advance Traveller participation in the labour market given this is the view with which it purports to be the answer to poverty and social exclusion

1.3 Methodology

This body of work seeks to answer the following:

Does the social integration / job response to social exclusion offer any benefit for Travellers excluded from the labour market due to discrimination?

In order to explore this question, this dissertation assesses two job initiatives within the Galway Traveller Movement (GTM) by adopting a qualitative approach with participants employed on both schemes. Two separate focus groups were held in GTM's offices in Galway with participants from the Traveller community employed by GTM as Primary Health Care (PHC) Workers and those working in First Class Insulation. There were 5 female participants for the first focus group from the city's primary health care project – 4 community health workers and the co-ordinator. The second focus group comprised of those employed by First Class Insulation (FCI) which had a total of 9 participants – 8 operatives and the manager. I also conducted two semi-structured interviews. The first was with the manager/coordinator of GTM, Margaret O'Riada, who has over 20 years' experience working with the Traveller organisation. The other interview was with Sindy Joyce, a member of the Traveller community who has researched young Travellers spatial mobility and is presently undertaking a Ph.D. which is an ethnographic study of young Travellers experiences of urban space.

Ethics Approval

Ethical approval from the 'Ethics Board' (ULREG) in the University of Limerick was received by (ULREG) for this body of work on 16/09/2015 – Code Number: 2015_06_15_AHSS.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review: Social Exclusion

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents academic arguments surrounding the differing concepts of poverty and social exclusion that are prevalent in political rhetoric, public policies, media and public competing discourses.

The first section outlines the concept of poverty and goes on to discuss the complex and multi-dimensional concept of social exclusion. It draws on the origins of both concepts and outlines academic definitions that have attempted to capture their meaning. The second part briefly looks to the incorporation of social exclusion in the European Union's (EU's) Third Anti-Poverty Programme. The third section goes from definition to explanation by outlining three useful approaches that seek to explain the causes of social exclusion. These identify the multi-dimensional and relational aspects that can cause exclusion, and for the purpose of this paper, failure in being able to access the labour-market is a fundamental aspect. It draws on these approaches to identify factors that can preclude the Traveller community from accessing mainstream employment, as well as other areas of exclusion that this ethnic minority experience. The fourth section discusses the importance of political rhetoric given language used in putting forth proposed inclusionary remedies are framed in a specific manner that can be persuasive and shift responsibility from the State onto the individual. The chapter concludes by suggesting that reliance on exclusively labour market dominated discourses on social exclusion pay insufficient attention to the more fundamental and underlying processes of exclusion.

2.2 Social Exclusion versus Poverty

The concept of social exclusion is relatively new and represents a shift away from merely looking at poverty which had previously been the dominant concept (Fairclough 2000, p.51). Poverty can be seen as a specific form of social exclusion and while social exclusion does not necessarily need to encompass that of poverty, it usually does (Berghman 1995, p.20). Some discussion and definitions of the 'narrower' and 'broader' concept of poverty will now be given attention, as well as the more complex and multi-dimensional concept of social exclusion.

Poverty

Poverty is an Anglo-Saxon product of the nineteenth century and is linked to a liberal ideology (Rowntree 1901 & Townsend 1979 cited in Room 1995, p.5; Fairclough 2000, p.51; Atkinson & Davoudi 2000, p.434; Walker 1995). It considers 'distributional issues' (Room 1995, p.5) in determining if an individual has 'the minimum resources necessary for survival' (Walker 1995, p.103). Ringen outlines that 'poverty can be defined and measured in two ways: directly (in terms of living conditions and consumption) and indirectly (in terms of income)' (1988 cited in Berghman 1995, p.17). It was in fact Peter Townsend who broadened the concept of poverty in his 1979 publication which analysed UK data from 1968-1969 (Room 1995, p.6; Levitas 2005, p.9; Berghman 1995, p.17; Levitas 2004, p.44). He argued that consideration needed to be expanded from merely considering if individuals or households had the means necessary for subsistence, to if they had the sufficiency of resources at their disposal to be able to 'participate' in the activities of customary life within one's society (Room 1995, p.6; Levitas 2005, p.9; Berghman 1995, p.17; Levitas 2004, p.44). Townsend essentially redefined poverty as an objective condition of deprivation, rather than in terms of solely looking at levels of income necessary for survival. He did not however, use the term social exclusion as he deemed to do so would divert too much attention from deprivation (Levitas 2005, pp.9-10). However, in 1997 upon reflection, Townsend changed his position stating that it in fact 'directs attention to the marginalised and excluded and to the potential instruments of their exclusion' (cited in Levitas 2005, p.11; cited in Fairclough 2000, p.54).

While Townsend was not the first to draw on the multi-faceted nature of poverty, his work brought about a widened perspective in breaking away from the Anglo-Saxon limitations to include relational aspects (Levitas 2005, p.9; Room 1995, p.6). His work encompassed housing, health and environmental pollution. It identified those with a disability as experiencing exclusionary processes; and highlighted the implications for one-parent families; as well as work related issues such as hours and job security, while drawing on the relationship between work, welfare and fringe benefits. His remedy was widely redistributive, with a reduction on means-tested benefits that he viewed as a form of social control and restriction (Levitas 2005, pp.9-10). Townsend did acknowledge the conflict between the principles of neo-liberalism with a redistributive approach to wealth via the welfare state (Levitas 2005, pp.9-10).

Social Exclusion

The term social cohesion originated in France during the period of Enlightenment in the eighteenth century, with an emphasis put on that of solidarity; ‘liberty, equality and fraternity’, deemed to be encapsulated in ‘the State as the embodiment of the will of the nation’ (Mathieson *et al.* 2008, p.5). Sociologist Emile Durkheim also wrote about this concept in the late nineteenth century outlining the problems arising from weak social bonds between nation-states and citizens (Mathieson *et al.* 2008, p.5) that can result in self-destructive behaviours (Kushner & Sterk 2005, p.1139). In 1974, the French Secretary of State for Social Action, René Lenoir, spoke of ‘les exclus’ (Mathieson *et al.* 2008, p.5; Davies 2006, p.4; Levitas 2005, p.21; Levitas 2004, p.44; Silver 1994a, p.532) when referring to those disconnected from mainstream society due to not having employment and as a result ‘whose rights to social citizenship’ was either limited or not recognised (Winlow & Hall 2013, p.22; Mathieson *et al.* 2008, p.5; Davies 2006, p.4). Walker (1995) also identifies the term as having French origins, deriving from the idea of ‘society as a status hierarchy comprising people bound together by rights and obligations that reflect, and are defined with respect to, a shared moral order’; ‘it is the state of detachment from this moral order and can be brought about by many factors, including limited income’ (p.103). Over time the French discourse took on a broader meaning which incorporated those marginalised economically, socially and culturally (Silver 1994a, p.533; Levitas 2005, pp.21-2; O’Brien *et al.* 1997, p.7).

The term social exclusion is ‘evocative, ambiguous multidimensional and elastic’ (Silver 1994a, p.536). There is no uniform definition of social exclusion within the EU, but rather a range of national discourses that define it in different ways reflecting institutional, economic, political, social and cultural contexts (Levitas 2005, p.2; Mathieson *et al.* 2008, pp.6-11; Silver 1994a, p.536). These discourses do however, share common features which will be illustrated. Graham Room is attributed as having broadened social exclusion to highlight the multidimensional, dynamic and relational elements (Mathieson *et al.* 2008, p.12). Essentially, social exclusion is a process that excludes rather than solely considering the marginalisation of individuals in terms of poverty (Winlow & Hall 2013, p.20). Fairclough (2000) draws on the comprehensive work of Berghman (1995) who identified two key features in so far as ‘it includes material poverty but also much else’ (p.54), which is what Townsend alluded to in his 1979 publication. Importantly, Berghman’s work highlights the fact that social exclusion can either be a process or an outcome. The former pertains to individuals being excluded by others, while the latter is the state of being excluded itself

(Fairclough 2000, p.54). Social exclusion is now the preferred concept due to its ‘comprehensiveness and dynamic character’ of disadvantage (Berghman 1995, p.16; cited in Whelan & Whelan 1995, p.29).

A variety of academic definitions have attempted to capture the meaning of social exclusion. Townsend referred to social exclusion as ‘the dynamic process of being shut out, fully or partially, from any of the social, economic, political and cultural systems which determine the social integration of a person in society’ (1979 cited in Levitas 2005, p.11). Meanwhile Room (1995) outlines social exclusion as focussing ‘primarily on relational issues, in other words, inadequate social participation, lack of social integration and lack of power’ (p.5). Pierson further extends the understanding of social exclusion as:

“a process that deprives individuals and families, groups and neighbourhoods of the resources required for the participation in the social, economic and political activity of society as a whole. This process is primarily a consequence of poverty and low income, but other factors such as discrimination, low educational attainment and depleted living environments also underpin it. Through this process people are cut off for a significant period of their lives from institutions and services, social networks and development opportunities that the great majority of society enjoys”

(Pierson 2002 cited in Mathieson *et al.* 2008, p.86)

Landman (2006 cited in Mathieson *et al.* 2008, p.86) also addresses the multi-dimensional aspects of social exclusion, again drawing on ‘discrimination against individuals and groups based on one or many different social attributes or elements of social identity’. Landman goes on to address the fact that ‘discrimination can occur as the result of formal or informal activities of the State as well as institutions and organisations in the private sector (including families, villages, and community associations)’ (p.19 cited in Mathieson *et al.* 2008, p.86).

Levitas *et al.* echo many of the above sentiments as they deem that:

“it involves the lack or denial of resources, rights, goods and services, and the inability to participate in the normal relationships and activities, available to the majority of people in a society, whether in economic, social, cultural or political arenas. It affects both the quality of life of individuals and the equity and cohesion of society as a whole”

(p.25 cited in Mathieson *et al.* 2008, p.86)

Interestingly, it is debated whether or not concepts of social exclusion are appropriate in bringing about interventions that may lead to social inclusion, as well as determining if exclusion is increasing or decreasing, which is dependent on any given narrative (Davies

2006, p.3). Essentially, the different emphasis put on a particular element of social exclusion is paramount to its interpretation which informs any potential policy to address it (Mathieson *et al.* 2008, p.12).

2.3 Incorporation of Social Exclusion by the European Union

The concept of social exclusion was adopted across the European Union (EU) in 1988 and replaced the narrative of poverty to include a broader social problem, that of exclusion. This is evident in the EU's first to third Anti-Poverty Programmes, from 1975-1980 and 1990-1994 respectively, when 'exclusion' was incorporated as a social problem within the latter (Silver 1994a, p.535; Silver 2007, p.4; Mathieson *et al.* 2008, pp.5-6; Room 1995, p.3). The action researchers of the EU Poverty 3 Programme outlined the difference between poverty and social exclusion; the former as only considering the lack of resources, whereas the latter is more comprehensive enabling consideration with respect to relational issues (Bruto da Costa *et al.* 1994 cited in Berghman 1995, p.18). Discourses of social exclusion thus extended to different countries with the meaning of the concept itself adapting to reflect economic, political, social and cultural contexts (Mathieson *et al.* 2008, p.6; Mongin 1992 cited in Silver 1994a, p.536; Levitas 2005, p.2). Britain embraced the concept (Fairclough 2000, p.51) in 1997 as it reflected the then Labour government's 'New Way' of thinking. Its meaning had shifted from that of the Conservative government of the 1980s who had held that income poverty was not a significant issue and instead put emphasis on individualism (Mathieson *et al.* 2008, p.6; Skeggs 2003, pp.85-6). There was however, resistance to an EU led approach to poverty, both from the UK and Germany, which ensured that there would not be a Poverty 4 Programme. This shift in discourse from poverty to social exclusion in the EU can be seen as parallel with the rise of a neo-liberal ideology and that of individualism (Veit-Wilson 1998, Byrne 1999, Levitas 2005, Gough & Eisenschitz 2006 cited in Mathieson *et al.* 2008, pp.6-7).

