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INEQUALITIES EXPERIENCED BY GYPSY AND TRAVELLER COMMUNITIES: A REVIEW

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Gypsy and Traveller communities in Britain experience wide-ranging inequalities. These are familiar to the communities themselves and to those working with them. However, published research evidence does not address all the problems in equal depth. The aim of this report is to draw together the evidence from across a wide range of Gypsies' and Travellers' experiences in order to set out clearly the full extent of the inequalities and discrimination. The review and evaluation of existing evidence in turn provide a basis for action to address the inequalities, including on issues which the policy agenda often neglects.

Formal evidence on some aspects of inequality and exclusion is lacking. The study also involved a consultation with experts from both within and outside Gypsy and Traveller communities: this supplemented the review of published research.

The review covers Romany Gypsies, Irish Travellers, Welsh Travellers, Scottish Gypsy / Travellers, New Travellers and Occupational Travellers (including Showpeople). For ease of reference, the report will hereafter refer to these groups as 'Gypsies and Travellers'. Case law has established that the Race Relations Acts and Race Equality Duty cover the majority of these groups. The legislation does not protect New Travellers or Occupational Travellers in the same way, although they experience many of the same inequalities and much of the planning guidance applies to them too. Equality legislation in Wales applies to all citizens, without reference to membership of specific groups: this ensures the inclusion of all groups. Throughout Britain, the inclusion of a Gypsy / Traveller category in the 2011 Census will both provide important data and highlight their ethnic identity.

The review evaluates and discusses the available evidence on a range of subjects. These include: economic inclusion and access to employment; relationships with and experiences of accessing healthcare, social care, education and other public services; experiences of the legal and criminal justice systems; racism and discrimination; the situation of Gypsies and Travellers in housing; political participation; religious organisations' work with members of the communities; and experiences across the lifecourse, including those of young people and older people.

One core theme which arises across all topics is the pervasive and corrosive impact of experiencing racism and discrimination throughout an entire lifespan and in employment, social and public contexts. Existing evidence, including from the consultation, highlights high rates of anxiety, depression and at times self-destructive behaviour (for example, suicide and / or substance abuse). These are, on the face of the evidence, responses to 'cultural trauma' produced by the failings of 21st century

British society and public bodies' failure to engage in an equitable manner with members of the communities. Having reviewed the strength of the evidence of the prejudice and discrimination faced by Gypsies and Travellers, the authors of the report were surprised that more members of the Gypsy and Traveller communities had not succumbed to negativity, and remained resilient in the face of what are often multiple and complex forms of exclusion.

This summary presents only an outline of some of the key topics: the full report sets these out in more detail.

Accommodation

The lack of suitable, secure accommodation underpins many of the inequalities that Gypsy and Traveller communities experience. Planning policy has shifted away from publicly owned sites, which local housing authorities administer, to self-provision by the communities themselves. Disputes arise though, often utilising explicitly racist discourse, when Gypsies and Travellers apply for planning permission to develop a site on land they have purchased privately. Opposition from local residents frequently leads to local authorities turning down planning applications, though many are successful on appeal. In addition to private site development, the Government has allocated substantial sums to local housing authorities to develop new sites or refurbish old ones; however, the extent to which local authorities and registered social landlords access such grants, varies considerably across areas and is often dependent upon political will and changing local circumstances. Evidence is now available about the extent of provision and unmet need, as a result of the requirement for housing authorities to carry out formal accommodation assessments. These highlight a considerable shortfall in the quantity of residential and transit accommodation available to Gypsies and Travellers who do not wish to reside in conventional housing.

Provision on a minority of sites is of good quality. On others however, the location of sites can be poor (for instance, under motorways or next to sewage works). Other problems include health hazards (such as contamination by vermin), decayed sewage and water fittings, poor-quality utility rooms, and failings in fire safety.

Many Gypsies and Travellers are caught between an insufficient supply of suitable accommodation on the one hand, and the insecurity of unauthorised encampments and developments on the other: they then face a cycle of evictions, typically linked to violent and threatening behaviour from private bailiff companies. Roadside stopping-places, with no facilities and continued instability and trauma, become part of the way

of life. Health deteriorates, while severe disruptions occur to access to education for children, healthcare services and employment opportunities.

In order to avoid the eviction cycle or to access vital services, many families reluctantly accept the alternative of local authority housing. They are however, typically housed on the most deprived estates, sharing the wider environmental disadvantages of their neighbours and exposed to more direct and immediate hostility focused on their ethnicity or lifestyle. This also involves dislocation from their families, communities, culture and support systems, leading to further cycles of disadvantage.

Racism and discrimination

Racism towards most ethnic minority groups is now hidden, less frequently expressed in public, and widely seen as unacceptable. However, that towards Gypsies and Travellers is still common, frequently overt and seen as justified. Abusive media coverage and overtly racist statements from local and national politicians add to the ignorance and prejudice of many members of the settled population, while those in authority frequently fail to challenge them. Complaints abound from members of the communities included in this review: of services being not welcoming or refused; of employment offers being withdrawn; and of people being harassed in or dismissed from employment. While Gypsies and Travellers have experienced such hostility for centuries, what is remarkable – and shameful – is that this continues in the present day, despite a wealth of legislation to promote equality and human rights and protect against discrimination.

Inequalities and problems

The following points highlight a few key areas of concern from among the severe, wide-ranging and mutually reinforcing inequalities and problems faced by members of the communities that are the focus of this report. It is by no means an exhaustive list.

- Gypsies and Travellers die earlier than the rest of the population.

- They experience worse health, yet are less likely to receive effective, continuous healthcare.

- Children's educational achievements are worse, and declining still further (contrary to the national trend).

- Participation in secondary education is extremely low: discrimination and abusive behaviour on the part of school staff and other students are frequently cited as reasons for children and young people leaving education

at an early age.

- There is a lack of access to pre-school, out-of-school and leisure services for children and young people.

- There is an unquantified but substantial negative psychological impact on children who experience repeated brutal evictions, family tensions associated with insecure lifestyles, and an unending stream of overt and extreme hostility from the wider population.

- Employment rates are low, and poverty high.

- There is an increasing problem of substance abuse among unemployed and disaffected young people.

- There are high suicide rates among the communities.

- Within the criminal justice system – because of a combination of unfair treatment at different stages and other inequalities affecting the communities – there is a process of accelerated criminalisation at a young age, leading rapidly to custody. This includes: disproportionate levels of Anti-Social Behaviour Orders against Gypsies and Travellers, instead of the use of alternative dispute resolution processes; high use of remand in custody, both because of judicial assumptions about perceived risk of absconding and lack of secure accommodation; prejudice against Gypsies and Travellers within pre-sentence reports, the police service and the judiciary; and perpetuation of discrimination, disadvantage and cultural dislocation within the prison system, leading to acute distress and frequently suicide.

- Policy initiatives and political systems that are designed to promote inclusion and equality frequently exclude Gypsies and Travellers. This includes political structures and community development and community cohesion programmes.

- There is a lack of access to culturally appropriate support services for people in the most vulnerable situations, such as women experiencing domestic violence.

- Gypsies' and Travellers' culture and identity receive little or no recognition, with consequent and considerable damage to their self-esteem.

Other equality areas

Many of the inequalities which Gypsies and Travellers experience relate to their ethnicity or nomadic lifestyle. In addition, the review considers other equality issues in relation to gender, disability, age, religion and sexual orientation, focusing

particularly on the extent to which these interweave with the wider inequalities community members face. Where information exists, it highlights further difficulties, such as those of older or disabled people who may need support to live independently, yet receive little other than a place on a waiting-list for bricks and mortar housing. In other instances, evidence about the experiences of different groups within the Gypsy and Traveller population is not available, and indicates a need for further research.

The lack of systematic ethnic monitoring of Gypsies and Travellers who use public services, often underpins the lack of hard evidence about the nature and extent of the problems they face. Within the education sector, the introduction of specific monitoring categories has enabled the Government to identify inequalities, and to impress upon local education authorities the need to address these concerns. The Race Equality Duty similarly requires public sector organisations and services to monitor the impact of their policies to identify: how their policies affect racial groups; the extent of satisfaction of people from all groups with the way they are treated; whether the provision of services is effective for all communities; and whether the design of services is suitable to meet different needs.

Combating the problems

Many members of the communities are striving to address their problems and stand up for their rights. For instance, a number of examples exist of initiatives to: provide children with a better education; enable them to take part in enjoyable and constructive leisure activities; maintain their cultural heritage and identity; ensure accessible and appropriate health and social care services; develop training provision and employment opportunities; and support political and community engagement among Gypsy and Traveller communities. Gypsy and Traveller organisations themselves are responsible for instigating and undertaking many such initiatives, sometimes in partnership with statutory agencies or voluntary bodies. Members of the communities who are active in national or international organisations, or who have attained prominent positions within the wider community (for instance, as county councillors) can be particularly influential in highlighting the need for the wider community to work together to address problems, for the benefit of all. Some local authorities have worked together with Gypsy and Traveller communities to produce 'myth-busting' information in order to provide the general public with more accurate information about the lifestyles and needs of the communities, and to combat ignorance and hostility.

