PROJECT ON DOMESTIC VIOLENCE WITH TRAVELLER MEN

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foreword</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Context</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aim of the Project</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Objectives</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodology</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methods</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advisory Groups</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus Groups</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Findings</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Conference</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recommendations</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This research into domestic violence within the Traveller Community is a valuable source of information in helping us understand this complex issue. I would like to thank all the people who took part in this research. In particular thanks are due to the Traveller men who welcomed and supported this project. They participated in an open and honest manner. Without the support of these men this research would not have been possible. I wish to acknowledge the support of the Director and the Board of Management of Exchange House. I would also like to thank the HSE and the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform for their funding support. Lastly I would like to thanks Thomas McCann for his professional and dynamic approach to this project. All who took part in the research showed a willingness to explore this issue in an open an honest manner. We need to continue to address the problem of domestic violence with openness, honesty and determination if we are to rid our community of it and the untold problems it creates.

William McDonagh
Chairperson of the Project
SUMMARY

This report was commissioned by Exchange House Traveller Service to explore the issue of domestic violence with Traveller men and to examine ways to engage Traveller men on the issue of domestic violence and to examine ways in which attitudes and behaviour could be changed in relation to domestic violence from the perspective of Traveller men themselves.

The key things that emerge from the report are:

♦ The importance of the role and involvement of Traveller men in the prevention of domestic violence and in changing attitudes among Traveller men

♦ The crucial role which culture plays in the development of any initiatives to deal with the issue of domestic violence

♦ That the issues which affect men have been marginalised and ignored by Traveller organisations

The report concludes with some recommendations which would address some of these issues for example:

♦ There is an urgency to address the issue of domestic violence -particularly at the community level

♦ The need to engage Traveller men in local projects on issues which affect them

♦ There is a need to develop initiatives where Traveller women are in a position to provide support to other Traveller women who have been victims of domestic violence

♦ The need to develop a national Traveller men’s network

♦ The employment of Traveller women in main stream service that are provided to victims of domestic violence
CONTEXT

This is the first report to be commissioned to explore the issue of domestic violence within the Traveller community which seeks the input of Traveller men, and in that sense should be seen as hopefully the beginning of a process to address the issues of violence that are affecting the Traveller community and in particular the issue of domestic violence.

The context in which this report is taking place in, is one in which there are very few employment opportunities for Travellers even though we are living in one of the most prosperous times in recent history. Unfortunately the rising economic tide has not lifted all boats and the Traveller community in Ireland is proof of this, with very high rates of unemployment, poverty and social exclusion, while at the same time more restrictions are being placed on Travellers traditional ways of earning a living.

Experience of racism and discrimination are every day events for most Travellers, whether this is in trying to access services or in trying obtain employment, and although there have been improvements with the introduction of the Equality legislation and the establishment of the Equality Authority, this has not translated in to the changes that are necessary for the Traveller community to feel that they will be treated in the same way as their settled counterparts.

Traveller Culture and identity has been devalued and in some cases demonised, and the Traveller community have found themselves living in a very hostile environment, an environment where they feel under siege from the settled community, while at the same time the settled community have a very negative stereotypical views of the Traveller community and feel very threatened by the presence of Travellers.

The experience of Traveller men’s identity has been shaped by exclusion, marginalisation and oppression, with stereotypes of Traveller men being particularly negative. This is not unique to Traveller men; men from other Ethnic minorities have also experienced these racist stereotypes, whether this is black men being seen as over sexualised, Muslim men being seen as fundamentalists, or Asian men seen as supporting honour killings. Traveller men are seen and have been presented in certain ways for example, they are all criminals, they lack sensitivity, they are all violent, and they are Misogynistic, that all Traveller men beat their wives. These are just some the stereotypes that are projected on to all Traveller men by settled society.

It is important to state that violence is not part of Traveller culture but has been part of all communities and cultures and one could argue that society is more violent now then in the past and we need to address this violence in its widest sense, whether this is inter community violence or interpersonal violence within a community.