2.4 From Definition to Explanation

This section draws on three useful approaches that seek to explain the causes of social exclusion. The first of these focusses on system failures, the second explores paradigms, and the third is a series of dominant discourses.

System Failures

This approach highlights how social exclusion can occur at a societal rather than an individual level. The EU Poverty 3 Programme researchers, and in particular the Irish researchers, propose that social exclusion derives from failure in one or more of four society wide systems (cited in Berghman 1995, pp.18-9). These are:

- The democratic and legal system, which promotes civic integration.
- The labour market, which promotes economic integration.
- The welfare state system, promoting what may be called social integration.
- The family and community system, which promotes interpersonal integration.

For Commins (1993, p.4 cited in Berghman 1995, pp.18-9) an individual's sense of belonging within society is dependent on all four systems. Moreover, he suggests that all four facets need to work simultaneously and should a couple be weak, the others need to be strong. Commins further outlines that those worst affected will experience a failure of all four systems (cited in Berghman 1995, pp.18-9).

It could be argued that the absence of Traveller representation in the Dáil or Seanad represents a failure in the democratic and legal system as it means that particular group does not have an elected voice in policy processes. While clearly the number of Travellers is in no way comparable with the male / female population breakdown in terms of the recently introduced gender quotas, it does highlight the need for all the population to be adequately represented. Moreover, there have been instances where Travellers have been profiled at a young age by An Garda Síochána with their details inputted on the PULSE database (Pavee Point 2014). This in turn highlights the differential and exclusionary processes of this ethnic minority. In terms of the labour market, this paper seeks to address if the social integration / job response to social exclusion offers benefit for Travellers excluded from the labour market due to discrimination, which is based on the hypothesis that Travellers cannot so easily gain access to mainstream employment and thus leads to intervention. The extent to which this intervention assists the Traveller community will be discussed in chapter five. The failure of the labour market system may be further compounded by weaknesses in the welfare system, which is more acute for those unable to access the labour market due to discrimination. The pressures arising from labour market and welfare system failures, in turn places pressure on families and communities, thereby making further system failures almost inevitable. Thus,

for Travellers, as opposed to other groups in society, a full range of system failure is often the norm.

Paradigms of Social Exclusion

Similar to the system failure approach, Silver’s paradigms attributes social exclusion to societal structures. Silver’s approach draws from different political philosophies to identify three paradigms of exclusion (Silver 1994a, p.539; Mathieson *et al.* 2008, pp.16-7). In doing so, she relates her approach to Kuhn’s (1970) definition of a paradigm as ‘a constellation of beliefs, values, technique and so on shared by member of a given community’ (Silver 1994a, p.536; Mathieson *et al.* 2008, pp.16-7).

Table 1: Three Paradigms of Social Exclusion

	Solidarity	Specialization	Monopoly
Conception of integration	Group solidarity/ cultural boundaries	Specialization/ separate spheres/ interdependence	Monopoly/ social closure
Source of integration	Moral integration	Exchange	Citizenship rights
Ideology	Republicanism	Liberalism	Social democracy
Discourse	Exclusion	Discrimination, underclass	New poverty, inequality, underclass
Seminal thinkers	Rousseau, Durkheim	Locke, Madison, utilitarians	Marx, Weber, Marshall
Exemplars	de Foucauld Xiberras Schnapper Costa-Lascoux Douglas, Mead	Stoléru, Lenoir Shklar Allport, Pluralism Chicago School Murray	Room Townsend Balibar, Silverman Gobelot, Bourdieu
Model of the new political economy	Flexible production	Skills Work disincentives Networks Social capital	Labour market segmentation

(Source: Silver 2007, p.540)

Firstly, the solidarity paradigm is drawn from French Republicanism and sees social exclusion as a consequence of the rupturing of the social bond between an individual and society – that of social solidarity – which relates to cultural and moral, rather than economic spheres (Silver 1994a, p.541 & p.570; Mathieson *et al.* 2008, p.17). It emphasises ways in which cultural boundaries are socially constructed with the roles of specific groups, including ethnic minorities, being in some way precast, primordial and negatively stereotyped. This paradigm also encompasses the exclusion of ‘cultures of poverty and long-term unemployment’ (Silver 1994a, p.542), under narratives of ‘anomie, deviance, pollution,

danger, taboo, stigma' (Silver 1994b, p.30). It therefore brings together economic and social concerns as it seeks 'the inclusion of the excluded' (Silver 1994a, p.570).

The specialization paradigm is drawn from Anglo-American liberalism and views individuals as free to move horizontally between boundaries of labour and social differences. It proposes that exclusion can arise due to different social spheres and there can be a form of discrimination from market failures as well as unenforced rights (Silver 1994a, pp.542-70; Mathieson *et al.* 2008, p.17). It holds that individuals are different which allows 'specialization in the market and among social groups', and while exclusion can have multiple factors, one of which is discrimination from group boundaries – individuals are free to engage as they wish (Silver 1994b, pp.33-4). It suggests that the capacity to move is largely due to individual effort and motivation, the implication being that those who do not succeed in improving their own individual situations are themselves to blame. This echoes the moral underclass discourse (MUD) discussed in the next section.

The monopoly paradigm is embedded within the European Left and sees exclusion as a result of monopolies that essentially restrict outsiders from accessing scarce resources. It is a consequence of hierarchical structures that relate to social class, status and political power, which essentially serves the included (Silver 1994a, pp.543-70; Silver 1994b, p.37; Mathieson *et al.* 2008, p.17). This paradigm is particularly relevant as 'social closure is achieved when institutions and cultural distinctions not only keep others out against their will, but are also used to perpetuate inequality' and such closure can be 'evident in labour market segmentation' (Silver 1994a, p.543). It proposes as a solution to take into consideration not only Marshall's 'civil and political citizenship' but also 'social and economic citizenship' (Silver 1994b, p.37).

As outlined by Silver (2007, p.15) one of the ways social exclusion can occur is with respect to social boundaries which draw distinctions between 'us' and 'them', as referred to in the solidarity paradigm. This is a particular point of relevance given Travellers, who are an ethnic minority, may be excluded from mainstream employment due to discriminatory distinctions as highlighted in the monopoly explanation. Insiders can form a cohesive boundary whereby those with different attributes are viewed as outsiders (Barth 1969, Douglas 1966, Alexander 2001, Elias and Scotson 1994 cited in Silver 2007, p.15). Interestingly, any such social closure to opportunity by insiders can in turn allow the

excluded group to engage in what Parkin (1979 cited in Silver 2007, p.15) attributes as ‘usurpation’, whereby they close off and exclude the majority. Essentially, as Silver suggests, while it may look like the excluded wish to withdraw, some may in fact be doing so due to being treated poorly (2007, p.2).

Discourses of Social Exclusion

Levitas’s three discourses also address the fact that some individuals are unable to gain access into the labour market and how particular narratives blame this on individuals rather than the structures that impede access.

These three discourses of social exclusion are informed by recent experiences in the UK and EU. Levitas notes that ‘a discourse constitutes ways of acting in the world, as well as a description of it’; ‘it both opens up and closes down possibilities for action for ourselves’ (2005, p.3; Mathieson *et al.* 2008, p.18). Levitas also outlines the fact that the term discourse, has within social science, somewhat taken over from what is considered an ideology; although there are some varying connotations (Levitas 2005, p.3).

Redistributive discourse (RED) sees social exclusion as a consequence of poverty. Developed in British critical social policy, its primary concern is with addressing poverty and inequality with the substantial redistribution of wealth and power (Levitas 2005, p.7). This discourse addresses the varying issues surrounding exclusion: economic, social, political, and cultural; while also taking into account other areas of inequality (Mathieson *et al.* 2008, p.18). It encompasses more than a concern with outcast poverty, as it addresses the exclusionary process in all areas of society which result in inequality (Levitas 2005, pp.13-4; Moran 2006, pp.189-90).

“it emphasizes poverty as a prime cause of social exclusion; it implies a reduction of poverty through increases in benefit levels; it is potentially able to valorize unpaid work; in posting citizenship as the obverse of exclusion, it goes beyond a minimalist model of inclusion; in addressing social, political and cultural, as well as economic, citizenship, it broadens out into a critique of inequality, which includes, but is not limited to, material inequality; it focuses on the processes which produce that inequality; it implies a radical reduction of inequalities, and a redistribution of resources and power”

(Levitas 2005, p.14)

By contrast, the moral underclass discourse (MUD) places an emphasis on both the moral and cultural causes of poverty and is primarily concerned with ‘dependency’ and invariably focuses on the unemployed, criminal young men, and lone parents. By identifying some males as criminally inclined and unemployable, and single mothers as sexually irresponsible; it premises its belief on social discipline that will afford self-inclusion into paid employment that is both moral and cultural (Levitas 2005, pp.7-8; Fairclough 2000, p.57; Moran 2006, p.186). This largely stemmed from American commentator Charles Murray who believed the culture of dependency was spreading to the UK and he propagated the need for such individuals to be assimilated into mainstream society (Levitas 2005, p.19).

“It presents underclass or socially excluded as culturally distinct from the ‘mainstream’; it focuses on the behaviour of the poor rather than the structure of the whole society; it implies that benefits are bad, rather than good, for their recipients, and encourages ‘dependency’; inequalities among rest of society are ignored; it is a gendered discourse, about idle, criminal young men and single mothers; unpaid work is not acknowledged; although dependency on the state is regarded as a problem, personal economic dependency, especially of women and children on men, is not. Indeed, it is seen as a civilizing influence on men”

(Levitas 2005, p.21)

Social integration discourse (SID) holds that social exclusion is as a result of unemployment and deems coercion by means of social integration into the labour market as essential (Levitas 2005, p.8). It does not allow for unpaid work through benefits and furthermore fails to address the ways in which forms of employment, such a low pay or unsociable working hours, can lead to social exclusion, as well as not taking into consideration the competitiveness of the labour market (Levitas 2005, p.26 & p.161); which also relates to MUD as discussed above. Moreover, it lacks insight into ethnic and gender discrimination (Moran 2006, p.184). It essentially prioritises market concerns over those excluded, and as Moran (2006) outlines, this is ironic given it does little to alleviate the very issue which it purports to address (Moran 2006, p.186).

“It narrows the definition of social exclusion/inclusion to participation in paid work; it squeezes out the question of why people who are not employed are consigned to poverty. Consequently, it does not, like RED, imply a reduction of poverty by an increase in benefit levels; it obscures the inequalities between paid workers; since women are paid significantly less than men, and are far more likely to be in low-paid jobs, it obscures gender, as well as class, inequalities in the labour market; it erases from view the inequality between those owning the bulk of productive property and the working population;

it is unable to address adequately the question of unpaid work in society; because it ignores unpaid work and its gendered distribution, it implies an increase in women's total workload; it undermines the legitimacy of non-participating in paid work"

(Levitas 2005, pp.26-7)

As outlined earlier, Townsend deemed RED as the measure to be adopted in order to alleviate poverty however, he recognised the intense challenge of achieving this within a strongly neoliberal and meritocracy obsessed age. Both MUD and SID highlight how blame can be apportioned on groups or an individual rather than the structural factors that perpetuate exclusion. As Moran (2006) highlights, SID prioritises market concerns, which is a neo-liberal ideology very much prevalent in recent decades, over those excluded and does not address that which it proposes to.