Nonetheless, the problems are immense, and continue to have a direct detrimental impact on the quality of life of Gypsies and Travellers in Britain today. Public

authorities, a range of public and private organisations with which Gypsies and Travellers have contact, and the wider public, all need to take urgent action to ensure that Gypsies and Travellers have access to the same services and can exercise the same rights as the rest of the population. The broadcast and print media too, have an important role in combating racism and discrimination against Gypsies and Travellers, as well as reviewing their own approaches to reporting issues relating to members of these communities.

The authors of this report and the Equality and Human Rights Commission, welcome feedback and comment on this review and productive proposals from stakeholders and community members on how best to address the issues it highlights as needing urgent action.

1. INTRODUCTION

Outline of the review

This report presents the findings from a review undertaken on behalf of the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC), on inequalities and human rights issues affecting Gypsies and Travellers in England, Scotland and Wales. The groups included in the review are Romany Gypsies, Irish Travellers, Scottish and Welsh Travellers, New Travellers, and Occupational Travellers (the preferred term in Scotland is 'Scottish Gypsy / Travellers'). Rroma / Roma groups are not directly included in this review: they are Romani-speaking groups who have come to the UK from different countries of Eastern and Central Europe in recent decades. However, some of the sources used also refer to findings affecting these groups, and this will be made clear where relevant.

The review has considered a wide range of policy areas and within these has included evidence about inequality relating to racism, gender, age, disability, sexual orientation and religion / belief. Human rights issues often overlap with discrimination issues but are also separately highlighted.

Methodology

This was primarily a literature review, and as such, drew on evidence from a very wide range of sources, involving searches of databases, journals, websites, use of known literature, follow-up of references from all of these sources, as well as agency documentation and localised studies. The methodology is described in more detail in Appendix 1, together with search terms and sources used. We have primarily used sources from the year 2000 onwards, but have also made judicious use of earlier references, either because of limited sources in a particular area, or because a particular strand of argument was addressed by an earlier source.

However, account was also taken of the very limited formal research in a number of areas of this review, and the frequent invisibility of Gypsies and Travellers in some studies (Morris, 1999; Power, 2003). At the same time, there is extensive experience of the issues of inequality and ways of tackling them within Gypsy and Traveller groups and those working with the communities. We therefore undertook a consultation among such stakeholders, mainly by email. This invited respondents to comment under any or all of the areas covered by the review on the basis of their experience or other research known to them. The people and organisations that responded and gave their permission to be named are listed in Appendix 2, while the questionnaires used in the consultation are attached as Appendices 3-4. In all, 84 consultation questionnaires were sent out and 21 completed responses were

received. Some organisations / individuals mainly completed the sections specific to their area of interest, while others commented across the board. Reference is made throughout this report to these responses where relevant.

Moreover, in some areas such as domestic violence and substance abuse, where extremely little research exists, the research team undertook their own primary research through interviews with relevant organisations and individuals. Analysis of practice-based knowledge, such as referrals to particular agencies, was used where possible. Discussions with colleagues in the field were also helpful in relation to developing policy and practice in some areas. The use of different kinds of data is made clear throughout the report. We are extremely grateful for all the support we have received in this way in preparing this report.

Policy and legislative context

The policy and legislative context for this report is the framework of human rights and equality legislation that pertains in the three countries. This framework has been enhanced over recent years and involves a range of legislation and regulations, some of it directly underpinned by European law and directives. Key pieces of legislation informing the review need acknowledgement here, but each section in the review highlights aspects that are specifically relevant in that context. The Human Rights Act 1998 incorporated the 1950 European Convention on Human Rights into domestic law, where previously cases could only be taken to the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg (Johnson & Willers, 2007). The 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child also has great relevance and is indirectly reflected in various aspects of domestic law and policy. Other United Nations Conventions apply to specific areas as discussed in those sections.

Within Britain, at the time of preparing this report, equality law covered the six strands of racism, gender, disability, sexual orientation, religion and belief, and age. The devolved administration in Wales already had a single equality duty, as will be discussed in Chapter 8. In the equality law covering Britain as a whole however, there remained differential treatment of different strands in terms of whether the focus was on outlawing discrimination, in some cases only in certain policy areas, or whether it also included duties actively to promote equality. The Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 that amended the Race Relations Act 1976, introduced a positive duty on public bodies, and bodies performing a public function, to promote racial equality and develop racial equality strategies. The Equality Act 2006 introduced a similar duty to promote gender equality, while the Disability Discrimination Act 2005 introduced a duty to promote disability equality.

Discrimination in employment in relation to religion and belief, sexual orientation and age, was outlawed through regulations in 2003 and 2006, based on European directives. Subsequently, discrimination in relation to religion and belief and to sexual orientation (though not age) was outlawed in the wider provision of goods, facilities and services through the Equality Act 2006 and related regulations. Legislation therefore, included non-discrimination but did not encompass a positive duty to promote equality in relation to the three strands of religion and belief, sexual orientation and age. However, a review of discrimination law in 2007 actively considered proposals for a more coherent framework and a single equality duty (Cabinet Office, 2007). The Government responded during 2008, and consulted on proposals for a new Equality Bill with a single equality duty in relation to all six strands. This was then included in the Government's legislative plans for 2008/9 (Office of the Leader of the House of Commons, 2008).

Clearly, individual areas of social policy and provision also have specific legislative underpinnings and policy guidance. Although these can be complex, key aspects that are considered necessary for understanding the discussion are outlined at the beginning of each section in this report. After discussing the general experiences of Gypsies and Travellers in relation to particular topics, each section sets out any available information specifically pertaining to equality issues and on good practice designed to promote equality, before concluding with specific recommendations.

Outline of remaining chapters

In the remainder of the report, policy areas have been grouped into different chapters primarily for presentational purposes. While there are thematic links between the sections in each chapter, we acknowledge that there are numerous other cross-cutting themes that link across chapters, and these are highlighted throughout.

The second chapter considers accommodation issues as the key policy area for Gypsies and Travellers, together with evidence relating to economic exclusion and employment. Chapter 3 focuses on health generally, in which there has been a considerable number of studies, and more specifically on substance abuse, self-harm and suicide, which are extremely under-researched areas. Chapter 4 looks at another field where significant work has been done, namely education, and at other areas affecting children: early years and play provision, and leisure, play and youth provision for children aged five and over. This chapter also incorporates the findings from studies involving children that provide insight into their experiences across many aspects of their lives. In Chapter 5 we look at social work, in which there have been a limited number of substantial studies, and domestic violence, which has been another seriously under-researched area in relation to Gypsies and Travellers.

Criminal justice, policing and legal services form the content of Chapter 6. These topics inevitably touch on wider aspects of Gypsies' and Travellers' relationships with State agencies and with the public, including the surveillance and monitoring to which their lifestyle is subject. Four somewhat different topics form the content of Chapter 7, namely political participation, community cohesion, community development and religion. A linking strand in this chapter is around advocacy and self-advocacy in relation to the social injustices faced by Gypsies and Travellers. Chapter 8 discusses the specific policy contexts within Wales and Scotland and provides an overview of research in these countries. However, findings related to all three countries are included in the whole review, and their national contexts identified where appropriate. The penultimate Chapter 9 considers the different equality strands of racism, gender, age, disability and sexual orientation, as well as the general theme of human rights (as indicated above, religion is addressed in an earlier chapter). This chapter develops the discussion of these strands based on findings in earlier sections of the report. Chapter 10 is the final chapter and highlights key messages from across the different policy areas. The appendices set out the data sources used, the people and organisations consulted, and the consultation questionnaires used.

2. ACCOMMODATION AND EMPLOYMENT

2.1 Accommodation

Background to the policy context

In many ways accommodation is the key to understanding the inequalities and barriers to service access experienced by Gypsies and Travellers. As such, it is embedded into the core of the study, as access to appropriate accommodation (whether on sites or in housing) is fundamental to enabling people to avail themselves of the health, education and other public services which exist in twenty-first century Britain. Currently around one in four Gypsies and Travellers living in caravans do not have a legal place on which to park their home, and they are thus, in law, homeless (Richardson, 2007; Johnson & Willers, 2007). Members of all ethnic minority communities are at increased risk of homelessness and often lack adequate access to homelessness services (Netto, 2006), with Gypsies and Travellers particularly excluded from local authorities' responses to and awareness of their duties to these groups (Avebury, 2003; Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), 2006a).

Without decent accommodation, and the ability to live in a manner which supports communities through the upheavals caused by transitions brought about by globalisation, changing employment markets, financial insecurities and altering gender roles, Gypsies and Travellers risk being pushed further and further into poverty, social exclusion and 'cultural shock'. Once suitable accommodation exists, then communities can continue to function and adapt in a positive manner, rather than reacting continually to insecurity and the need to struggle to access the necessities of life such as water, sanitation and emergency health care.