The particular focus of this report is domestic violence that has been carried out against wives and partners. Violence against women is a crime and needs to be seen as very serious crime and punished as such by the courts.
Gender inequality and sexism have been part of Irish society for generations and continues to be, this has led to the controlling and oppression of women, whether this is in relation to the development of sexuality, employment or other opportunities in ways which are not applied to young men or boys, and there are sometimes different standards applied to men and women, in some cases more limitations imposed on women then men, so you could say that all women experience some form of inequality and sexism regardless of what community or strata of society they come from. However, Traveller women are in a particularly disadvantaged position, as they experience gender inequality and sexism but also racism and discrimination for being part of a minority group.
BACKGROUND

The issue of domestic violence affects all communities and can have a devastating effect on families, individuals and communities. Domestic violence can take many forms including physical abuse and violence, verbal, psychological abuse and bullying. These problems can be exacerbated when there are other issues such as alcohol or drug misuse or where families or individuals have been the victims of abuse themselves. It is generally accepted that most of the perpetrators of domestic violence are men, although there some cases in which the perpetrators were women.

There are many factors which can contribute to the continuation of domestic violence. These can range from individuals who are unable or unwilling to manage their anger or frustration, to situations where it is almost accepted as a normal way to settle difference or conflict in the family. In some cases this can lead to the individual feeling justified in taking this course of action. In Irish society, as in many other societies, domestic violence has been accepted for generations, so much so, that until recently the Gardaí would not intervene in domestic arguments between men and women as this was viewed as a private matter. It is only in recent times that people are becoming aware of the suffering that domestic violence has brought on countless individuals and families and has become more of a priority for the state due to lobbying which was mainly led by women’s groups. This has led to more resources being allocated to deal with this issue.

So far, much of the work around domestic violence has taken place with the survivors of domestic violence and also with women’s groups. Some work has been done with men, both men who were perpetrators of domestic violence and other men from the communities where domestic violence takes place but this has been very limited and it is aimed at individuals who want to change. From a community development perspective it seems that there has been very little done to engage men from the community in the issue of domestic violence both abusers and also men who would like to prevent domestic violence from happening. In particular very little work has been done with Traveller men not only on the issue of domestic violence but across a whole range of issues and it is only recently that a few organisations have began to work with Traveller men on such issues as, health, education, employment and other key issues that affect Traveller men and their families. It also seems very clear that Traveller men have not engaged with organisations which work with settled men on these issues.

Organisations working with the Traveller community assert that the issue of domestic violence remains one of the most difficult challenges to deal with. This is the backdrop to which Exchange House decided that it would engage a facilitator to do a piece of work with Traveller men on the issue of domestic violence.

Exchange House Traveller Service has been in existence for over 30 years and has played a key role in developing services for some of the most disadvantaged and marginalised Traveller families in Dublin. Exchange House has seen some of the most horrific examples of domestic violence over the last few years and felt that there was a need to engage
Traveller men in a dialogue in beginning to open up the discussion on the issue of domestic violence.

The rationale for engaging men in this project is the belief that until Traveller men are involved in discussion and debates about the impact domestic violence has on individuals and families, then the incentive for change will come only from women and is unlikely to be effective in the long term.
AIM OF THE PROJECT

The overall aim of the project is to bring about a change in Traveller men’s attitude and behaviour in relation to how they deal with domestic violence themselves and their attitudes towards others who are engaged in domestic violence.

These aims would be achieved through a number of different stages. The first stage was the establishment of an advisory group, made up of Traveller men, whose role it would be to advise, support and explore ways that the aims and objectives of the project could be achieved.
THE OBJECTIVES

❖ To raise awareness within the Traveller community of the impact of domestic violence on individuals and families
❖ Engage Traveller men in conversation on the issue of domestic violence
❖ Develop an analysis of the issue of domestic violence
❖ Begin a process that would lead to a change in attitudes and behaviour
❖ Develop recommendations coming from the Traveller men in relation to how the issue of domestic violence would be tackled within the community
The methodology that was used was qualitative in that what was trying to be achieved was to understand what Traveller men’s attitudes were to the issue of domestic violence and how change could be achieved in the community in relation to domestic violence.
METHODS