2.5 Political Rhetoric

Finally, it is important to consider the role of political rhetoric as a dimension in how our views of social exclusion are formed, the context from which these views stem and the remedies that may be generated in response. Political rhetoric informs public attitudes via the media, which in turn allows for the backing of any potential inclusionary or exclusionary processes. When language is used effectively by politicians it can be persuasive, and when for example MUD or SID are heavily drawn on, it can garner public support in the belief that inclusion into the labour market is the only viable option without taking into consideration the exclusionary processes that obstruct access. That is not to suggest that some audiences do not have agency with a view to considering other dimensions, but rather when narratives are framed effectively and are persistent, they can create perceptions of groups within society and the processes that should be adopted in order to bring about a desired outcome – inclusion into the labour market, without addressing discriminatory processes.

Fairclough (2000) argues that language is one element of social practice with which government's utilise, and he further draws on the distinction between 'rhetoric' and 'reality' (pp.142-5). It is the means by which 'symbolic value is attributed, institutionalised and legitimated' (Skeggs 2003 p.92). Gough and Eisenschitz (2006 cited in Mathieson *et al.* 2008, p.26) propose that attitudes are shaped by 'popular culture and political ideology propagated by the mass media, competition for jobs and other recourses, and fear of poverty'. Fairclough deems this as 'the rhetorical management of culture' or 'cultural governance'

(2000, p.157 cited in Skeggs 2003, p.87). Rhetoric is one of the processes by which class struggle occurs as it can shift responsibility from the State onto the individual (Skeggs 2003, p.79), which is evident in the solidarity and specialisation paradigms, and MUD.

It is prudent to note that the problem herein is that meritocracy can be assumed as a level playing field for all citizens, which does not take into account ongoing discrimination and power dynamics (Gillies 2005, p.86). In order to have an inclusive society, individuals must have social mobility so as to allow them move forward in their life ambitions (Leisering & Walker 1998b cited in Byrne 1999, p.66). However, it is problematic when narratives are framed in a specific manner that ignores underlying factors precluding individuals and certain groups from social mobility, specifically in accessing the labour market.

2.6 Conclusion

As has been highlighted, social exclusion is a process rather than a condition. It is multifaceted and individuals can be included in some ways, yet excluded in others (Silver 2007, p.1). Both poverty and social exclusion have different meanings in different contexts and as such, this complexity (Walker 1995, p.102) has the potential to impede appropriate policy, which may well be dependent on any States' or individual's respective ideology. As already noted, poverty can be seen as a specific form of social exclusion and while social exclusion does not necessarily need to encompass that of poverty, it usually does. This can be problematic if the focus is on levels of income without considering the wide range of factors that contribute to social exclusion that were addressed in the third section.

The system failure approach, paradigms and discourses all capture the reality of what contributes to social exclusion. The system failure approach specifically highlights four systems that can lead to exclusion, and for the purposes of this paper, access into the labour market is the most significant. Exclusionary processes are further drawn on in the solidarity and monopoly paradigms that highlight socially constructed group boundaries with the monopoly explanation identifying this as leading to labour market segregation. In sharp contrast to RED, SID, which is now the predominant used narrative, proposes employment as the answer to social exclusion however; this narrow interpretation does not consider exclusionary processes such as ethnic discrimination. Moreover, the solidarity paradigm and MUD draw on narratives of deviance which blame the individual, thus language plays a

pivotal role. Essentially, exclusionary processes need to be addressed alongside low levels of income if inclusionary remedies are to be successful.

Chapter 3 – The Evolution of European and Irish Social Policy

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter looked at the evolution of approaches to poverty and social exclusion and traced different discourses and explanations, all of which identify the emphasis placed on the labour market through their conceptual representations of social exclusion. This chapter seeks to address the evolution of European and Irish social policy.

The first section gives a brief summary of the main social policy dimensions of the European Treaties since its founding in 1958. The second section looks to some of the main social policies adopted by the European Union. The next section draws on the link between the European Union's employment and social policies. The fourth section considers the evolution of Irish social policy. In the fifth section, it again considers the merging of employment policy and social policy in the Irish context. It also draws on the economic crisis of 2008 which saw cuts to public sector jobs and social welfare payments. This chapter concludes that there is a strong link between employment and social policies both at European and Irish level however, while advances have been made with regard to the latter, it has somewhat receded since the economic downturn.

3.2 Social Policy and the Treaties of the European Union

The European social model stems from the founding of the European Economic Community (EEC) established in 1958. Negotiations for the Treaty of Rome took place in 1956 with member states giving a commitment to increasing social protection but not endorsing a European social policy (Scharpf 2002; Falkner *et al.* 2005). Scharpf suggests that this 'allowed economic-policy discourses to frame the European agenda exclusively in terms of market integration and liberalization, and it ensured the privileged access of economic interests to European policy processes' (2002, pp.646-7). Essentially, this resulted in EU social policies being secondary to that of economic policies, as the welfare state remained the responsibility of each respective member state (Ó'Cinnéide 1993; Falkner 1998; Geyer 2000). The Treaty of Rome was however, responsible for EU social policy that related to equal pay for men and women, social payment for migrant workers, mobility of labour, as well as the introduction of the European Social Fund (ESF) (Ó'Cinnéide 1993, p.9). It is

worth noting that these aspects were also required in order to achieve the EU's economic objectives (Ó'Cinnéide 1993, p.9).

Some changes in social policy did occur in the 1980s with the Single European Act of 1986 relating to the free movement of workers, coordination of social security, and areas concerning health and safety of workers (Falkner *et al.* 2005; Ó'Cinnéide 1993). Attempts were made to create a social Europe due to the progress in the EU economy with economic integration from the 1980s resulting from the Single European Act (SEA) and the creation of the European Monetary Union in the 1990s (Scharpf 2002). Subsequently, Maastricht Treaty in 1992 extended the EU's competences in areas such as equal opportunity for men and women in the labour market, working conditions, and the integration of those excluded from the labour market (Falkner *et al.* 2005). However, due to resistance from the UK, efforts to agree a new social policy within the Treaty were unsuccessful (Armstrong 2010, p.57). The Amsterdam Treaty in 1997 further extended the EU's competencies in the social policy sphere (Armstrong 2010). This was largely due to the UK's social policy opt-out ceasing in 1997 with the election of the new Labour government (Falkner *et al.* 2005) and their 'Third Way' thinking. Thus, many of the provisions that had been discussed during negotiations for Maastricht could now be incorporated into the Amsterdam Treaty. This Treaty provided for the establishment of the European Employment Strategy (EES) which coordinated employment policies based on the Commissions guidelines and required member states to submit reports however, this would not impose on the legal competencies of members states (Falkner *et al.* 2005; Armstrong 2010). 'Policy coordination under the EES would later provide a template for the design of the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) to combat social exclusion' (Armstrong 2010, p.58). However, as Armstrong (2010, p.60) outlines, the OMC was not afforded the same institutional status as the EES was within the Treaties.

The Nice Treaty in 2003 provided for combating social exclusion. However, this was not done by legislative measures but rather via directives setting out the minimum requirements relating to the integration of those excluded from the labour market (Armstrong 2010, p.60). Moreover, the Lisbon Treaty in 2009 furthered a neo-liberal agenda in so far as 'economic, employment and social policy were formally brought together in what became known as the Lisbon Triangle' (Considine & Dukelow 2009, p.166).

3.3 European Social Policy

Moving beyond the specifics of Treaties with the increase in attention being given to the issue of poverty during the 1970s, member states agreed at the Paris summit in 1972 to further a European social sphere (Vanhercke 2012). The European Social Action Programme 1974 was subsequently established in order to address the issue of poverty (Vanhercke 2012). As Geyer (2000) outlines, this was the ‘first major advance for EU social policy since the Treaties of Paris and Rome’ (p.248).

The EU Anti-Poverty Programmes from 1975-1994 were a direct result from the establishment of the EU Social Action Programme in 1974 (Vanhercke 2012). These were designed to identify good practice and potential issues in addressing poverty, as well as creating and building small-scale grassroots type projects and larger projects which were to be implemented in mainstream policies within member states (Langford 1999, p.91). The First Poverty Programme 1975 -1980 ‘financed a series of trans-national studies and some 50 local projects across Europe’, and essentially ‘facilitated an assessment of the dimensions of poverty’ (Langford 1999, p.91). The Second Programme 1985-1989 ‘was designed to help member states with their anti-poverty programme; it aimed to propose innovative and universally applicable measures based on field trials and to cast light on the causes of poverty’ (Mangan 1993, p.79).

The term social exclusion started to be more widely used by the late 1980s with the recognition of the multi-faceted nature of disadvantage, as discussed in the previous chapter. As Geyer (2000) outlines, this was as a result of the term poverty and its inclusion in policy having fallen out of favour. Room (1995, p.5) highlights how French researchers had become increasingly uncomfortable with using the term poverty, which resulted in the European Commission developing studies around the term social exclusion. While the first two Anti-Poverty Programmes concentrated on that of poverty, the Third Programme 1990-1994 and subsequent EU documents thereon, used the term social exclusion. Thus, the Third Anti-Poverty Programme considered multiple disadvantages by the use of the term social inclusion. Moreover, the 1989 Resolution on Combating Social Exclusion adopted different policy approaches (Council of the European Communities 1989). It suggested that access to education, employment, housing, community services and medical care was needed in order to combat social exclusion however, it placed emphasis on social exclusion being as a result of not accessing the labour market (Daly 2010). As was briefly highlighted in chapter two,

efforts to develop a Fourth Anti-Poverty Programme were unsuccessful. This had consequences for social exclusion policy as it was 'redirected towards the more traditional areas of vocational training, mobility enhancement and employment promotion' (Geyer 1999, p.161). The emphasis placed on inclusion within the labour market aligns with the principles of the social integration discourse (SID) as previously outlined. As Geyer (1999, p.161) argues, 'anti-exclusion policy, once linked to anti-poverty policy, had now become employment policy'.

The White Paper on Social Policy 1994 advocated access to services and social protection with respect to the guarantee of a minimum level of income (European Commission 1994, p.36). However, it outlined the commitment known as activation policy by again focussing on social exclusion from the workforce (Daly 2010). With regard to the European Social Fund (ESF), the white paper outlined that 'on a Union-wide basis the Social Fund is focussed on combating long-term unemployment and exclusion from the labour market' (European Commission 1994, p.18). It essentially outlined that the primary focus should be on active labour market measures that would encourage citizens to enter the workforce (European Commission 1994, p.38).

The Social Action Programme 1998-2000 was a commitment to a renewal of social policy (Commission of the European Communities 1998, p.1) by outlining that it 'should promote a decent quality of life and standard of living for all in an active, inclusive and healthy society that encourages access to employment, good working conditions, and equality of opportunity' (Commission of the European Communities 1998, p.3). It stated that 'employment is central to fulfilling this vision, because it is a Europe at work that will sustain the core values of the European social model' (Commission of the European Communities 1998, p.3). Geyer (2000, p.253) argues that the last important social document of the 1990s essentially framed policy in terms of employment policy with the need for jobs, mobility and skills.