Site provision

The background to policy developments on site provision is outlined in considerable detail in a number of recent articles and publications (Richardson, 2007; Greenfields, 2008; Richardson & Ryder, 2008 (forthcoming); CRE, 2006a). The enormous range of policy activity and legislative development in the past few years has been driven by a Governmental recognition that: a significant number of Gypsies and Travellers still actively wish to pursue a traditional nomadic lifestyle; sedentarist policies will not discourage members of these communities from 'nomadising'; and moreover, that the ability of ethnic and cultural minorities to follow their traditional lifestyle is a fundamental human right (see Johnson & Willers (2007) for a discussion of the civil liberties and European legal dimensions).

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In the first major policy review of site provision to investigate both the condition of public sites and the estimated need for new pitches, Niner (2003) concluded that a total of 3000-4500 new pitches (both transit and permanent) would be required by 2008. Rolling out these new pitches would represent an increase of 600-900 plots per annum but, in the immediately following two-year period (2003-2005), there was a net gain of authorised over unauthorised caravans of only 140 pitches per annum – just 15-25 per cent of the need identified in Niner's Birmingham study (Greenfields & Home, 2006).

Niner (2004a) found that in the absence of culturally-specific accommodation (predominantly residential Gypsy and Traveller sites), the shortfall in accommodation is met by unauthorised encampments which often fail to provide even remotely adequate living standards for Gypsies and Travellers, and which perpetuate social exclusion through a lack of access to education and health care. In an influential report from the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR), Crawley (2004) emphasised the appalling inequalities experienced by Gypsies and Travellers in relation to health and education, and called for the development of a high-level unit, advised by a Traveller Task Force, to oversee the delivery of adequate sites (specifically through local development frameworks) within the new planning regime which was coming into force at that time.

In addition, the IPPR report recommended that local authorities should include Romany Gypsies and Irish Travellers in their Equalities Standard, and that local authority homelessness strategies should be reviewed to ensure full compliance with the requirements of the Race Relations (Amendment) Act (2000). This latter recommendation coincided with research undertaken by Lord Avebury in late 2003, when he found that over 70 per cent of local authorities did not refer to Gypsies or Travellers within their homelessness strategies and hardly any of the strategies referred to the local authority's Race Equality Statement. Furthermore, he noted that the homelessness strategies he reviewed failed to consider:

> *The Race Relations (Amendment) Act itself, which imposes a duty on all local authorities to ensure that in the delivery of their services they promote racial equality. Not one mentioned the advice from the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) in 'Ethnic Monitoring: a guide for public authorities', which recommended that authorities introduce new categories, where an authority wishes to know how its services affect an important minority not covered by the Census (2003:3). The findings are all the more shocking when compared with the results of subsequent CRE*

research (2006a) which recorded that 'Gypsies and Irish Travellers live in or pass through 91 per cent of local authority areas in England and Wales, and 13 per cent of authorities say they are the largest ethnic minority groups in their area'. (Institute for Public Policy Research, 2006, p. 24)

In the same year as the IPPR report, and in response to an increasing policy focus on Gypsy and Traveller issues, the CRE published a four-year strategy which sent a strong message on the unacceptability of discrimination against Gypsies and Travellers. The strategy was only able to deal with the status of 'ethnic' Gypsies and Travellers (recognised as such by case law) and thus, unlike this current review, considered only the status and needs of Romany Gypsies and Irish Travellers. The four-year work plan, developed to take account of the time-period up to the abolition of the CRE and its functions being subsumed into the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) in October 2007, highlighted the body's legal powers, the fundamentals of the Race Relations Acts (including the role of public bodies) and detailed actions the CRE would take to end discrimination against Gypsies and Travellers. Recommendations included the provision of ethnic monitoring of Gypsies and Travellers by public bodies and a re-focus upon the evidence on inequalities experienced by members of these communities (CRE, 2004). A separate strategy was drawn up for Scotland (Commission for Racial Equality Scotland (CRES), 2006a), which broadly mirrored many of the recommendations in an English document (CRE, 2004) but took account of the distinct legal system and situation north of the border (see Chapter 8 on Scotland). Following on from the CRE strategy, a thorough review of equality, good race relations and sites for Gypsies and Irish Travellers in England was undertaken by the CRE, and published in 2006.

The CRE (2006a) review found pockets of extremely good practice in communication, inclusion and site provision around the country but overwhelmingly, this in-depth review of policy and practice in local authorities found: evidence of tensions between sedentary and Travelling people; discrimination and racism; breaches of equality legislation; and weak leadership, with elected officials often driven by political fear over their careers and their own lack of knowledge or discriminatory beliefs. The background to the approach taken by many local authorities lay once again in the shortage of affordable, authorised accommodation and Gypsies and Travellers' response to this failure of policy through the self-provision of sites or use of unauthorised encampments. Although the report focussed on England, there is abundant evidence from other studies, Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Assessments (GTAAs), policy documents and associated reports that the situation is comparable in both Scotland (Equal Opportunities Commission

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(EOC), 2001; Netto, 2006; Scottish Executive, 2004; EOC, 2005) and Wales (National Assembly for Wales (NAW), 2003).

The bi-annual caravan count, while widely recognised as flawed (Drakakis-Smith & Mason, 2002; Niner, 2004b) and in need of amendment, does provide the only comprehensive time-series of data which indicates trends in caravan occupation and type of site occupied by Gypsies and Travellers. As noted elsewhere in this report, the bi-annual count is not comprehensive in either Scotland or Wales, with the practice having been discontinued (although recently recommenced) in both countries. Analysis of the time-series data in England however, demonstrates clearly changing patterns of site provision in recent years, with a slowing (or decrease) of public site provision and the greatest increase in pitch numbers occurring through planning permission granted for private site applications. Over 90 per cent of planning applications for private (usually self- or family-owned) Gypsy sites are refused at first hearing, often following orchestrated campaigns by aggrieved (sedentary) local residents, though permission is overwhelmingly granted on appeal (CRE, 2006a; Williams, 1999).

Longitudinal analysis of caravan sites data, also demonstrates that throughout the late 1990s and into the 21st century, in response to the crisis of site shortages (exacerbated by a high family growth rate of approximately four per cent per annum – Niner, 2003), Gypsies and Travellers who are financially able to afford land have increasingly turned to 'self-help' options, not merely purchasing land for private sites but buying land, moving onto the site and then retrospectively applying for planning permission (Richardson, 2007). While this response to the shortage of sites has been a critical element in the tensions between sedentary and Travelling people (CRE, 2006a), it has also represented a practical response to the vagaries of roadside life and the likelihood of planning permission being refused if a conventional application is made prior to residence on the land (Williams, 1999). Even if planning permission is eventually refused, the residents of an unauthorised development (self-owned land without planinng permission used as a site) have at least received some respite from a cycle of eviction, and through judicial use of the planning system, may sometimes have obtained stay of eviction for several years (Greenfields & Home, 2007; Johnson & Willers, 2007).

Whether resident on unauthorised developments or roadside encampments, the presence of Gypsies and Travellers at unauthorised locations leads to high levels of friction (Morris & Clements, 2002; Richardson, 2006) and the manifestation of racist and discriminatory behaviours from settled and sedentary communities. In their review of equality, site provision and good practice, the CRE (2006a) found that 67

per cent of local authorities reported they have had to deal with tensions between Gypsies and Irish Travellers and other members of the public: 94 per cent of these authorities stated that the main difficulty related to unauthorised encampments; 46 per cent pointed to planning applications and enforcement; and 51 per cent referred to general public hostility (CRE, 2006a, pp. 149-50).

The quality of site provision

Although conditions vary, many publicly provided sites are of poor quality, with sites built on contaminated land, close to motorways, adjoining sewage works or on other poor quality land (Richardson, 2007; Niner, 2003; CRE, 2004; Crawley, 2004; EOC, 2001; NAW, 2003). A number of GTAAs and Niner (2003) have found bad conditions on some public sites, with significant failings in fire safety, contamination by vermin, chronically decayed sewage and water fittings, and poor-quality utility rooms. GTAA evidence (in particular see the findings from the Cambridge area, Home & Greenfields, 2006; and Warrington & Peck, 2005) indicated that the poor conditions found on some public sites would be in direct breach of site licensing and health and safety legislation. However, sites owned and operated by local authorities are immune from prosecution even where clear hazards exist, as no obligation to repair or even adhere to fire authority guidance on fire safety exists, despite the existence of guidance from the Department for Communities and Local Government (CLG) (Johnson & Willers, 2007, p. 79). Some private sites are worse in physical terms than local authority sites, and they could in theory be prosecuted. In practice though, there is little, if any, sign of the enforcement of the legislation.