The method that was used for this piece of work was through focus groups. These focus groups had a number of questions that the men were asked about. There was facilitated discussion on the issues and what was said in the session this was written up on a flip chart. It was felt that this method would be a better way of achieving some of the aims of the project, which as stated earlier were to start a dialogue with Traveller men on the issues of domestic violence as well as understanding what Traveller men’s attitudes on domestic violence were. At the same time, there were fears and anxieties with carrying out the work in this way, the risks included the men not being as open about how they felt in front of other men then they would be if they were alone, people dominating the group, or people not participating, difficulties in the facilitator fully capturing what was being said in the group while at the same time facilitating the group. There were also some fears that if it was not done well that the effort to gain an understanding of the attitudes of Traveller men might be misconstrued as justification of domestic violence.
The advisory group was made up of Traveller men from different parts of the country. The men who are on the advisory group are active in Traveller organisations and some of the men have been involved in Traveller issues for many years. The make up of the group is as follows:

- William McDonagh
- Martin Collins
- Michael McDonagh
- Bernie Sweeny
- Patrick Nevin
- Martin Ward
- Owen Ward

The advisory group agreed a plan of work with the facilitator and had a number of meetings to review how this work was progressing and advise and support the facilitator. The members of the advisory group agreed to organise focus groups, on behalf of the researcher, in each of the areas or organisations that they were connected with.

The project started in mid September 2006 and the aim was to have finished all of the focus groups before mid November at which point a progress report would be submitted. The progress report was to be followed by a national conference in January which would try and bring together all the men who had participated in the focus groups plus any other Traveller men who wanted to participate. The advisory group has been key to this project happening. Without the active involvement of the advisory group, it would have been very difficult, if not impossible to have held the focus groups. Also to mention that other projects, apart from those on the advisory group, such as, Bray Travellers development group and the Traveller Training Centre in Castlebar, facilitated us in holding a focus group and were very supportive. The advisory group has been a crucial support in getting this work done and the men on the advisory group have been both very committed and positive about this project.
FOCUS GROUPS

It was decided that six focus groups would be held. These focus groups were held in Pavee Point Dublin, Exchange House Dublin, Bray Travellers Development Group Wicklow, Navan Travellers Workshops Navan, Tuam Travellers Development Group and the Training Centre in Castlebar Mayo. Groups were made up of between eight to twelve Traveller men. In total there were fifty Traveller men involved in the focus groups. The ages of the men ranged from late teens to early fifties with the majority of the men in their early thirties to late forties. Most of the participants were married and had children.

The men came from various accommodation types, standard housing, group housing and sites. While the majority of the men were involved with the projects where the focus groups took place, there were some of the men who were not involved in these projects. The location for focus group sessions were in facilities owned or rented by the local organisation. In most cases the facilitator did not know the participants. The facilitator was introduced to the group and was left to take charge of the session. In the majority of focus groups it was Traveller men only. In two of the focus groups one settled person participated. In one case a settled woman participated in one of the groups for a short period of time at the beginning of the session, the implications of this were discussed with the group beforehand but it was decided not to insist if the group felt they wanted other people involved in the group. The levels of participation in discussion in the groups were very high. Only with some of the younger men was there an effort needed to encourage them to participate more fully, probably due to the younger men having less confidence where as the older men were very confident.

The areas that were explored in the focus groups were:

- Views on domestic violence
- Physical violence
- Sexual violence
- Emotional violence
- What were contributory factors
- Effects of domestic violence
- What can be done about it

These issues were explored both in the large group and in smaller discussion groups. The facilitator wrote up on a flip chart the comments and opinions of the men on each of the issues and engaged the group in discussion on them.

In terms of the discussions and the attitudes and comments that were gathered as a result of the focus groups, there would seem to be a lot of similarities between what the men
expressed in the different focus groups. All the men felt that there was a need to do something about domestic violence. They agreed that effects of domestic violence, not only on women as individuals, but also on children and families, was very damaging and that there was a need for support and help to deal with these issues. The men felt that this needed to be done in a way that respected the cultural identity of Travellers.