The early 2000s was the next important stage for social inclusion whereby 'the EU made one of the most concerted attempts anywhere in recent history to engage with poverty and social exclusion' (Daly 2010, p.15). It was the Lisbon Council in 2000 that marked this historical move with seeking to address poverty and social exclusion (European Council 2000). Featherstone *et al.* (2012) suggest the Lisbon Strategy was born to correct areas of weakness in terms of education, employment, training, social protection and social inclusion at member

state level. However, as highlighted earlier, Considine & Dukelow (2009) outline how ‘economic, employment and social policy were formally brought together in what became known as the Triangle’ (p.166).

3.4 The Relationship between Employment Policy and Social Policy

In 2000, the European Employment Strategy (EES) experienced its first upgrade as part of the Lisbon Strategy which included three elements: ‘making more investments in people, activating social policies and strengthening action against old and new forms of social exclusion’ (Rodrigues 2003, p.17 cited in Weishaupt & Lack 2011, pp.13-4). As Levitas (2003) outlines, the first objective was participation in the labour market, which again highlights the continued commitment to the principles of the social integration discourse (SID) as being the main priority. The Open Method of Co-ordination (OMC) was also introduced, whereby member states could co-ordinate common objectives yet were free to select appropriate measures (Dostal 2004; Armingeon 2007, p.909; Weishaupt & Lack 2011, p.14; Koch 2008, p.265; Goetschy 2003, p.59). Further amendments were made to the EES in 2003 when The Commission combined the four pillars to include full employment; quality and quantity of work; and social inclusion and an inclusive labour market (Weishaupt & Lack 2011, p.15). In 2005, the new EES was incorporated into a revised Lisbon / Growth and Jobs Strategy (Weishaupt & Lack 2011, p.15; Koch 2008, p.266) which was more neo-liberal than the previous phase (Copeland & Daly 2012, p.274). This brought about governance changes whereby instead of member states having to furnish an annual National Reform Programme (NRP), they are now required to carry out a three-year National Reform Programmes (NRPs) (Weishaupt & Lack 2011, p.18; Koch 2008, p.256).

The Europe 2020 Strategy launched in 2010 ‘drew on the previous Lisbon Strategy by prioritising “smart growth” (built on knowledge and education), “sustainable growth” (i.e., resource efficient, green and more competitive growth) and “inclusive growth” (with high levels of employment and social cohesion)’ (Weishaupt & Lack 2011, p.24; European Commission 2010). Negotiations surrounding the insertion of a poverty target were contentious (Copeland & Daly 2012, p.282). Some member states, which included Ireland, initially opposed such a move and questioned the EU’s legal competence within the area of social exclusion (Copeland & Daly 2012). The Europe 2020 target is to remove 20 million European citizens out of poverty and social exclusion within 10 years (Copeland & Daly 2012, p.273) and have 75% of those aged between 20-64 in employment (European

Commission 2010). Copeland and Daly (2012) suggest that the target raises fundamental conflicts with that of capitalism which is strongly promoted in EU discourse (p.274). As Weishaupt and Lack (2011) outline, the Europe 2020 Strategy can be an opportunity not to repeat the failures of the second phase of the Lisbon agenda, which have been criticised for failing ‘to reduce poverty and inequality despite good years of economic growth’ (p.33).

It is important to note that member states have a degree of autonomy with respect to what targets they choose, which will correspond with social philosophies of either redistributive policies, or those who deem employment to be ‘the route out of poverty and social exclusion’ (Copeland & Daly 2012, p.283). This has already been identified by EU Joint Employment Reports (JER) (Goetschy 2003, p.65) and highlights the issues with respect to member states representatives negotiating suitable benchmarks (Koch 2008, p.266). What is problematic is that some member states may be fiscally constrained to invest in new skills, whereas others may simply ignore the social target (Weishaupt & Lack 2011, p.33). More concerning is the fact that the Commission’s Annual Growth Survey (AGS) of 2016 outlines that not only has progress derailed for poverty and social exclusion, but that the situation has indeed worsened (European Commission 2016, p.5).

3.5 Evolution of Social Policy in Ireland

Up until Ireland joined the EU in 1973, Irish social policy was limited and had largely been influenced by the conservative Catholic Church (Quinn *et al.* 1999, pp.2-7). Upon becoming a member of the EU, Ireland participated in European level economic and social policy. Shortly thereafter, the marriage bar, which had sought that women resign from teaching or within the civil service once they married, was lifted. The 1970s saw a range of new benefits introduced such as the: Deserted Wife’s Allowance/Benefit, Unmarried Mother’s Allowance, Prisoner’s Wife’s Allowance, Single Woman’s Allowance, Pay-related Benefit and the Supplementary Welfare Allowance Act (Quinn *et al.* 1999, p.7), which was viewed as removing ‘the last vestiges of the Poor Law’ (Frank Cluskey cited in Quinn *et al.* 1999, p.7). Moreover, Article 119 in the Treaty of Rome stipulated equal pay for men and women (Cousins 1995, p.58). In 1977 the Dáil passed the Employment Equality Act (EEA) which further aligned EU law with the Irish constitution, whereby it permitted access to employment for men and women irrespective of gender or marital status (Finnegan & McCarron 2000, p.167). However, this only applied to women already participating in the labour market (Cousins 1995, p.99). There were other areas of contention such as women’s

access to unemployment assistance, as well as the exclusion of part-time workers. Ireland was granted a six year period with which to implement these directives (Cousins 1995, p.105), thus it took until the mid-1980s for these to be applied. As Adshead (2005) argues, Ireland's insufficient social policy made it 'uniquely susceptible to [the] Europeanisation effect because of the nation-wide consensus of opinion in favour of EU membership' (p.162). Essentially, the EU was the catalyst for incremental change in the area of equality within the labour market and the social security system however, the former proved to be more successful for women already participating in the labour force (Cousins 2005, p.125; Laffan & O'Mahony 2008, pp.38-9; O'Mahony 2004, p.20).

Ireland did establish a National Anti-Poverty Strategy (NAPS) in 1997 (Layte *et al.* 2000, p.553) which was adopted some years ahead of the EU NAP (O'Donnell & Moss 2005, p.315). Adshead and McInerney (2009) argue that the Irish NAPS 'represented the first attempt by any state to adopt an explicit strategy and set of targets against which progress towards reducing poverty could be monitored' (p.7). Ireland drew on their experience from the Third Anti-Poverty Programme 1989-1994 with the shift from poverty to social exclusion (Langford 1999, p.96). Ireland essentially uploaded NAPS to EU level when holding the 1996 Presidency during the time when the Amsterdam Treaty was being drafted.

3.6 The Relationship between Employment Policy and Social Policy in Ireland

With respect to employment policy, a 'leapfrog effect' (Conroy 1999, p.45) occurred within Irish social policy through the social partnership agreement, Programme for Economic and Social Progress (PESP) 1990-1993 (1991). It overlapped with debates around social exclusion whereby employment was deemed as the solution (Quinn *et al.* 1999, p.7). Ireland's Employment Action Plan 1998 mirrored employment guidelines within the Amsterdam Treaty of 1997 and aimed to reduce in-built unemployment traps via targeted adjustments in the welfare system, particularly for young people.

Ireland essentially took the route that 'work pays' in its reforming of the welfare system, which is echoed in the revised EU/IMF Memorandum of Understanding (2011). The Government's Pathways to Work report outlined five components; regular and ongoing engagement with the unemployed; increased targeting of activation places and opportunities; incentivising take-up opportunities; incentivising employers to provide jobs for the unemployed; and reforming institutions for the improvement of services for the unemployed

(Government of Ireland 2012 & 2013). Moreover, the Pathways to Work 2015 places emphasis on assisting the long-term and youth unemployed to find employment by means of the JobPath programme and the JobsPlus employment subsidy, respectively (Government of Ireland 2015).

The Economic Crisis

As outlined by Considine and Dukelow ‘the need for fiscal discipline was heavily informed by the critique of welfare expenditure, which shifted the problems of the crisis to the welfare state domain’ (2012, p.268). However, it is worth noting that ever before the economic crisis in 2008, Ireland’s benefit system was weighted on 25% of payments having to be means tested and this persevered. Murphy (2010) argues that the ‘recession has been seized as a political opportunity by those who want to establish Ireland as an ungenerous social welfare model and a more neoliberal welfare state’ (p.5). Moreover, Murphy draws on the patriarchal nature that reoccurred with benefit cuts affecting women more than men (2010, p.11). Gender equality was no longer a priority as it was deemed to be unattainable and lone parents were specifically targeted with social welfare cuts, as well as cuts to child benefit and carers allowance which are mostly paid to women (Barry 2014, pp.6-9). Furthermore, job losses and freezes, as well as salary cuts, were imposed on the public sector which had ‘become a key source of employment for women’ during the two preceding decades (Barry 2014, p.7). The extent to which such impacted on women, who largely tend to hold lower paid positions, is clear given ‘47 per cent of those employed in public administration and defence were women’, with approximately 75 per cent ‘employed in education and health sectors’ (Barry 2014, p.8). Unlike the crisis of the 1980s, social partnership ceased as it was no longer considered a viable option. As Moran outlines, ‘finances are no longer available, social partnership as we knew it is ended, and the State is without an internal legitimising power bloc to support it for the first time. In crisis, the government has turned to powerful external institutions for its legitimacy’ (Moran 2010, pp.10-11).

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter highlights how social policy within the EU has been consigned to a policy subsystem that has no legal power, whereby member states are well positioned to apply measures as they see fit. It does show the extent of Europeanisation of Irish social policy upon membership from 1973 with improved social welfare provisions and the move towards gender equality within employment. However, it also shows the extent to which Ireland has

receded advancements following the economic crisis. Moreover, as has been highlighted throughout the chapter, employment policy and social policy have merged both in terms of EU and Irish policy, which draws on the social integration discourse (SID) as discussed in the previous chapter. There is clearly an emphasis on economic policy with social progress being frequently aligned with economic and employment progress. The next chapter draws on this within the Irish context by addressing the poor and socially excluded and indeed working poor in Ireland.

Chapter 4 – Poverty and Social Exclusion: Ireland

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter highlighted the evolution of social policy which identified that the principles of SID are predominant in both the EU and Irish context. As a result, this chapter seeks to identify the role and relevance of this discourse in Ireland.

The first section draws on official statistics to show the levels of those at-risk of poverty, deprivation and consistent poverty. It further discusses vulnerable and marginalised groups within society who experience higher levels of poverty than the general population. Moreover, this section also looks to the pre Celtic Tiger era in order to determine if inequality and poverty is a consequence of the economic crisis. The second part considers the political rhetoric that suggests the route out of poverty is through the labour market. It goes on to draw on research identifying if individuals would be better off working or remaining on unemployment benefit. The third section looks specifically to the Traveller community as one of the groups who experience higher levels of poverty and social exclusion. It briefly explores the complex issues that relate to inadequate income such as education, health, accommodation, as well as access to the labour market. The chapter concludes that the route out of poverty is not solely down to employment, which is particularly true for the Traveller community who experience multiple forms of exclusion.

4.2 The Poor in Ireland

The Central Statistics Office (CSO) is Ireland's national statistical office and as set out in the Statistics Act [1993], has a mandate in 'the collection, compilation, extraction and dissemination for statistical purposes of information relating to economic, social and general activities and conditions in the State' (CSO 2014a). The CSO conduct The Survey on Income and Living Conditions (SILC) in Ireland, which is a household survey that covers issues pertaining to income and living conditions. 'It is the official source of data on household and individual income and also provides a number of key national poverty indicators, such as the at-risk of poverty rate, the consistent poverty rate and rates of enforced deprivation' (CSO 2014b).