A further problem concerns high levels of rent and the resale of electricity or other utilities, which require a site resident to pay an additional premium for the use of electricity obtained through the landlord (CRE, 2004; Niner, 2003). Electricity provided through a card meter supplied by local authorities, frequently leads to higher costs than for tenants of local authority housing who contract directly with a supplier rather than the local authority landlord (Niner, 2003; Southern & James, 2006; CRE, 2004; Crawley, 2004; Power, 2004). Respondents to GTAAs have noted that a number of suppliers of electricity and other services will not deal directly with Gypsy sites. Experiences vary, however, in relation to the cost of resale of utilities. The inability of residents of sites (whether private or public authorised sites, or unauthorised developments) to access a range of services, from taxis to take-away food deliveries or household insurance, has also been raised within a number of GTAAs and confirmed by advice agencies working with community members.

Public sites typically have long waiting-lists and unclear allocation policies. One respondent to the current consultation stated that 'there is an official site owned by

LA but no formal allocations policy. Residents allege many problems including favouritism in allocations, collusion on issues that arise, failure to act on repairs reports, intimidation and general lack of fairness'. Such criticisms are familiar to the research team from their experience of casework, research studies and GTAA consultation within the UK.

Conditions on some private sites are also poor. However, self-provided private sites are the preferred option for the majority of Gypsies and Travellers interviewed for GTAAs and other associated studies (Thomason, 2006; Greenfields & Home, 2007). Financial and planning constraints can nonetheless mean that the only feasible alternative to housing is residence on public sites, if an applicant is fortunate enough to obtain a pitch (see Niner, 2003; Richardson, 2007; Clark & Greenfields, 2006). In areas where no public site provision exists, Gypsies and Travellers who cannot access authorised sites are often caught up in a cycle of eviction or use varying degrees of ingenuity to obtain a short respite from moving on. Interviewees who participated in the Dorset GTAA (2006) included some Gypsies and Travellers who parked in secluded areas at the back of farms, resided in caravans in relatives' gardens, and doubled up on family sites in breach of planning restrictions. Travellerspace in Cornwall, who undertook fieldwork for their county's GTAA, responded to the current consultation by noting that 'many Travellers live on farms [and] pay extortionate rents'.

In her response to the consultation, Susan Alexander of the Travellers Aid Trust, noted that 'housed Travellers and group housing options are often overlooked, as well as mapping traditional stopping places (many of which are now closed off) such as green lanes, commons and verges'. In his response, Tony Thomson (a Trustee of Friends, Families and Travellers (FFT)) concurred with this view, adding that the 'systematic closure of traditional stopping places induces a crisis environment which can then be used to impose an unfair and exploitative model of accommodation. Focus on numerical approach may override community, social, economic and environmental factors. Nomadic dwelling culture should be protected'. Findings from the Dorset GTAA (Home & Greenfields, 2006) and the West of England GTAA (Greenfields et al, 2007) found that a relatively high percentage of New Travellers indicated a preference for low-impact environmentally friendly sites, or simply to remain living on green lanes or unauthorised encampments with minimal facilities. For horse-drawn New Travellers in particular, the needs for fresh grazing preclude residence at one site for long periods of time.

In research with children and young people participating in the (New Traveller) Children's Participation Project, the Children's Society (1998) explored children's

preferences for types of site accommodation. In line with the majority of Gypsies and Travellers of all ethnicities and cultural backgrounds (see various GTAAs), the majority of young New Travellers desired to live on small sites with access to grazing, play areas, trees and grass. Children reported that they wanted to live in rural areas but with access to shops and facilities such as running water, with postal deliveries being made to sites. A number of children felt that it was important to be able to 'stay as long as you want', with the opportunity for moving to other safe locations without the risk of eviction or forced movement. In common with other Gypsies and Travellers, New Traveller children identified the importance of hard standing for vehicles to minimise the impacts of mud and to enable vehicles to move on and off site.

The policy drive for the provision of good-quality caravan sites for Gypsies and Travellers is directed towards ensuring that members of these communities are offered high-quality homes of a relatively standardised type. Some activists have argued that the preferred solution to delivery of accommodation focuses upon particular types of site (and associated cultural preferences), which may not be the most suitable for all travelling communities. For example, Irish Travellers responding to some GTAAs, in common with Travellers resident in Ireland, have indicated a preference for 'group housing', where pitches for caravans and bungalows are provided within a clustered unit (Northern Ireland Housing Executive (NIHE), 2005). This type of accommodation is relatively unknown in Britain and has attracted little attention from Gypsies and Travellers to date (Greenfields & Clark, 2006).

Policy responses

Niner (2003, 2004a) noted that the main barrier to provision is the planning system and, more fundamentally, resistance from the sedentary population to the idea of new sites for Gypsies and Travellers. In 2003, in the light of the slow rate of increase in pitch provision, and in response to the increasing weight of evidence pertaining to conflict arising from inadequate accommodation, the Home Office urged local authorities to take a more proactive approach, advocating the use of Best Value methodologies to review policy and site delivery over a five-year cycle (Home Office, 2003). The publication of the IPPR report (Crawley, 2004) and the CRE report (2006a) added weight to the recommendations that local authorities should be required to provide adequate pitches through the use of local development frameworks (LDFs).

Under increasing pressure from the now disbanded Gypsy and Traveller Law Reform Coalition, the All Party Parliamentary Group on Gypsy and Traveller Law Reform, the Local Government Association (LGA) and other influential policy bodies, the

Government had announced a full review of all aspects of its own guidance and policy in 2004, including a replacement to Circular 1/94 (finally implemented as Circular 01/06 (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM), 2006), which specified how local authorities should respond to planning applications for sites) and draft guidance on GTAAs. The latter document (adapted in the light of consultation and findings from completed GTAAs) was finally issued in October 2007 (Communities and Local Government (CLG), 2007a) and provides detailed advice on the assessment of need for Gypsy and Traveller communities. It includes a requirement that housed Gypsies' and Travellers' needs for sites or housing should be considered and built into LDFs and Regional Spatial Strategies (see Richardson, 2007; Greenfields, 2008).

Since that far-reaching policy review, a plethora of guidance and consultations have been issued by CLG (which took over responsibility for Gypsy and Traveller affairs from the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister in 2006) and other key policy players such as the CRE (2004, 2006a) and LGA. In 2006, the LGA published a report detailing examples of good local authority practice and a set of recommendations for both local authorities and central Government. Those recommendations included enhanced central Government funding for the refurbishment of poor-quality existing public sites, the development of tools and guidance to assist local authorities in dealing with unauthorised encampments, strengthened powers for agencies working on enforcement issues (both encampments and developments), and the use of LDFs to deliver greater numbers of authorised sites, both public and private (LGA, 2006).

As part of the review, the CLG set up an Independent Task Group (ITG) chaired by Sir Brian Briscoe to examine the barriers faced by local authorities in enforcement against unauthorised encampments and developments. The ITG was criticised by many Gypsy and Traveller activists and agencies as focusing on breaches of planning without adequately addressing the reasons why so many unauthorised encampments and developments were occurring. In its report to the Government, the ITG was clear that the enforcement of breaches could only occur fairly when the pressing shortage of sites was addressed (ITG, 2007). The ITG made 36 recommendations covering the roles of both central and local Government and other stakeholders, with the most urgent focusing on the need to monitor the delivery of sites within the new planning regimes. Other key areas included: an expectation that police services should specify both their approach to policing unauthorised encampments and behavioural expectations of the residents of such sites; regulation of private bailiff firms used for site evictions; inter-agency and cross-departmental working to assist in the economic inclusion of Gypsies and Travellers and access to

appropriate financial products to assist in the self-provision of sites; and an increased focus on the social inclusion of Gypsies and Travellers. The ITG also recommended that the Government should report on an annual basis to Parliament on the progress of Gypsy and Traveller issues.

The Government's response to the ITG (CLG, 2008) broadly accepted all the recommendations. It made clear its determination to strongly oversee and monitor the local delivery of additional sites for those Gypsies and Travellers who wish to live in caravan accommodation and, hand-in-hand with this policy, to enforce appropriate standards of behaviour on site residents, using a social contract approach of shared responsibility which utilises both equality of opportunity and enforcement powers (CLG, 2007b; CLG, 2007c).

In recognition of the need to address the needs of site residents, CLG issued a consultation paper and draft guidance on site design for Gypsies and Travellers in 2007. The intention was to disseminate best practice in working in partnership with potential site residents to ensure that their cultural preferences and needs are met and that the quality of accommodation is suitable for either long-term residential or short-term transit use (CLG, 2007e). The guidance precluded the provision of sites on waste or contaminated land, which would not be considered suitable for other types of social housing, and addressed the need for play areas, postal deliveries, layout of roadways, health and safety requirements, adequate services and facilities. Site residents should be consulted over the layout of new sites and the selection of sites for refurbishment. The guidance stated that consideration should, if practicable, be given to the possibility of the addition of grazing space for horses, but recommended that working from sites should be discouraged (see further discussion of this issue in the section on employment and economic inclusion), to reflect the essentially residential nature of such accommodation. As is discussed in a later section of this report, the economic needs of site residents may potentially remain unmet if residents are unable to access work space, although the remaining proposals represent a significant improvement and positive development in terms of partnership working with Gypsy and Traveller communities.