Part of the process included the organising of a national conference which would attempt to bring all the men together who had taken part in the focus groups. This was to give the men the opportunity to come together as Traveller men and hear back some of the things that came out of the focus groups and to comment on these but also a key reason for holding the conference was to look at what needed to happen next.
FINDINGS

It seemed that every one involved, including the advisory group, local projects where the sessions took place and the men themselves were surprised by the level of openness and honesty which took place in the focus groups.

In some cases the men were unsure of what exactly domestic violence meant; did this include the extended family? This was a very interesting question as it had the potential to show the difference in how Traveller and settled perceptions of family might differ. Although recognising this would benefit more exploration we agreed to only focus on the immediate family. Other issues raised included, for example, was violence towards parents from their children classed as domestic violence? Did the focus of this piece of work include men as victims of domestic violence? In most cases there was a need for clarification on what was meant by the term domestic violence, which highlighted existing assumptions as to the meaning of the term within the group and more broadly. There was very good engagement in discussions by the men. Not everyone agreed and there was a wide variety of views in all of the groups. The headings below were used in addressing questions for the groups to explore.

Views on Domestic Violence

The groups were asked what came to mind when they heard the term domestic violence. There were various responses to this question. The common themes that came up under this question in most of the sessions were:

- Violence at home
- Alcohol and drugs
- People getting hurt
- Stress
- Fighting
- Fighting over children
- Men hitting women
- Verbal abuse and being shouted at
- Being called names
- Being ordered around
- Threatening the extended family
- Shame
- Jealousy
Problems within the family

- That it happens regularly
- That some men deal with their anger differently

Types of Violence

**Physical Violence**
Under this question there was a wide range of responses from the men some of which were:

- Living in fear
- Beating the wife
- Hitting
- Hospitalisation
- Black eyes
- Scars
- Punching
- Injuries that are not always visible
- Broken teeth
- Stabbing
- Long term injuries
- Death

**Mental/Emotional Violence**

- Jealousy
- Paranoia
- Not allowed to talk to other people
- No trust
- Possessiveness
- Nagging
- Mental put downs
Being accused in the wrong
- Bullying
- Being kept in
- Extended family exercising control

**Sexual Violence**

- Rape
- Forcing women to participate in sexual activities they don’t want to
- Forcing the woman to have sex against her will
- Sexual assault
- Prostitution
- Any form of sexual abuse

**Contributing Factors**

The groups were asked to look at what were the main contributing factors to domestic violence. There were numerous factors identified with some of the key factors spanning economic, personal, cultural and social:

- Alcohol
- Drugs
- Peer pressure
- Economic pressure, being in debt, keeping up appearances
- That it has been learned behaviour
- Bad environment, i.e. not having proper conditions, living in a field where there are lots of other families
- Control
- Jealousy
- Being brought up in that way so it is seen as the norm
- The person snaps under pressure
Power, to show who the boss is
- Interference by the extended family
- Not having sex
- House work
- Food
- Gambling
- The woman nagging the man all the time
- The way Travellers are treated, for example being discriminated against, being called names such as Knackers
- Most Travellers are only teenagers when they get married so do not have the maturity to deal with the difficulties that confront them
- Matched weddings
- Some Traveller men do not treat Traveller women as equals
- There is no support for Traveller men so they are not able to talk about the difficulties they are having

The Effects of Domestic Violence

There were numerous effects of domestic violence on the individual who suffered as the victim of domestic violence, but also there are effects on children of families where there was domestic violence and for the perpetrator of domestic violence. It was also felt that domestic violence effects the whole community and that one does not have to be in a family where there is domestic violence happening to be effected by it. Some of the effects that were identified by the groups were:

- Separation, family break up
- An unhappy home
- Depression
- Self harm
- Suicide
- Alcohol
- Drugs
Children taken into care
Having to leave the Traveller community
Jail
Hospitalisation
Left physically and mentally scared
Mental illness
Isolation
Living in fear of it happening again
Shame
Death
Damage to property
Children being robbed of a childhood

What needs to be done to change this situation

The groups were asked to look at how this situation might be changed and what would need to happen. There was a very strong feeling in the groups by the time we reached this stage of the discussion that there was an urgent need to address these issues. It was felt there is a need to bring the issue of domestic violence in to the open and create more awareness of the issue in the community.