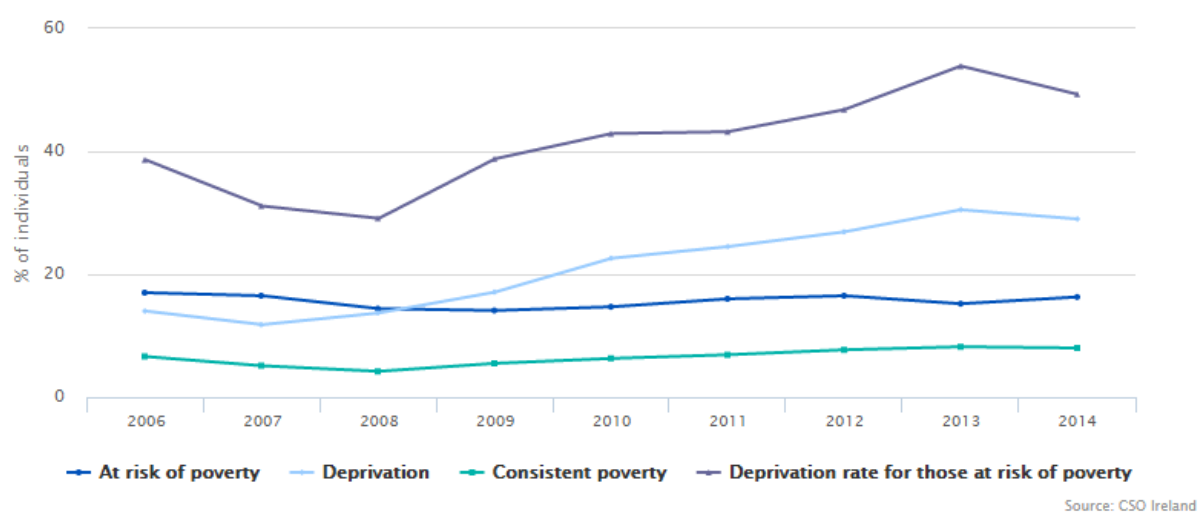
In 2014 the CSO’s Survey of Income and Living Conditions (SILC) shows that those at-risk of poverty comprised of 16.3 per cent of the population, which equates to approximately 751,000 people, as ‘their disposable income was below the poverty line of 60 per cent of the middle (median) income of all people in the country’ (EAPNI 2015; EAPNI 2009; CSO 2015b). It also shows that 29 per cent of the population experienced deprivation, which is a substantial increase since 2008 (CSO 2015b; EAPNI 2015) when it was 13.7 per cent (CSO 2015a). Moreover, the figures for 2014 show 8 per cent of the population, which is over 369,000 people, were in consistent poverty given they were at risk of poverty and also experienced material deprivation. However, in 2008 those in consistent poverty were 4.2 per cent of the population which shows that it has almost doubled in a 7 year period (EAPNI 2015; CSO 2015b; CSO 2015a).

Table 2: Poverty and Deprivation Rates by Year

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Poverty & deprivation rates	%	%	%	%	%	%
At risk of poverty rate	14.1	14.7	16.0	16.5	15.2	16.3
Deprivation rate ²	17.1	22.6	24.5	26.9	30.5	29.0
Deprivation rate for those at risk of poverty	38.8	42.9	43.2	46.8	53.9	49.3
Consistent poverty rate	5.5	6.3	6.9	7.7	8.2	8.0

(Source: CSOb 2015)

Figure 1: Poverty and Deprivation Rates by Year



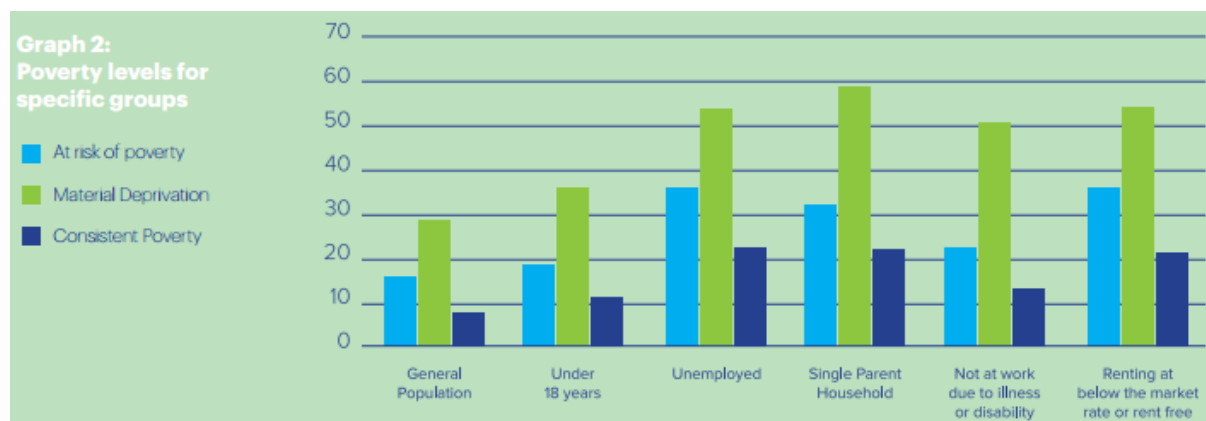
(Source: CSOb 2015)

The Most Marginalised in Society

The 2014 SILC database shows that while those most at-risk of poverty was 16.3 per cent of the population, those living in unemployed households accounted for 35.3 per cent; while deprivation was 29 per cent, 53.4 per cent were unemployed; consistent poverty was 8 per cent with unemployed persons accounting for 22.6 per cent (CSOb 2015), while employed persons comprised of 11.0 per cent (EAPNI 2015).

While the CSO shows poverty and deprivation rates, it is important to note that ‘more vulnerable and marginalised groups in society experience higher levels of poverty than the general population’ (EAPNI 2015). These comprise of lone parents, unemployed, and people with disabilities, which the below graph illustrates. However, other groups such as ‘Travellers, homeless people and migrants, including asylum seekers and refugees’ also ‘experience high levels of poverty but are not captured by official statistics’ (EAPNI 2015).

Figure 2: Poverty Levels for Specific Groups



(Source: EAPNI 2015)

Prior to the Economic Crisis

In order to put the above figures into context it is important to look at Irish society prior to the economic crisis of 2008, so as to highlight the neo-liberal ideology over recent decades. Kirby (2007) asserts that while a ‘high growth path’ was paved ‘in the late 1980s and early 1990s’ it created ‘greater relative poverty and inequality’ (p.141). Ireland is not unique in this regard as during the prosperous years between 2001 and 2007, Europe had an increase in employment rates however, poverty increased in the UK, Germany, Sweden and Poland (Taylor-Gooby 2015).

Kirby identifies the ‘Irish model’ as a low-tax one (2007, p.138) with former Taoiseach Bertie Ahern stating back in 2006 that Ireland ‘is now a low-tax economy under all the headings by the European Union and OECD figures and we are going to keep it that way’ (The Irish Times 2006, cited in Kirby 2007, p.138). Drawing on CSO figures, Ireland had the highest at-risk of poverty rate within the EU in 2005 (Kirby 2007 p.137). Moreover, Kirby outlines that in 2001 the share of national income as a percentage of GDP to employees in Ireland was 39.9 per cent, while the share to profits was 48.7 per cent (Eurostat 2004 cited in Kirby 2007, pp.137-8). This shows ‘significant distributional inequalities’ during Ireland’s economic upturn which also highlights the welfare effort by the State (Kirby 2007, p.138).

4.3 Is Employment the Route out of Poverty?

The social integration discourse (SID) suggests integration into labour market is essential in order to alleviate poverty and social exclusion. Political rhetoric is a means used to put forth beliefs and ideas which inform public attitudes and policy. The principles of SID are endorsed by the Irish government with political rhetoric being utilised which reinforces this position. This is evident by Taoiseach Enda Kenny’s speech at the launch of the Low Pay Commission in 2015 where he stated “the Government has established the Low Pay Commission because it believes that gainful employment is the only sustainable route out of poverty” (Kenny 2015).

The Taoiseach also addresses the fact that “work should pay more than welfare, and no household with a person in full-time work should be poor”. However, he did outline that “this is not always the case at the moment” (Kenny 2015). Drawing on data from 2013, Kenny stated that 9 per cent of those where the head of a family was in employment were classified as ‘consistently poor’, and went on to say that “this is morally unacceptable, and economically unwise” (Kenny 2015). In 2014 however, 11 per cent of employed persons were in consistent poverty (EAPNI 2015), while the unemployed accounted for 22.6 per cent (CSO 2015b). Commentators such as Taylor-Gooby (2015) argue that while many believe in the premise that higher employment levels reduces poverty, it fails to address shortcomings such as employment rights; poor quality jobs; increases in part time work; access to childcare; and in reducing discrimination. Moreover, he asserts that it is therefore paramount to ‘pay attention to the quality as well as the quantity of jobs created’ (2015).

Structural unemployment is problematic given it impacts on marginalised communities and this has been further deepened since the economic crisis (EAPNI 2015). A point worth noting is that inequality not only negatively impacts on those with the lowest incomes but on society as a whole (Pickett and Wilkinson 2009 cited in EAPNI 2015). The European Anti-Poverty Network Ireland asserts that a new anti-poverty strategy:

'must ensure that everyone, in work or out of work, has access to a guaranteed income which allows them to live with dignity. Minimum social welfare levels should be set at a level which is both above the 60 per cent at-risk of poverty level and provides people and families with a minimum essential standard of living'

(EAPNI 2015)

Better off Working?

Savage *et al.* (2015) researched the extent to which the unemployed in Ireland would be financially better off in employment rather than remain on benefit, taking into account incomes (replacement rate RR – ratio between net income in or out of work) and benefits, and found that 4 out of 5 would have their income increase by 40 per cent. Even for those who may be financially better off not working, their findings show that 5 out of 6 still chose to work, with the potential for future wage increases a significant deciding factor (Savage *et al.* 2015, p.21). This is echoed by Callan *et al.* (2012) who also found that many who would be potentially better off out of employment were in fact working (p.76). However, certain groups, such as jobseekers with children, can face somewhat weaker incentives to take up work (Savage *et al.* 2015, p.21).

As suggested by Savage *et al.* (2014) improving incentives to incorporate 'in-work benefits' is an alternative approach that would maintain anti-poverty income support (p.25). The consideration of the provision of 'in-work benefits' was already highlighted in the European Employment Strategy (EES) under the first pillar, yet has largely been ignored in the Irish context until recently. Taoiseach Enda Kenny in his 2015 speech specifically mentioned this aspect drawing on the recently introduced Housing Assistance Payment (HAP) for those who would lose housing support should they take up employment. Moreover, he reiterated the belief that these measures will transform incentives to work as well as reducing poverty rates (Kenny 2015). Measures such as 'in-work benefits', while welcomed, do not however, address the fact that some individuals face discrimination and social exclusion when seeking

to gain access to mainstream employment. The next section addresses this with the Traveller community who are identified as a marginalised group within society.

4.4 The Traveller Community

While official statistics can provide us with useful information, they do not capture the high levels of poverty experienced by marginalised groups (EAPNI 2015). As highlighted earlier, the Traveller community is one such marginalised group within Irish society.