Gypsy and Traveller site grants have been available since 2001/2 for the refurbishment of existing sites, and since 2005/6 for the provision of new sites as well (CLG, 2008). Unusually, in the area of accommodation support, these grants cover 100 per cent of the cost of local council schemes that provide additional pitches through new sites, extensions to existing sites, or bring pitches back into use. Emerging evidence (for instance, analysis of successful applications by region, and supporting anecdotal reports) however, indicates that applications for access to

funding for site provision and refurbishment remains patchy, with local authorities and registered social landlords in some areas appearing slow to engage with the process. It has been suggested (from personal correspondence by policy analysts working in the field) that the political will to enhance quality or increase public site provision is so lacking in certain areas that applications are unlikely to be forthcoming for Gypsy and Traveller Sites Grants in those localities. Although increased site provision will inevitably occur in the next few years, the imposition of strictly monitored policies on supply and the resultant increase in accommodation is likely, at least initially, to be most beneficial for individuals and family groups with the financial ability to provide sites themselves rather than for people in need of social provision. The development of a formula for assessing the robustness and appropriateness of recommendations for pitch requirements (Niner, 2007b) is not uncontroversial (Staines, 2007), and is regarded by some critics as risking underestimating need by benchmarking calculations against caravan site counts which may be inaccurate (and need to be triangulated where possible against other data). However, such a formula does go a considerable way towards ensuring that local authorities provide at least some accommodation in all localities. The requirement that Gypsies and Travellers are involved in the assessment of need, and the series of review processes built into the regional planning system, also permit representations to be made by interested parties, creating a framework for adjusting GTAA calculations to reflect local Gypsy and Traveller knowledge, which may not have been evident within GTAAs undertaken without appropriate community input. The Royal Town Planning Institute (RTPI)'s (2007) good practice note and advice to planners highlighted the need for continuous monitoring of baseline caravan count data in order to ensure robustness, and for estimates of need to be continually monitored and reviewed in partnership with Gypsy and Traveller community members.

Lishman and Richardson's (2007) review of the impact of new planning policies for Lord Avebury found that Circular 1/06 had had an impact on the provision of private sites, which were being approved at a faster rate than previously. Although the authors stressed that the number of appeals considered was low, and that the analysis was undertaken over too short a time-frame to demonstrate the strength of the trend (six months after Circular 1/06 was issued), the number of allowed appeals had increased by approximately 20 per cent (from 35 per cent to 54 per cent) and the number of dismissed appeals has decreased by 20 per cent (from 59 per cent to 39 per cent). Moreover, they found that temporary planning permission was being granted for a longer time-period than prior to the issue of the circular, often with the intention that permission would be reviewed once progress could be monitored on the identification and delivery of site provision within an area. Greenfields and Home

(2006) suggested that progress on the development and provision of public sites was likely to remain slow in contrast to that of private sites. Staines (2007) undertook research for Friends Families and Travellers (FFT) to explore how well plans for site provision were developing across England. The study consisted of a postal survey to local authorities and a review of published web documents to establish the length of time it takes to address unmet site need. Staines found that: the base caravan counts from which GTAAs are calculated are flawed; there is a considerable potential delay in the provision of sites; and very few of the local authorities surveyed had made any land allocation for site provision within the Government's target timeframe. He suggested that the substantial target for site provision, which the Government proposed to be delivered by 2011, could not be fulfilled, with 35 per cent of surveyed authorities not having taken preliminary steps towards the identification of suitable land for site provision. This point was highlighted further in a number of responses to the present consultation. Basil Burton of the Romani Rights Association stated that 'Gypsies and Travellers need adequate site provision, not excuses about green belt and SSSI as a reason for doing nothing. More flexibility is needed and to know where the five year supply of sites is in each LA area'. Michelle Lloyd of Save the Children Fund Scotland reported that 'in Scotland, pitch targets for LAs are based on figures that are over 25 years old. Gypsies / Travellers [are] rarely included in community planning / household growth surveys. Biannual counts show that number of sites available is decreasing'. The policy group of the National Association of Teachers of Travellers also expressed its concern at the 'time delay in providing accommodation identified by Needs Assessment Review … the GRT [Gypsy, Roma, Traveller] communities need to be helped to take a lead in developing and articulating their own accommodation needs'.

Richardson (2007) found that four issues were critical for Gypsy and Traveller site development to be addressed positively at a local level:

i.   A positive context for exploring the debate, including from the local media

ii. Effective management of existing authorised and unauthorised sites

iii. Effective consideration of new sites with clear, well-managed communication of proposals

iv. Strong political leadership to set the context for action.

A number of respondents to the consultation highlighted the problem of low levels of political will: the Devon Racial Equality Council response noted that 'Devon local authorities have little experience of dealing with (and often an unwillingness to

address) the issue of homeless Travellers. Some moves by councils to start looking at site provision, but things moving very slowly. Not much to show that councils will be strong enough to fight nimbyism and racism that will occur'.

Duncan (1996) undertook the only known research into the perceptions of sedentary residents of a neighbourhood both in advance of sites being developed and afterwards. In Duncan's study – during which he interviewed local residents who had objected to three sites which were developed in Scotland – he found that once sites had been established, many of the fears expressed by sedentary neighbours had dissipated and their experience of problems or conflict were far fewer than they had anticipated. Richardson (2007a) used these findings to support her thesis that the 'othering' of Gypsies and Travellers is associated with lack of knowledge and that once members of these communities become known neighbours who are integrated into local society and who are resident on well-managed sites, then fear of them as a community and as individuals evaporates.

The CREs (2006) proposals on best practice in consultation on site development would, if adopted, potentially assist in minimising local conflict, although the extent of hostility to such plans should not be overlooked, nor the risk of orchestrated anti-Gypsy and Traveller (in the guise of anti-site) campaigns (CRE, 2006a) or stalling tactics colluded with by local authority officials. Respondents to the consultation reiterated that numerous techniques are often used to disrupt private site applications, including raising prohibitively expensive appeals or complex points of law which may lead to long, drawn-out proceedings. Alison Heine (a planning consultant) noted her:

> *concern about cost to families of self-providing sites. Planning permission is an increasingly expensive process. Planning authorities are increasingly asking for expensive reports (land contamination, ecological studies, noise assessments etc) sometimes where there is no clear need. This is putting the costs of applications beyond the reach of many Gypsy-Travellers ... there is no grant aid for private sites but local authorities get 100 per cent grants for new sites. I seriously doubt the ability of some clients to fund self-provision and yet the system relies heavily on [private sites] making up most of the short-fall … The stress and financial strain of doing this must be overwhelming for many.* (Alison Heine)

Evictions

Clark and Greenfield (2006) reviewed the impacts of eviction on Gypsies and Travellers, citing research and eye-witness accounts of damage and injury caused

during the eviction of families from both unauthorised roadside and self-owned sites. The CRE (2006a, pp. 146-9) reported on council approaches to eviction, including how decisions were taken and the time permitted for families to leave, and the sometimes brutal behaviour of bailiffs when carrying out such work. The website of one bailiff company implicitly prides itself on sidestepping Travellers' human rights and court procedures in order to achieve a quick eviction (Hatwel Services, 2008). Police responses to eviction are largely more nuanced, with a clear reluctance expressed by many officers to use their powers of eviction under section 61 of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act, and an awareness of the pointlessness of continually moving families from one location to another (CRE, 2006a; Coxhead, 2005).

Although the wider policing of Gypsies and Travellers is considered in-depth elsewhere in Chapter 6, it is worth noting that the policy relating to the use of police powers varies considerably between police authority areas, with some officers being extremely clear that 'the sooner the penny drops with the local authorities that section 61 won't automatically be used the better … we need to make clear that we're not in anyone's pockets on this … there is the perception that we're the enforcement arm of the local authority' (CRE, 2006a, pp. 171). In Scotland, the approach to use of police powers (Association of Chief Police Officers Scotland (ACPOS), undated) is based upon a holistic exploration of the needs and circumstances of Gypsy / Travellers facing eviction. The ACPOS policy draws heavily on the approach outlined by Taggart (2003) and, in his later study of the policing of Gypsy / Travellers in Scotland, a considerable number of Gypsy / Traveller interviewees commented positively on the behaviour of the police service when compared to policing in England (Taggart, 2007, pp. 107). This policy has, however, attracted a good deal of hostile press coverage.