There is a need to protect the person who suffers as a result of domestic violence and that there is a need for follow up by the police. Some of the views expressed were:

♦️ There is a need for counselling for both men and women by Travellers who understand
♦️ There is a need to run more workshops to explore why people engage in domestic violence
♦️ A need for anger management courses for men and particularly young men
♦️ Need to address some of the social issues which effect Travellers such as discrimination, accommodation, health and employment
♦️ Need for a safe space where men can come together to discuss issues which effect them
♦️ Need for support for families off site
† More information is needed on domestic violence for men
† Young couples who are just married need to be supported around developing skills in dealing with domestic issues so as it would be less likely they would resort to violence
† There is also a need to deal with the issue of domestic violence at a wider community level
† There needs to be a support for Traveller women who are victims of domestic. This needs to be developed and run by Traveller women.
† There is a need for a Traveller men’s network. Not one that sees women as the problem but one that supports and is in solidarity with Traveller women.
† Men need to take responsibility for their own behaviour
† Ensure that people who engage in domestic violence are put behind bars
† Need for men to learn other ways of problem solving
† Need to work with extended families around issues of domestic violence
† There needs to be support at a local level, it has to start local
† Need for awareness raising and programmes around alcohol and drug misuse
† Need for community development programmes to address the issues of domestic violence from a community development perspective
A national conference was held in Dublin in early January. All the men who had taken part in the focus groups were invited to participate and hear what had emerged from the focus groups. An invitation was sent out to all Traveller organisations to see if there were men who were interested in attending the conference. Unfortunately there were a number of other events being held by other national Traveller organisations on the same date which had an impact on the turn out for all of the events. Having said that, there was a very good turn out for the national conference. There were however some of the groups who had said that they would participate but decided closer to the conference not to come and this issue would need to be looked at in relation to anxieties that Traveller men might have about coming together with other Traveller men to explore issues such as domestic violence. The aim of the conference was to give the men the opportunity to hear what had emerged from the focus groups and have the opportunity to respond and explore these issues with the other men who were involved in the project.

William McDonagh from Exchange House as the chair of the advisory group welcomed people and gave a background to the project. William talked about the need to engage Traveller men in discussions on domestic violence. He also stated that he hoped that this piece of work would have lasting impact.

This was followed by a power point presentation by the facilitator on the process that was used and what had emerged from the focus groups. People were then asked to form discussion groups and were given a number of questions:–

- What were people’s reactions to what they heard in the presentation?
- What should the next steps be?

These issues were explored in the discussion groups and feedback was then presented back to the wider forum.

There was an open forum where people got the chance to discuss what had emerged from the discussion groups

Reactions

The following are some of the reactions the participants expressed in relation to the process:

- People felt that it was very honest
- That domestic violence is a very contentious issue
- That domestic violence is not just physical
- That there are many factors that can contribute to domestic violence
That violence is a learned behaviour
That violence is not in every home
We need to get it to the stage where violence is unacceptable
People need to be challenged on their behaviour
Attitudes and values need to change
That this issue needs to be addressed at the community level

Next Steps

People were then asked to identify what the next steps should be. There were a number of actions that were identified, these were:

♦ It was felt that there was a need to establish a National Traveller men’s network
♦ That there was a need for education around domestic violence
♦ That there was need to engage and network with other men’s groups
♦ It was felt that the focus needed to be wider then domestic violence and include all violence
♦ It was felt there was an a need for another national conference with a wider audience including women’s groups
♦ That funding needs to be made available to groups to work with Traveller men
♦ Anger management courses need to be made available to men
♦ That local Traveller groups need to do more work around the issues that effect Traveller men
♦ There is a need to learn from the models of work that have been undertaken with the settled community around the issue of domestic violence and develop a culturally appropriate model for Travellers
♦ There is a need for clarity between domestic violence, family feuding and other types of violence
♦ That a video would be produced on the issue of domestic violence
♦ That work would be done with organisations such as youth reach and other organisations where there is Traveller youth
Discussion

We then had a discussion around these issues. There was a very positive reaction from the men to all the ideas and suggestion that had emerged during the conference.