CSO figures show there were 29,573 Travellers residing in Ireland at the time of the most recent census in 2011 (CSO 2012, p.27). This was a 32 per cent increase (22,435) in those who identified as Travellers in the 2006 census (All Ireland Traveller Health Study 2010, p.9). However, the All Ireland Traveller Health Study (UCD 2010, p.43) and Pavee Point (2015, p.1) estimate the Traveller population to be 36,224. The disparity in numbers with respect to the CSO figures may be attributed to factors such as illiteracy and/or levels of distrust towards the State due to discrimination, not only institutionally, but also society as a whole. There are complex issues that relate to inadequate income 'whether in or out of work', such as levels of education, accommodation, and health (EAPNI 2015). Therefore a detailed understanding of Traveller experiences of social exclusion requires a brief exploration of these issues, as well as access to the labour market.

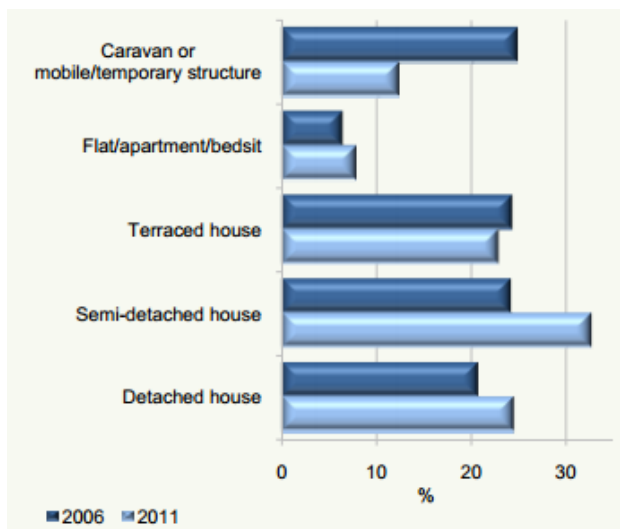
- Education: The average age of Travellers in the 2011 census was '22.4 compared with 36.1 for the general population', and over half of them were aged less than 20 (CSO 2012, p.27). Of the 12,422 who completed the section on education levels in the 2011 census, 4,041 had finished formal education by the age of 15, i.e. 55 per cent compared to 11 per cent for the general population (CSO 2012, p.32). Even though this figure remains high, it was a decrease from the 63.2 per cent figure in the 2006 census (UCD 2010, p.13). Those who completed the section on third level subjects accounted for 615 Travellers, with just 115 having completed third level (CSO 2012, p.32). There can be varying explanations for why Travellers leave school early. Traveller advocacy groups argue this can be down to not seeing the benefits of staying in mainstream education due to the level of discrimination experienced when trying to access the labour market (Danaher *et al.* 2009 cited in UCD 2010, p.13). Moreover, there can be a transgenerational issue if parents have poor levels of literacy they are unable to assist their children with school work (UCD

2010, p.13; GTM 2006, p.8). There may also be other reasons such as discrimination in school (GTM 2006, pp.4-8) and lack of family support with pressure particularly on boys to get into the family business.

- Health: Travellers who indicated good or very good health in the 2011 census showed to be 86.6 per cent however, ‘Irish Travellers health deteriorates more quickly with age’ (CSO 2012, p.35). There are social aspects to health behaviour which can ‘present an inequity if health promotion policies do not take this into account’ (Ridde *et al.* 2007; Kelleher, 2007; Lynch *et al.* 1997 cited in UCD 2010, p.16). While health surveys illustrate that smoking, alcohol and diet have a social pattern (Kelleher *et al.* 2003; Morgan *et al.* 2007 cited in UCD 2010, p.16), ‘what motivates those health choices’ (UCD 2010, p.16) needs to be addressed. Moreover, the rate of suicide within the Traveller community is over 6 times higher than that of the general population (NTSAP 2013). Travellers themselves believe their health status will improve when ‘opportunities to participate in employment and social activity, coupled with a programme of Traveller specific accommodation and a reduction in the discrimination and prejudice they face’ (UCD 2010, p.22). The Galway Traveller Movement (GTM) (2009) researched the health status of a Traveller community within a low grade halting site and found they had poorer levels of health than the general population.
- Accommodation: Traveller accommodation is a contentious issue, which is evident from the recent tragedy in Carrickmines, South Dublin (McHugh 2015). The Housing (Traveller Accommodation) Act 1998 placed legal obligations on local authorities to provide Traveller-specific accommodation however, in many instances these have not been delivered (ITM 2010; Coates *et al.* 2008 cited in UCD 2010, p.11). The Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform attribute this as down to objections by local residents ‘to the development of Traveller sites in their area’ (2005 cited in UCD 2010, p.11), which was the case following the Carrickmines tragedy (McGreevy 2015). However, both administrative and elected officials may not always believe in Traveller-specific accommodation. Moreover, some local elected representatives believe it is a “dreadful waste of taxpayers’ money” (Holland 2015) and have run election campaigns with this position. Thus, many Traveller families are left to live

on the roadside or in low grade halting sites without adequate services such as running water, toilets and electricity, which has health and mortality implications (GTM 2009; ITM 2010). Figure 3 below shows the percentage of Traveller households by accommodation type from the 2011 census, however this does not show the low levels of amenities experienced by many living in caravans which also impacts on their health.

Figure 3: Percentage of Households Containing Irish Travellers by Accommodation Type

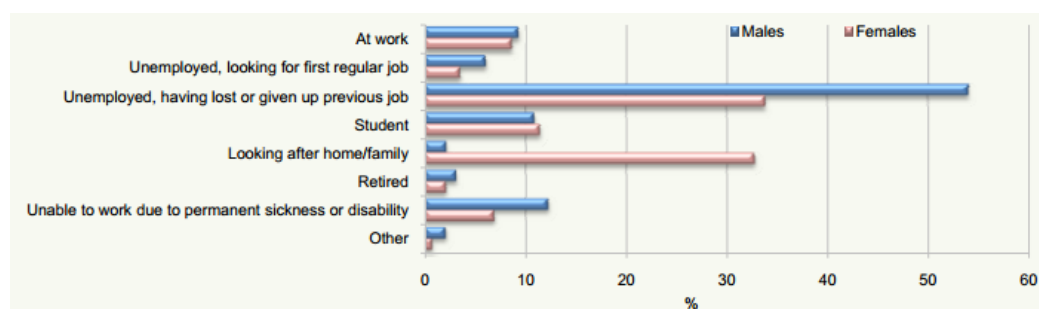


(Source: CSO 2012, p.36)

Travellers Participation in the Labour Market

As well as issues relating to education, health and accommodation, access to labour market is of particular concern for this body of research. The unemployment rate for Travellers in the 2011 census was 84.3 per cent, an increase from the 2006 census when it was at 74.9 per cent (CSO 2012, p.33). ‘Out of a total labour force of 9,973, 86.6 per cent of the 5,829 males were unemployed while 81.2 per cent of the 4,144 women were without work’ (CSO 2012, p.33). Figure 4 shows the main economic status of Travellers, while Table 3 shows the main occupations for the Traveller community as identified in the 2011 census.

Figure 4: Principal Economic Status of Irish Travellers



(Source: CSO 2012, p.33)

Table 3: Main Occupations of Irish Travellers

Occupation	Persons	Male	Female
Elementary trades and related occupations	229	208	21
Elementary administration and service occupations	218	107	111
Caring personal service occupations	179	15	164
Skilled construction and building trades	142	142	0
Sales occupations	128	64	64
Process, plant and machine operatives	108	82	26
Skilled agricultural and related trades	95	89	6
Health and social care associate professionals	88	22	66
Transport and mobile machine drivers and operatives	85	82	3
Managers and proprietors (excluding corporate managers and directors)	72	60	12
Textiles, printing and other skilled trades	61	38	23
Other stated occupations	353	204	149
Total	1,758	1,113	645

(Source: CSO 2012, p.33)

One barrier can be down to fear amongst the Traveller community that ‘participation in education / training and employment will adversely affect their social welfare payments’ (INO 2003a, p.1). This can be of concern due to the prospect of losing their medical card, especially since Travellers tend to have a poorer level of health than the general population (UCD 2010, p.15; INO 2003a, p.1). Being able to access information is a fundamental aspect that needs to be adequately addressed (INO 2003a, p.1). Another barrier to mainstream employment is that Travellers tend to leave the educational system without having gained qualifications which can result in low levels of literacy and skills, as well as self-esteem (INO 2003a, p.1), as already outlined from the 2011 census (CSO 2012).

One of the main barriers however, which is of particular relevance, is the discrimination that impacts the Traveller community (INO 2003a, p.2; INO 2003b, p.7). It is perceived that The Employment Equality Act (EEA) 1998 does little to protect the Traveller community,

with many believing legal action would not be pursued should they be refused work (INOUE 2003a, p.2). Thus, discrimination leads to many Travellers not going forward for mainstream employment (INOUE 2003a, p.2; INOUE 2003b, p.7), which has already been highlighted as a reason many leave school early (Danaher *et al.* 2009 cited in UCD 2010, p.13). Just as concerning is the fact that those who do put themselves forward for mainstream job opportunities, often conceal their ethnicity, which in turn does not challenge the negative stereotypes (INOUE 2003a, p.2; INOUE 2003b, p.7). Self-employment is the preferred option for Travellers (Task Force Report 1995, p.17; INOUE 2003b, p.7) however, they do not receive much state support to pursue same (INOUE 2003b, p.7). Thus, poverty and long-term unemployment will continue until such a time 'supports become more relevant to the Traveller community' (INOUE 2003b, pp.7-8). Drawing on the Report of the Task Force on the Travelling Community 1995, there is a need to ensure that a 'full range of employment and training options are open to Travellers and that institutional or discriminatory obstacles are removed' (cited in UCD 2010, p.14).

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented data on poverty and social exclusion in Ireland. It has illustrated that a variety of factors influence the experience of poverty, not least access to the labour market. However, despite the political rhetoric about the link between employment and poverty, it has also shown that the route out of poverty is not merely down to employment alone. This is particularly true for Travellers who experience multiple forms of exclusion in areas of health, accommodation, and indeed employment. Thus, the question to be asked is, if employment is seen as the primary route out of social exclusion, how are groups of Travellers likely to fare. This is addressed in the next chapter.

Chapter 5 – Case Study

5.1 Introduction

The basis for this body of research is to determine if the social integration / job response to social exclusion offers any benefit for Travellers excluded from the labour market due to discrimination, and if so, to what extent. This case study explores the relevance of Traveller specific employment as an alternative or parallel social integration mechanism designed to overcome the inherent discrimination present within the mainstream labour market. Thus, this chapter presents the findings and analysis of this research by looking to a community led development and a social enterprise initiative within the Galway Traveller Movement (GTM).

The first section discusses the Galway Traveller Movement (GTM) as an organisation that assists with Traveller equality and participation, and goes on to give a brief description of the two initiatives for those employed by GTM who attended the focus groups. The second section draws on the findings of the two focus groups and separate interviews that were conducted in order to answer the question put forth for this dissertation: Does the social integration / job response to social exclusion offer any benefit for Travellers excluded from the labour market due to discrimination? The third section offers an analysis of the findings. Subsequently, Chapter 6 – Conclusion, presents a summary of the topics explored in previous chapters. Moreover, it offers suggestions from participants on what needs to occur in order for Travellers to be able to access the mainstream labour market.