For families who are evicted, whether from roadside encampments or from their own land for which they have failed to obtain planning permission, the human cost is high (Power, 2004; James & Richardson, 2006; Clark & Greenfields, 2006; CRE, 2006a; Greenfields, 2002): the process may involve violence and certainly causes stress. The Children's Society's response to the consultation highlights the impact of evictions on children's wellbeing and its detrimental effect on access to services such as health care and education. For instance:

> *Moving on from a site brought up a feeling of loss for some children. Where a site had been established for a while, children were leaving an area that was their home. Links that had been made with local communities were severed, such as friendships made at school … where*

they were moved on by force there were feelings of fear … A forced eviction can be a threatening and frightening experience for children. There is a fear of someone taking your parent away, taking your home away, or of people you care about being hurt. (Children's Society)

Warrington and Peck noted, similarly that:

the insecurity that results from the threat of evictions is something that was a constant concern for members of the focus group. A majority had experienced eviction proceedings on a number of occasions and spoke of the insecurity this gave rise to. 'They've got no idea what it does to people emotionally – to their lives – to husbands and wives – to grandfathers and little children – to grandsons – they've got no idea of what's going on – to families internally when they walk away and leave them – the damage that it's doing to people. Because nobody's done any research whatsoever on what it's done to the children, the grandparents, or the whole complete family structure. (Warrington & Peck, 2005, p. 14)

A subsequent study by the Ormiston Trust (2006) reported that 'on unauthorised sites, they also faced the constant threat of eviction, which contributed to children's sense of insecurity and vulnerability'. Although the report noted that children valued living amongst their extended family and could feel safe on some sites, a sense of insecurity was common to children living at unauthorised locations. Comments included the following quotation from an eight year-old child: 'Getting moved on place to place, because nobody wants you and you have nowhere to go ... You can just be going round, up and down, up and down, looking for somewhere to stay and you have to stay in laybys and you get really frightened' (2006, p. 3).

There is also substantial evidence that repeated eviction and clean-up of unauthorised encampments costs taxpayers significantly more than would the provision of permanent residential or transit sites. The financial costs to local authorities have been shown by Morris and Clements (2002) to exceed six million pounds a year (at the then current rate used to calculate the exercise). Although this is based on figures supplied by local authorities in the UK, the authors say (2002, pp. 48) it is 'almost certainly a substantial underestimate' as it fails to account for staff time. The costs of policing (see Richardson (2006a) and the discussion elsewhere in this report) and evicting Gypsies and Travellers (Morris & Clements, 2002; CRE, 2006a; Crawley, 2004), instead of providing adequate authorised sites, has been

shown that it is not cost-effective, with indications that decisions are more commonly driven by political considerations (CRE, 2006a), often in breach of race equality duties.

Findings from the Dorset GTAA (which included nearly 100 New Travellers resident on unauthorised encampments as well as a small number of Irish Travellers on unauthorised developments) found a pattern of repeat evictions for those who were resident on the roadside or who had recently moved onto an unauthorised development. Forty-four per cent of respondents reported having been evicted more than five times in the previous five years (including respondents of different ethnicities and in different types of accommodation, including housing); over one third of roadside residents said they had been evicted on at least 30 occasions in the previous five years; and 24 per cent stated that they had reached a 'negotiated agreement to leave' on more than 20 occasions within the previous five years (Home & Greenfields, 2006b). Thomason (2006) reported that a number of interviewees living on roadside encampments in Cheshire said they had been moved on more than 30 times, with only a small number reporting that they were asked about their needs or personal circumstances before they were required to leave. Richardson (2006) referred to the social control of Gypsies and Travellers through the development of proactive multi-agency strategies which explicitly seek to contain Gypsies and Travellers within certain defined locations.

Gypsies and Travellers in housing

Gypsies and Travellers in housing are considered separately within this chapter as, although there is little published research into the experiences of housed families and individuals, the wealth of anecdotal data on experiences of racism, discrimination and poor health outcomes associated with residence in housing, is compelling (see in particular Parry et al, 2004 and Van Cleemput et al, 2007).

It is estimated that between half (Niner, 2003) and two-thirds of the Gypsy and Traveller populations of the UK live in housing (CRE, 2004). Emerging GTAA findings indicate that over half of these people report that they either became housed as a result of inadequate site provision and exhaustion caused by a constant cycle of eviction, or that health or educational concerns for family members led to moving into housing. In research on accommodation needs in Wales, Niner (2006) found that the majority of Gypsies and Travellers interviewed had at some point experienced residence in housing (regardless of their current place of residence). This contrasts with findings from some other GTAAs (for example, Cambridgeshire, West of England and Dorset, other than for New Travellers) and may potentially reflect the limited supply of pitches in Wales in contrast to some other areas. It is noteworthy

that in the Welsh study, the analysis of responses enabled a nuanced consideration of the negative aspects of residence in private rented or social housing. The research noted that 'neighbour problems … point to the impression that for some, the negatives around housing are not so much about bricks and mortar structure as the estate and local social structures' (Niner, 2006, p. 73). Experiences of racism and discrimination experienced by Gypsy and Travellers in housing are considered further below. While concerns over poor quality housing and the locality in which they are likely to be accommodated if they apply for public housing has been noted by respondents in many GTAAs, a large number of such studies have also found a cultural aversion to living in bricks and mortar expressed by housed respondents (Home & Greenfields, 2006; Niner, 2006; Richardson et al, 2007).

It is worth noting however, that housed Gypsies and Travellers interviewed for GTAAs: are likely to be individuals who have the strongest community connections and self-identity as Gypsies and Travellers; may have been housed more recently than community members who were not consulted by GTAA interviewers; and may consequently be more likely to be dissatisfied with their accommodation. Gypsies and Travellers forced into housing are more likely to experience negative impacts of bricks and mortar than people who have made a positive choice to move into accommodation which they have identified as culturally appropriate and selected as suitable for their needs. GTAA findings indicate that owner-occupiers of bungalows (usually with space to park one or two caravans) and residents in accommodation which broadly replicates the design of pitches on private caravan sites, are happiest in their accommodation, followed by tenants of housing association or private rented housing. Residents of housing who state that they are happy in that type of accommodation typically cite the comforts of housing such as hot water, convenience, space and the ability to have a garden, as positive aspects of their residence.

Other reasons given for preferring housing may be less positive when analysed for example, 'it's better than being moved on all the time', 'my husband's disabled, we couldn't manage no more in a trailer, but here it is easy', and 'they won't evict us from here'. While some families will make a comfortable transition into bricks and mortar and be perfectly happy there, it is noteworthy that with appropriate site design, including adaptations to premises for disabled people where required, consideration of group housing or mixed caravan and bungalow developments on authorised sites, some of these respondents could have been supported to remain resident on sites and amongst their community if they had wished to do so. The clear preference for bungalows over houses (resulting, according to GTAA and anecdotal evidence, from

their similarity to trailers in layout and because they contain no stairs) is found amongst Gypsies, Travellers and Showmen. GTAA evidence and Smith and Greenfields (ongoing research) found that flats were particularly disliked, with numerous graphic statements pertaining to the impact and sense of enclosure for example, [they were] 'like a rat in a cage, pacing, pacing, pacing, staring out the window'.

Greenfields (2006) noted that in some cities and towns there are large communities of Gypsies and Travellers resident in mixed tenure property (public and private), broadly replicating site residential and social patterns. Greenfields and Smith (2007), in on-going work, found indications that, even where Gypsies and Travellers had been forced into housing as a result of inadequate site provision or health or educational need, satisfaction levels and a sense of belonging within a community increased when it was possible to use social housing transfer procedures to reside amongst relatives or other Gypsies and Travellers with whom respondents had a positive social relationship. Conversely, isolation from relatives and community structures has a profoundly negative impact on well-being, social functioning and mental health (Parry et al, 2004; Goward et al, 2006; London Gypsy and Traveller Unit (LGTU), 2001; Power, 2004; Greenfields & Smith, 2007; Richardson et al, 2007; Shelter, 2007).

Evidence is emerging from GTAAs that not only families who have been the first generation to live in bricks and mortar, but also some of their children, express a wish to return to living on caravan sites. Home and Greenfields (2007) and Greenfields and Smith (2007) found that a strong attachment to the notion of living on sites, interspersed with travelling, existed amongst young adults who had been raised in housing, but some of these respondents also expressed a fear that they would be forced out of housing and onto potentially unsuitable sites without adequate choice of accommodation if they indicated to local authority officials a desire to return to their roots. Amongst second-generation Gypsies and Travellers who live in housing, significant connections exist with relatives on sites, and many young people spend periods of time travelling with family members (Power, 2004; Home & Greenfields, 2007; Greenfields & Smith, 2007; LGTU, 2001).