The men felt that there was a need not to lose the momentum that had been created by this work and that it is very important to identify who is going to drive the actions that have been identified. It was felt that this work is vital and that the advisory group is crucial in developing some of the ideas and suggestions that have emerged.

It was felt by all that Traveller men’s issues had been marginalised and that this needed to be addressed by both local and national Traveller organisations.

There were anxieties expressed around the media and how Traveller men are portrayed in the media and that while there is a need to publicise the issue it would need to be done in sensitive way, as we want men to become involved with any future work that is going to be carried out on this issue.

It was felt that the work would need to be done in stages.
CONCLUSION

The success of getting Traveller men involved in this initiative is, I believe also partly due to the fact that the person carrying out the research was a Traveller with a long history of involvement in Traveller rights.

It is very clear from the work that has been carried out that Traveller men are very willing to engage with such issues as domestic violence. It is also clear from the men who were involved in the project and others who were involved in the conference that there was an urgent need to address the issue of domestic violence in the community. It was apparent from all of the focus groups and the conference that Traveller men are keen to become involved in issues that affect them and feel that their issues have been marginalised in the work with Travellers and that they felt they have been ignored.

The whole issue of culture was seen to be so important in terms of how things are seen and the different perceptions of Travellers and settled people. This ran right through the project from the very beginning even in terms of having an all Traveller advisory group to the running of the focus groups. In all the discussions that were held, culture played a central role in them. Any programmes or projects that would be developed would have to be from a culturally appropriate perspective.

It can be seen from the report that some of the causes or contributing factors can also be the effects of domestic violence and points to the cyclical nature of the problems that some families experience.

It was also very clear that the men were open and honest about their feelings on the issue of domestic violence and were open to being challenged on this. One of the key things that emerged right through was the need not to lose the momentum and the need for follow up on the work that has been begun.
RECOMMENDATIONS

A number of recommendations were identified from the work that needs to be carried out. It was also suggested who should be responsible for implementing these recommendations.

**Exchange House**

- Launch the report
- Hold a national conference which would target a wider audience
- Produce a video on domestic violence for Travellers
- Develop support for victims of domestic violence run by Traveller women
- Run awareness workshops for Traveller men they work with
- Develop counselling for their client group

**Advisory Group**

- Widen its membership and develop the basis for a National Traveller men’s network
- Link with other men’s networks
- Look for resources to carry out this work

**Local Traveller Organisations**

- Prioritise the issue of domestic violence in their work
- Develop supports for victims of domestic violence
- Develop awareness raising programmes with local Traveller men on the issue of domestic violence
- Identify and address issues that affect Traveller men in the community
- Involve Traveller men in addressing these issues
- The development of local Traveller men’s groups

**National Traveller Organisations**

- Because of the lack of priority that issues affecting Traveller men has received, it is important that National organisations prioritise this issue and ensure that men are included in programmes such as, health, education and employment. There is a risk that Traveller men will become invisible in these initiatives and
programmes as this has been the experience to date.

- That domestic violence needs to be addressed as a priority
- For National Traveller Women’s Forum there is a need to explore ways of creating support systems for Traveller women who have been victims of domestic violence. These support systems should be provided by Traveller women for Traveller women

**An Garda Síochána**

- There is a need for follow up by the Garda with victims of domestic violence, as the experience of Travellers has been that there is very little follow up by the Garda

**Other Service Providers**

- There is a need for culturally appropriate counselling services for the victims of domestic violence and their families, also for young couples who are just married
- Need for proper funding and support for work with Traveller men
- There is a need for the employment of Traveller women in mainstream organisations who provide services to victims of domestic violence, such as women’s refuges
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Both the facilitator and the Advisory Group would like to acknowledge the support and help they received from the following individuals and organisations without whose support this project would not have been possible

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- Pavee Point
- Bray Travellers Development Group
- Navan Travellers Workshops
- Tuam Travellers Development Group
- St. Catherine’s Training Centre, Castlebar, Co. Mayo
- Helen Campbell (Former Director of Exchange House)
- And especially all the men who took part in the focus groups