5.2 Galway Traveller Movement (GTM)

The Galway Traveller Movement (GTM) was established in 1994 and in 1996 became part of the Community Development Programme. Since that time it has received core funding from the Department of Community, Equality and Gaeltacht Affairs with further funding having come from FÁS, the Health Service Executive – Western area, and Galway City Partnership for specific initiatives. Galway has a population of 76,778 people in the City of which 1,666 are members of the Traveller community (CSO 2012). GTM seeks to address and achieve equality for Travellers with their participation ‘in social, economic, political and cultural life as well as the broader enhancement of social justice and human rights’ (GTM 2011, p.3). Moreover, GTM endeavours to maintain a minimum of 50 per cent of the roles to be

occupied by members of the Traveller community. GTM allows for self-mobilisation of the Traveller community and to collectively challenge discrimination by encompassing justice and rights, accommodation, education, employment and health, all of which are outlined in the Galway Traveller Movements Strategic Plan 2014-2016 (2013). Their core values are: respect, dignity, justice, solidarity, and freedom. GTM has strong links with partner organisations such as the Irish Traveller Movement (ITM) and Pavee Point.

Primary Healthcare Project (PHC)

GTM established the peer led primary healthcare project (PHC) in 2000. This initiative is part of an outreach programme with the health services in order to promote a grassroots approach to working towards addressing the poor health status of the Traveller community (GTM 2011, p.5). Initially developed by Pavee Point in partnership with the HSE, this was a pilot scheme in the west of Ireland which has been managed and delivered by Galway Travellers' Support Group (GTSG), and overseen in partnership with the Health Services Executive (HSE), the GTSG, and members of the Traveller community.

Over the duration of the programme, sixteen women participated all of whom were over the age of 23 and who had varying life experiences and literacy skills. None of whom had sat a state exam until two passed the Junior Certificate English paper during this programme. Training began in September 2000 and fourteen women went on to complete the course in July of 2004, all of whom were then eligible to be considered for the position of part-time Community Health Workers, of which eleven women became employees paid by the HSE, Western Area. Five modules were taught on the course: Health; Personal and Group Development; Community Development; Literacy; Traveller and Social Issues, and they have since attended different courses in order to keep informed and broaden their knowledge.

First Class Insulation (FCI)

As highlighted by The Report of the Task Force on the Travelling Community, 'the prejudice of many employers against hiring long-term unemployed individuals is magnified in relation to employing Travellers' (1995; cited in GTM 2011, p.7). Thus, since its foundation, GTM has sought to address 'the discrimination experienced by the Traveller community within the mainstream labour market' by creating 'employment opportunities for Travellers' (GTM 2011, p.11). First Class Insulation (FCI) was subsequently established in 2010 as a community-based organisation (CBO) designed to provide employment for Travellers. It is

the first of its kind nationally, having been awarded the contract by Sustainable Energy Authority of Ireland (SEAI) to deliver the Warmer Homes Scheme which insulates the homes of those on low income (GTM 2011, p.19).

Funding was secured from Pobal to employ staff which initially comprised of a manager and three workers. Some of whom had previous work experience which contributed to the company's development. Presently, there is one full-time and part-time manager, seven full-time operatives and a part-time administrator following the expansion into the county; all of whom are members of the Traveller community. A number of those employed in FCI are enrolled in the Community Employment (CE) scheme. Each of the full-time operatives took part in a range of training programmes such as health and safety, manual handling, energy conservation and customer care. Workers also received effective approaches in dealing with any prejudice and discrimination that they may encounter during their work. Each worker successfully completed FETAC accredited training in attic insulation, as well as courses on surveying for installation measure and cavity wall insulation.

5.3 Findings

This section outlines the main findings by drawing on participant's views on what has changed for them as a result of being employed.

Finding 1 – Barriers to mainstream employment

Discrimination has been identified as a barrier in accessing mainstream employment which forms the basis of this paper.

The Manager of GTM strongly believes,

“...that discrimination and racism both on an individual and institutional level is a huge barrier to taking up and also maintaining, because sometimes the entry route they can get in if they hide who they are but often times it's impossible when listening to negative discourse about their community... I know of Travellers who have stood up for themselves, stood up for their community and felt they could not stay in a work place that was very openly running down a whole community. So unfortunately, that's across the private employment sector but it's also across the public sector”

(O'Riada 2016)

Joyce (2016) relays the reality for many Travellers when trying to access the labour market,

“Going for a job interview it’s kinda like that you try to, I suppose to lose your identity for that amount time while you’re going for the interview. Because you know that they’re not going to hire you if they know from first view that you’re a Traveller. Some Travellers try then to be more settled in order to get the employment but it’s a hard thing to do. And maintaining that doesn’t work out in the long run at all. Travellers don’t want to hide their identity either. Travellers are proud of their identity. We’re a proud community”

She also highlights the damage that can occur as a result of having to hide one’s identity:

“And once we start hiding our identity that’s when negative things start to happen, anxiety issues and as I said, suicide is 7 times higher in the Traveller community”

This in itself is a fundamental aspect that needs attention given anxiety, stress and depression are all mental health related issues. The issue of Travellers feeling compelled to hide their identity when seeking employment will be further drawn on in Finding 5.

Another contributory barrier to gaining access to employment is,

“low educational attainment and that’s again, I would never blame the Traveller community for that but unfortunately that’s what tends to happen... but the educational system is also failing the Traveller community so unless we get the educational system and training and third level institutions coming up to the mark also in relation to Traveller inclusion, I’m afraid the increase in Traveller employment will be very slow and a very hard one”

(O’Riada 2016)

As Joyce (2016) points out,

“Many more Travellers now are going on and finishing secondary school and doing their leaving cert and coming out with brilliant marks and honours and can’t even get a part-time job in a supermarket for example because of who they are. Like I know of many Travellers who have went through that process and tried to access employment and no matter how much they try it just doesn’t seem to work out for them”

Thus, the importance of community led local development and social enterprise initiatives is clear and this is highlighted by the Irish National Organisation of the Unemployed (INOUE)

Submission on the ESF 2014-2020 (INOUE 2013), where they stress that for many unemployed, including Travellers and Roma, these schemes play a fundamental role in 'addressing socio-economic exclusion'.

Finding 2 – Increase in confidence

It is clear that confidence has been a notable positive outcome for those employed, particularly for the Traveller women. Many of the men also held this view however, some deemed that while they may feel more confident that it does not relate to all aspects of their everyday life.

Respondent A expressed how she is a,

“...more confident person as a result of being involved on the PHC... when started 15 years ago I was very shy, I wouldn't talk much. That's my confidence. That for me is a big thing”

This sentiment is echoed by Respondent C who said,

“It's changed my confidence...”

And Respondent D who has,

“...grown in confidence over the years. It allowed me have the confidence to challenge... A sense of pride and confidence”

However, an increase in confidence did not reach all parts of respondents' lived experience.

“Feel more confident, yeah, but not when going into a pub to see if you'll get served”

(Respondent G)

This is echoed by Respondent J describing when,

“You're outside a pub with a group of lads saying no you go in first. You're not confident then”

Confidence is important for individuals as it can extend further to a sense of well-being that relates to overall health, and also identified as another positive outcome which is discussed in the next finding.

Finding 3 – Increase in own health and that of family members - health / mental health

Those employed as Community Health Workers felt their own health and that of their families has improved due to the knowledge they have gained. This is particularly true of Respondent C who stated,

“...I came along another crisis, a bigger one actually and I was able to cope with it. Where in 2008 I wasn’t able to cope with it, I just went into another world. I think this really has done it for me because that second crisis, if I hadn’t gotten the counselling that I got and everything I got in here, I don’t think I’d have gotten through that second crisis”

Similarly Respondent B commented that she was,

“Glad of the opportunity to improve my own health and the health of other Travellers ... I was a smoker... wasn’t just about a job... I knew our community needed the knowledge and services”

It is also true for those working in FCI.

“The job keeps you fit. You’re up and down ladders.... Makes you more positive and outgoing”

(Respondent F)

And Respondent G said that,

“You have to in some way be looking after yourself for the job”

These responses reflect the positive changes that being employed has brought about, which given the lower health status of Travellers and the higher suicide rates within the community makes these findings particularly relevant.

Finding 4 – Increased independence, knowledge and the broader impact it has for themselves and that of their families

Many of the participants spoke of the benefits being employed has in terms of increasing their independence, knowledge, feeling pride and the overall influence this has on their own families.

Respondent J said how,

“It’s great to get up in the morning knowing you have a job and independent... and a plus is getting the extra few pound to help pay the bills”

This sentiment was echoed by Respondent F who explained,

“You’ve more independence. You get to buy the child more stuff and bring her places. My daughter knows what job she wants to do already”

This also has a broader impact in terms of respect and feeling proud.

“People have more respect for you if they know you’re working, even Travellers”

(Respondent G)

And Respondent D expressed how,

“It has given me the opportunity to come off social welfare. There’s a sense of pride knowing I am paying taxes and not depending on social welfare”

While the majority of discussions were positive, the only downside to being in employment, as some relayed, was in terms of losing benefits such as rent allowance and/or the medical card. Some participants also mentioned having less time to spend with their children was a downside however, regardless of these aspects, all were glad to be working and saw the overall benefits for them and their families.

Many of the participants discussed the level of knowledge they have gained as a result of having done courses and training along with their desire to do more, and how this has influenced not only their own view that education is important, but in some instances it has resulted in their children staying on in education.

“Four of my adult children all done their leaving cert and are working or studying now. We give lectures also... the chance to meet different people and to let them know about Travellers culture is positive”

(Respondent A)

This view is echoed by Respondent B who said I,

“educated myself and have the ability to talk and deliver and get involved with services. My four, each of them have done their leaving cert and passed and some are working now. Education is a great achievement... no one can take their education from them”

Similarly Respondent C,

“Found the more courses I’m doing the more I want. The kids see that and it’s great”

While Respondent G echoed this view in so far as,

“It looks good for your kids when they see you working. They’ll want to do the same and education is important”

Finding 5 – Not having to hide their Traveller identity

Another important finding is that those employed felt comfortable not only going for interviews but also throughout their employment in GTM, and this is due to the fact they do not have to hide their identity.

As Respondent J outlined:

“A positive is not having to hide your identity from your employer”

This sentiment was echoed by another participant who explained,

“There is a lot of family connection but would that have happened if it wasn’t a Traveller organisation... because of the employer we didn’t have to hide our identity and then family members followed suit because it brought a good experience”

(Respondent K)

This is a significant aspect given,

“The experience has been there’s up to 80% unemployment for Travellers and going back generations the experience of being in the mainstream labour market is very little so passing this on to families is a huge benefit. For Travellers working in the Traveller specific area with the ethos we have and the way we approach the work is from one of respect and dignity for the ethnic or the minority ethnic group... in the Traveller specific schemes or under these programmes, they can celebrate who they are and it makes a huge difference to their work experience... there’s no fears attached with going to work”

(O’Riada 2016)

Moreover, this positive experience has led to a waiting list of Traveller’s seeking employment on such schemes:

“We’ve a waiting list of mainly young Traveller men wanting to take up the places on FCI... We would have found initially it was very hard to get Travellers to engage on that scheme however, once it got out that the scheme was run on the basis and on the ethos of the respect for who they were, we ended up having quite a large waiting list...”