Although living on sites is associated with many problems, there is considerable evidence of poor outcomes for Gypsies and Travellers in housing, including homelessness (LGTU, 2001), family breakdown (Power, 2004) and domestic violence (see Shelter (2007) and section of this review on domestic violence). Power (2004, p. 12) summarised the changing family dynamics often characterised by the transition from sites into housing for Irish Travellers:

Unsuitable 'nuclear' family housing physically divides up the extended family and can lead to a breakdown of internal group discipline. Due to tight restrictions and discipline within families young men (and sometimes women) break away from Traveller constraints and conventions in urban situations. High rates of marriage break-up and alcohol abuse due to cultural breakdown result in low self-esteem and can lead to violence within and between Traveller families. Young male Travellers become 'youth at risk' as they rarely attend secondary school and spend much time on the streets where some come into contact with drugs, gangs, petty theft, car crime and attract the attention of the police as 'street people'. This often results in imprisonment in Young Offender Institutions (YOIs) sometimes progressing to adult prison. (Power, 2004)

Although health and racism will be considered later in this report, it is worth highlighting some of the specific impacts of housing in these areas. Parry et al (2004) found that the health impacts of residence in housing were profound, with travelling acting as a protective factor in terms of both physical and mental health. Gypsies and Travellers living in housing who travelled rarely had the worst health status of all Gypsy and Traveller groups and reported the highest levels of anxiety. Numerous GTAAs have reported Gypsies and Travellers in housing experiencing hostility from neighbours, and it is likely that the constant exposure to racism and discrimination has a negative impact on mental health. Thomason (2006) found that the problem most commonly reported by housed Gypsies and Travellers was 'neighbour trouble', exceeding problems with poor quality housing. For children, the regularity of experiences of racist abuse, coupled with a lack of positive images of Gypsies and Travellers, can lead to fear of revealing their ethnicity and a negative self-image. The Ormiston Trust's 'Children's Voices' research indicated that 'for those living in houses a lack of safety often meant exposure to racism from neighbours. Indeed houses were the type of accommodation where children felt they were most likely to experience racism' (2006, p. 3). One respondent to the consultation, who works for a local authority, noted that 'it is hard to know the precise numbers of Travellers living in houses because they tend to conceal their identity to avoid discrimination. We feel quite sure most of the housed Travellers in [X] are Irish Travellers ... We think there should be a separate section [within the research] … on Travellers' psychological aversion to housing and how housing can impact on Travellers' mental and physical health'. The Children's Society response included information on the stresses and racism experienced by children, including in housing.

Niner (2006, p. 73) reported that one woman had 'tried a house but it had been fire bombed before she even moved in. She abandoned the tenancy without understanding that she should give notice and now has former tenant rent arrears which would stop her ever getting another house'. Friends Families and Travellers (FFT), Irish Travellers Movement, Shelter and other agencies have received numerous similar reports that Gypsy and Traveller families may abandon or give up unsuitable accommodation, sometimes as a result of depression and isolation or in other cases in desperation over racism, and then find themselves in debt or classed as intentionally homeless and ineligible for further accommodation. The role of Supporting People staff or specialised local authority officers (such as those that are employed in a few pioneering areas for example, Fenland) in ensuring that housed families are aware of both their responsibilities and their rights to financial and practical assistance, may be particularly helpful in such cases, as illiteracy and difficulties in dealing with bills are frequently cited anecdotally when breakdown of tenancies is reported.

Some GTAAs and other research studies indicate that housed Gypsies and Travellers find it extremely difficult to approach local authority staff for advice or assistance in completing forms, partly through embarrassment or a lack of knowledge over where to go (Home & Greenfields, 2007; LGTU, 2001; Shelter, 2007). The London and Gypsy Traveller Unit (LGTU) detailed a series of horrific incidents of racism experienced by housed Irish Travellers in North London, including attempts to burn people out of houses and gang attacks on flats lived in by Travellers (LGTU, 2001). They noted that 'Travellers often believe that their claims are disregarded and their treatment by housing authorities is rude and dismissive' (2001, p. 7). In the West of England, GTAA (Greenfields et al, 2007) respondents were generally more unhappy about homelessness services than other local authority departments with which they had contact, noting a lack of cultural awareness amongst staff. In a study in Scotland, Netto (2006) found that all seven of the Gypsies / Travellers interviewed felt that discrimination on the part of service providers made it difficult for them to obtain the level of service provision that others would have received: 'They think that because we are Travelling People, if you go to them with your problems, you get no reply back. They treat us like scum - that's the truth'. Power (2004) gave a damning indictment of local authority practices, as experienced by Irish Travellers seeking accommodation through homelessness procedures. The report referred to debts incurred through illiteracy, families being bullied out of properties, lack of knowledge of legal matters leading to an inability to defend possession proceedings, inadequately small accommodation being offered to large families, and families being unable to prove their former addresses and being deemed ineligible for housing. One local authority respondent cited in the report

stated that 'a senior housing official … wouldn't entertain illiteracy excuses because she argued that Travellers' children could read official documentation' (Power, 2004, p. 27). In addition, both quantitative and qualitative data suggest that Gypsy / Travellers appear to be less well-served by ethnic minority agencies than other groups (Netto, 2006, p.594), further exacerbating the level of inequality they experience.

In a 2007 Shelter report on housed Gypsies and Travellers, respondents referred to experiencing discrimination and racist abuse from neighbours, anxiety and depression caused by feeling 'trapped', a sense of lack of control over their environment and extreme social isolation, all of which could lead to breakdown of housing placements. The loss of close family support and of the immediate proximity of relatives and friends who have been known all of one's life and can offer support, friendship and protection from potentially abusive neighbours (or at least the minimise the fear of such abuse) have been reported as a major problem for newly housed families in numerous GTAAs, health and other studies (Richardson et al, 2007; Parry et al, 2004; Van Cleemput et al, 2007; Shelter, 2007; Greenfields, 2002; LGTU, 2001; Power, 2004). Richardson et al (2007) similarly found that movement into housing and isolation from family members can exacerbate depression and nihilistic behaviours amongst young unemployed men who feel that they have no reason to live. One stated, 'You have a drive down ... High Street and have a look at the boys I grew up with … they're either out of their head on drugs or on Tennants Super [strong beer], because they're getting rid of the day, there's no point in them having a day …They're all stuck in houses now, all stuck in the council estates, they don't want to be there but where are they going to go?' (2007, p. 114).

The same report noted a specific gendered aspect to being resident in housing, with some women reporting that while men might go out and meet other men or trade, for women, the isolation is intense:

> *I stayed there [in housing] 12 months and it was the worst 12 months of my life. I ended up in a nutty hospital where I'd tried to kill myself. I don't know what it does to us, I think it is because we are away from our people, you can get up every morning and shout over the fence to somebody and they're there [on site]. When the kids go out of the house to school - if you can get them into schools - you're on your own, you are walking around on your own, you go to the shops on your own and you wait until the evening when some of your family may turn up for you and they will do, but after a while they think you are settled and they are going to be moved on ... I*

ended up in a mental home … they took me there in the end to find out what was happening and it wasn't until [then] I realised it was the house. I just could not be there in the house. (2007, p. 109)

The reference to changing family dynamics once someone moves into housing is also noted in the Shelter report: 'some people say we are not proper Travellers, just because we live in a house' (2007, p. 8). Findings from Home and Greenfields (2007) and various GTAAs have pointed out that housed Gypsies and Travellers often continue to spend considerable periods of time travelling with or visiting relatives on sites, or risk becoming isolated from their community if they are not resident among a substantial housed Gypsy and Traveller population. Greenfields (2002) found that a number of New Travellers who had spent considerable periods of time travelling or resident on unauthorised sites and then returned to housing for educational or health reasons, reported similar problems in adjusting, a point which was also made by Niner (2006) in a study in Wales. Anecdotally (but supported by some GTAA evidence and Greenfields, 2002), New Travellers resident in housing (in common with some recently housed ethnic Gypsies and Travellers) report a tendency to either spend time on sites with friends, or find that they have lost contact with day-to-day travelling concerns after a few months. For New Travellers as well as Gypsies and other ethnic Travellers, spending time on sites can provide relief from the stress caused by complaints made by housed neighbours who may be acting in a deliberately discriminatory manner, but equally may not understand or appreciate cultural and social habits. Numerous evidence indicates that neighbours of Gypsies and Travellers complain about social, employment or cultural practices such as: scrapping vehicles or metal, work vehicles parked outside houses, objections to families spending considerable time in their gardens or the street with groups of friends and children, the number and frequency of visitors, or even cooking outdoors around a fire – all activities which may be much treasured and regularly practised by Gypsies and Travellers who have moved into bricks and mortar accommodation (Greenfields, 2006; LGTU, 2001).

Netto's (2006) study of homelessness and ethnic minority communities in Scotland found that two projects working with Gypsy / Travellers felt that the apparent acceptability of racial hostility against their client group was higher than that affecting other ethnic minority groups, refugees or asylum-seekers (see later section on discrimination, and the findings from the social attitudes survey in the chapter on Scotland). The experience of hostility was confirmed in interviews with Gypsy / Travellers from which it emerged that the choice of whether to live in housing or on sites was significantly affected by their perceived safety from harassment. One

woman who lived on a site contrasted the peace and quiet of the site with her previous experience of living in council accommodation where she was subjected to abuse: 'For two or three days it's okay, but after the first week, it's gypsies this and tinkers that' (Netto, 2006, p. 593). Overall, the evidence is overwhelming that for many if not most Gypsies and Travellers moving into housing (particularly on 'rough' estates), experiences or fear of discrimination can lead to significant negative impacts, which exacerbate the risk of leaving housing and returning to insecure accommodation on unauthorised sites or developments. It is therefore unsurprising that estimates for failed transfers into housing (Shelter, 2007) or movement in and out of bricks and mortar (Greenfields, 2006; LGTU, 2001; Power, 2004) are high.