Because I think the power of the Traveller engagement is that they know that they are respected and that they will be treated with dignity”

(O’Riada 2016)

The aspect of Traveller identity is of particular relevance given that accessing mainstream employment can prove problematic if identified as a Traveller, and Respondent A gave an example of this,

“My daughter when she was 16 was smirked at and asked why she wanted the application form. She ended up throwing the form in the bin afterward. She wouldn’t do that now as she’s the confidence after doing courses”

This is not unique given,

“Often times, if they go into the mainstream labour market the experience has been they would have to hide their identity”

(O’Riada 2016)

Moreover, O’Riada (2016) states how Traveller specific,

“schemes alone will not assist access to the mainstream labour market because... I think it is in the main down to discrimination in that area”

The fact that many Travellers feel the only option open to them when seeking mainstream employment is to try and hide their identity, which often times may not be achievable, coupled with the fact that it can cause anxiety as highlighted in Finding 1, signifies the extent to which mainstream solutions in the presence of discrimination cannot work. An analysis of the findings together with recommendations will be discussed in the next section.

5.4 Analysis

This chapter has illustrated the importance of community led local development and social enterprise initiatives by engaging with those directly impacted. Participants identified a wide range of benefits by highlighting the positive outcomes that have resulted due to being employed by an organisation that embraces their identity. This is of significant relevance given the lower health status and higher levels of suicide within the Traveller community. The World Health Organisation’s (WHO 2009) report on Mental Health, Resilience and Inequalities highlights the importance of policies and programmes that support improved

well-being and mental health. Mental health issues are more prevalent in disadvantaged areas and 'is consistently associated with unemployment, less education, low income or material standard of living, in addition to poor physical health and adverse life events' (WHO 2009, p.35). The report goes on to outline how unemployment is linked to having low self-esteem (Martikainen *et al.* 2002 cited in WHO 2009, p.9) and how 'confidence, self-efficacy, optimism and connectedness are embedded within social structures: our position in relation to others at work, at home, and in public spaces' (WHO 2009, p.9). This is due to the fact that our 'social position influences emotion, cognition and behaviour' (WHO 2009, p.9).

The responses throughout this chapter show the extent to which working not only has positive outcomes for the self, but also the influence this has on family members in so far as finishing education. This may be attributed to the belief there is potential for them to access the labour market and further their opportunities. The WHO report goes on to draw on the fact that there is evidence 'in the intersection of deprivation and social development, for example, children who fail at school investing in identities that do not depend on success at school and seeking alternative sources of affirmation' (2009, p.32). Essentially, this relates to the 'life course approach... to children's life chances' and is central to their emotion, cognition, as well as having 'a positive social identity' which is 'described as the personal capital of children' which influences 'a wide range of health outcomes both in childhood and in later life' (Poulton *et al.* 2002, Kuh *et al.* 2004 cited in WHO 2009, p.32).

The overall positive cycle of well-being, improved health, knowledge and education has the potential to further perpetuate positive outcomes within the Traveller community if they are further afforded opportunities and socially included. As outlined within the WHO report, mental health is being seen as an important 'resource to be promoted and protected and relevant to achieving strategic goals in health, education, regeneration, crime reduction, community cohesion, sustainable development, employment, culture and sport' (2009, p.6). Given discrimination is a significant factor impeding members of the Traveller community accessing mainstream employment, it is clear that adequate policy measures need to be implemented in order to ensure this occurs either directly, or indeed that more funding is allocated for such schemes in the interim period of bringing forth adequate policy measures. The next section addresses some of the recommendations as highlighted by those interviewed.

Chapter 6 – Conclusion

6.1 Overview of Topics Explored

This dissertation has explored the concepts of poverty and social exclusion and outlined the multifaceted nature of the latter. The evolution of social policy in the European Union and Ireland was also considered and this highlighted the link between employment policy and that of social policy. It explored who the poor and most marginalised groups are within Irish society and identified the Traveller community as one who experience multiple forms of exclusion. By encompassing a case study, it has shown the positive benefits Travellers have experienced as a result of being employed on Traveller specific job initiatives. This body of research highlights the gap between the political rhetoric, in so far as employment is the route out of poverty, and the fact that some are excluded from accessing the mainstream labour market.

6.2 Main Findings

The three approaches outlined in the second chapter that explain the causes of social exclusion are of particular relevance. The system failure approach as outlined by Berghman (1995) highlights the extent to which the Traveller community are largely failed by all four systems. The solidarity and monopoly paradigms as identified by Silver (1994a) draw on socially constructed group boundaries that places emphasis on distinctions between ‘us’ and ‘them’. While the monopoly paradigm leads to labour market segregation, and this is evident between the majority population and members of the Traveller community as identified in chapter 5. Another important dimension is that those who are considered ‘outsiders’ may close off and exclude the majority in what Parkin (1979 cited in Silver 2007, p.15) refers to as ‘usurpation’. As Silver (2007) suggests, this may be due to the fact they have been treated poorly by the ‘insiders’. The three discourses as outlined by Levitas (2005) are particularly useful in our understanding the present dominant narratives. Similarly, the specialisation paradigm and moral underclass discourse (MUD) essentially blame the individual for their circumstances and this can be true of the majority population towards the Traveller community. Of particular relevance is the social integration discourse (SID) which holds that social exclusion is a result of unemployment and therefore employment is the route out of poverty and social exclusion. As has been highlighted throughout this dissertation, SID fails to consider the competitiveness of the labour market and also that of low pay. Moreover, it

lacks insight into gender and ethnic discrimination (Moran 2006), which is the case for the Traveller community.

Advances were made with gender equality in Ireland following EU membership however, this has somewhat receded since the economic crisis. It is clear that both the EU and Ireland endorse the principles of SID by linking employment and social policies. There is clearly an emphasis on economic policy and social progress being frequently aligned with economic and employment progress. As Moran (2006) argues, this is ideologically neo-liberal as it prioritises market concerns over those excluded and does not therefore alleviate the issue which it purports to address. This is clear when looking to the Irish context of those in poverty and the most marginalised groups within society. The Traveller community are one such marginalised group who experience multiple forms of exclusion in areas of education, health, accommodation and employment.

The case study highlights a range of positive benefits that have resulted for Travellers employed by GTM on Traveller specific job initiatives. Moreover, it also signifies the extent to which this positively influences family members. These findings largely discredit the principles of MUD in so far as it is not solely up to individuals to change and address their life opportunities, but rather people need to be afforded equal access and opportunities. The principles of SID can also be discredited as the sole route out of poverty and social exclusion for the working poor and indeed marginalised groups. This is particularly true for the Traveller community who are mostly unable to access the mainstream labour market due to discrimination.

The political rhetoric and policies that endorse the principles of SID significantly fail to address poverty and social exclusion for this marginalised group. If accessing the labour market was more easily attainable for the Traveller community, then perhaps the positive benefits as highlighted in chapter 5 would extend further throughout the Traveller community. This in turn would have the potential to change the current levels of education, health and accommodation more positively for members of the Traveller community. Moreover, it would bring about a more inclusive society, which is after all what the EU and Ireland suggests they are endeavouring to bring about.

Essentially, the monopoly paradigm highlights how market segregation can occur and this is evident by the discrimination Travellers experience. Ironically the political rhetoric endorsing the principles of SID does nothing to alleviate this issue. Given the Galway Traveller Movement (GTM) has a waiting list of young Traveller men seeking employment on FCI would suggest it is not solely down to individuals as highlighted within both the solidarity and specialisation paradigms and MUD. Rather, it is apparent that it is the Government who needs to delve deeper in order to address this dilemma for the Traveller community.

6.3 Recommendations

It is clear there needs to be political will and leadership in order to bring about social inclusion for all members of society. Discrimination is a major barrier faced by the Traveller community when endeavouring to access the mainstream labour market. Moreover, the fact that Traveller specific schemes alone will not necessarily assist access due to discrimination (O’Riada 2016) shows the need for adequate policy measures. The INOU highlight that ‘a challenge facing Ireland and Europe, is how to build on such initiatives to create longer-term sustainable and inclusive outcomes’, given for some people these initiatives are the only means of access to the labour market (2013). It is important therefore to acknowledge the challenges in developing and sustaining this type of work and for participants the recognition ‘of such engagement as a stepping stone into the wider labour market’ (INOUE 2013). This sentiment is echoed in the All Ireland Traveller Health Study as an important element of participation where there is a need for ‘progression options as a result of participating on (particularly) labour market programmes’ (UCD 2010, p.15).

Thus, the pertinent question that arises is what needs to change so that members of the Traveller community can access mainstream employment in order for these positive outcomes to extend further. A number of recommendations are offered below.

Employment Opportunities in the Public Sector

One avenue to address Traveller unemployment is through an increased level of public sector employment, as described by the GTM manager:

“The public sector is one of the biggest employers – local authorities, the HSE, the Universities... begin to break down the blocks and barriers and not only in low paid work areas”

(O’Riada 2016)

Reconsidering Employment as a Human Right

There is an aspiration within Bunreacht na hÉireann (1937) for a human rights based approach in Article 45 on directive principles of social policy however, these are non-binding and have not been utilised by the Oireachtas. Article 45.2.1° outlines that ‘The State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing: - that the citizens (all of whom, men and women equally, have a right to an adequate means of livelihood) may through their occupations find the means of making reasonable provision for their domestic needs’.

Moreover, O’Riada (2016) suggests,

“Approaching it from human rights based approach is essential. A two way approach... All the schemes and programmes, we all need to be much more proactive in working with the employers and I believe the way to do that is to introduce equality mainstreaming at all levels of employment so discrimination from the employers’ side is addressed... that has to be from the top down. There should be proper measures in place to be able to evaluate and be able to measure whether your employment practices are inclusive of the hard to reach groups. There needs to be a management and an institution buy-in that this is worth perusing and worth doing and then that this needs to be invested in and resourced”

This view is echoed by the INOU who point out:

‘Given Europe 2020’s poverty goals and the objectives of the ESF itself innovative initiatives under this heading (promoting social inclusion and combating poverty) would be an important development within the next OP. In particular the exploration and creation of strong mainstreaming mechanisms that acknowledge work in this area and its contribution to appropriate development of a smart, inclusive and sustainable system’

(INOUE 2013)

For many Travellers and Traveller Organisations, achieving Recognition of their Ethnic Status is an Essential Human Right:

“Granting ethnicity status would be a major step. It would be a foundation that Irish society could build upon. Because once we’re recognised for who we are, well then we can stand of a more proud nature in not having to hide our identity... Actually have the rights there that when we are discriminated, that we could be under the protection of ethnicity rights, which at the moment we don’t have so we’re not

protected under any racial right law or ethnicity rights, the only thing is the Equal Status Act and that doesn't go far enough"

(Joyce 2016)

Intercultural Education

Another area that has the potential to bring about a more inclusive and tolerant society where the Traveller community may not be so readily discriminated against is through primary education.

Joyce (2016) explains how,

“Children need to be taught from a young age... an understanding of other cultures and ethnicities so that you don't have biased and prejudice attitude towards anybody. I think once that happens Travellers will be able to access more employment and continue in education then without being discriminated”

Appendix 1

List of Interview Questions:

1. Can you tell me about the direct benefits for the Traveller Community when involved in Traveller specific employment?
2. Have you found that Travellers are keen to take up positions when an opening arises?
3. Are there barriers for the Traveller community accessing mainstream employment and if so what are they?
4. Does participating in these job initiatives assist Travellers accessing mainstream employment? If so, in what way? If not, why is that the case?
5. What would you recommend / change in order to assist Travellers gaining access to the mainstream labour market?
6. Is there anything else you would like to add?

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