Showpeople

The discussion on the accommodation needs of Showpeople is somewhat different from that of Gypsies and Travellers. Policy discussions on accommodation needs have only recently included awareness of the fact that there is a shortage of appropriate and adequate accommodation for Showpeople. In response to calls for equitable recognition of the site requirements for members of this community (led by the influential Showmen's Guild and supported by the Association of Independent Showmen), in early 2007 the Government issued a consultation which mirrored that undertaken on amendments needed to planning regime changes for Gypsy and Traveller sites (ODPM, 2004). In August 2007, full planning guidance on Showpeople's Sites was issued (CLG, 2007d), which brought about changes to the way in which planning applications are made and considered for Showmen's yards. The new guidance broadly replicates Circular 1/06 (ODPM, 2006), which currently governs planning for Gypsy and Traveller sites. The new guidance also requires for the first time that Showmen's accommodation needs are to be included in GTAAs.

Very little research has been undertaken into the accommodation needs of Showpeople and the majority of completed GTAAs have excluded them from their remit. Accordingly, a transitional process is underway (as of 2007), whereby imputed pitch requirements for Showpeople will be incorporated into regional spatial strategies for planning purposes, unless there is firm evidence of clearly calculated need in existing GTAAs. Local authorities will, however, be expected to undertake additional assessments to explore the extent of required pitches for Showpeople within the next few years. What limited information does currently exist on site needs (supported by data from the Showmen's Guild who retain extremely detailed records of the location, family size and needs of their members in some areas) demonstrates that Showpeople require large plots comprising both working and living areas. This is to enable them to store and work on their large work vehicles and rides during the

winter months or when not travelling (Greenfields et al, 2007; Niner, 2007a; WS Planning, 2004). However, work-related noise associated with the maintenance of large rides is the cause of many objections to applications for Showmen's yards. The implications of a lack of designated work-space on Gypsy and Traveller sites are considered in the section on employment and economic exclusion.

The patterns of travel for Showpeople have changed considerably in recent decades, often associated with fewer large-scale fairs and larger numbers of one or two-day events. Showpeople report an increased tendency to undertake smaller circuits, in part resulting from changes to fair-licensing regimes which often preclude (or charge exorbitantly for) Showpeople remaining at a site for other than the actual days of the event. Traditionally, Showmen would have remained at a single location for a few days each side of a fair before moving on to the next booking. Now, however, they are more likely to return to their 'winter quarters' or yard between fairs, with increased costs of fuel, movement in and out of sites, environmental impacts and longer time-periods at their home base. Given that traditionally, Showmen would only return to winter quarters for the few months of the year when they were not travelling between fairs, many site licences for Showmen's yards preclude residence for more than four or five months of the year (often specified as between October and March). These site regulations, which have not changed to reflect the reality of Showpeople's lives, inevitably lead to hardship or breach of licensing regulations if residents remain on site for longer time periods (Greenfields et al, 2007a; Niner, 2007a).

In addition to the changing travel patterns, increasing numbers of Showpeople report that someone remains in winter quarters all year around to care for elderly dependents or to support children while they are attending school (Greenfields et al, 2007; Niner, 2007a), potentially leading to a conflict between planning regulations and adaptation to modern circumstances. While undertaking research for GTAAs, research team members noted that some Showpeople reported their frustration at the conflict between Government and local authority policies, which meant that a desire to remain settled to support a child at school during their GCSE years (usually viewed as positive) could place their family in a vulnerable situation in terms of site regulations. Home and Greenfields (2006a) interviewed one older couple in the East of England who were unable to travel because of the husband's precarious health. Their married children were working on fairground circuits in other parts of the country and site regulations precluded having relatives stopping on site to offer them care as they were renting a single pitch on a private yard. Although they were theoretically not supposed to remain on the site at all times, they resided there for all but very short periods and were often dependent for assistance from unrelated Showpeople who came back to the winter quarters between their own bookings.

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When the husband was hospitalised, and in the absence of relatives locally, the wife was dependent on a friendly social worker to take her to see her husband, as no other site residents were present, she had never learnt to drive, and no buses passed near to their rural site. A shortage of Showmen's sites across the country meant that the older couple were unable to find accommodation near the winter quarters of their children and they felt unable to contemplate moving into a house even though they would have been able to receive family support. Accordingly they were left in a vulnerable situation, familiar to many who work with Gypsies and Travellers (see further sections on older age and disability in Chapter 9).

Showmen's Guild records and data from GTAAs, demonstrate considerable levels of overcrowding resulting from site restrictions, family growth and intense problems in receiving planning permission for Showmen's Yards (Niner, 2007a; WS Planning, 2004). The overwhelming majority of Showpeople live on owner-occupied yards or pitches leased from other Showpeople or occasionally, from the Showmen's Guild. Greenfields et al (2007) found a few cases of Showpeople storing rides with relatives or renting space for storage from farmers and living on unauthorised roadside encampments as a result of a lack of pitches. However, in the main, Showpeople who are not able to obtain their own pitch follow the same practice as Gypsies and Travellers who have relatives on private sites: doubling up on single-family pitches, moving between relatives' authorised sites, or in some cases resorting to residence in housing. Given the generally high level of economic inclusion enjoyed by Showpeople, a number of respondents to GTAAs indicated that they could either afford to purchase their own yard (often shared with other families) or buy a bungalow with land attached, but that they were constrained by the difficulties in obtaining planning permission to suit their commercial and family needs. Overwhelmingly, Showpeople (who, in common with many Gypsies and Travellers, report a wish to live on sites rather than in housing) state that they wish to live on small family-owned sites with easy access to amenities such as schools, shops and medical facilities but with suitable provision for working, such as storage sheds and space for large rides.

Despite the problems associated with lack of adequate site provision, this community is largely buffered from the worst impacts of cultural shock and poverty by their relatively unchanging patterns of self-employment, the co-existence of accommodation and employment opportunities when at a fairground site, willingness and ability to consider diversification of employment (see comments made by respondents on Showpeople's parental expectations in the chapter on employment and economic inclusion) and generally higher educational level than that enjoyed by

many Gypsies and Travellers. If the planning regime outlined in Circular 04/07, Planning for Travelling Showpeople (CLG, 2007d), is successful in encouraging planning authorities to identify appropriate land and grant planning permission for Showmen's yards more easily, then it is likely that – with the exception of racist discrimination experienced by children in school – many of the inequalities reported by Showpeople will diminish.

We are aware of some New Travellers who are members of the Showmen's Guild or Independent Guild of Roundabout Operators and who travel to festivals with traditional (mainly non-electrified) rides such as small roundabouts, coconut shies or swingboats. Although these families are all first-generation Showpeople (with children who are growing up into the trade of travelling Showmen) and thus unlikely to be able to avail themselves of the same financial and social resources as traditional Showmen, access to planning regulations will assist them, should they wish and be able to afford to purchase land for a Showman's yard.

Other equality and human rights issues

Accommodation, the lack of appropriate or adequate site provision, and the issue of enforced movement into housing of Gypsies and Travellers, raises concerns over fundamental human rights to privacy, home and family life. Perhaps the clearest indication of inequality in access to accommodation is the fact that, of the Gypsy and Traveller population who reside in caravans, approximately one-quarter do not have a legal place in which to reside, in the sense of an authorised caravan site (CRE, 2004, 2006; Crawley, 2004), and are thus technically homeless (Johnson & Willers, 2007; Avebury, 2003). In addition, and in the absence of adequate knowledge about the size of the housed Gypsy and Traveller population, and lack of ethnic monitoring which will allow hidden community members to be identified and contacted, it is impossible to know with real accuracy how many people are unhappily resident in housing and require access to site provision.

For disabled Gypsies and Travellers, the inequities which existed prior to 2003 in access to grants for adaptations of caravans to provide suitable accommodation for disabled people, have been addressed as a result of the Disability Discrimination Acts. It is to be hoped this will minimise the requirement (caused by lack of viable alternatives) to move into housing when older or disabled, a situation which had formerly been faced by a considerable number of Gypsies and Travellers. GTAA evidence does, however, indicate that in many cases older or disabled Gypsies and Travellers have had to wait considerable periods of time to obtain adaptations to their caravans on public sites (see also Warrington & Peck, 2005). Anecdotal evidence indicates that, without relatives to lift them in and out of caravans, residents of

authorised public sites have been confined to their homes as no ramps or other adaptations have been fitted by local authorities, particularly in the absence of adequate engagement with social services departments. Such problems raise issues about fire hazard and possible injury.

Addressing inequality

As discussed above, a number of publications have found positive evidence of good practice in partnership working by local authorities and other agencies in engaging with Gypsies and Travellers over accommodation needs (CRE, 2006a; Local Government Association (LGA), 2006). The Government policy drive on accommodation (supported by rigorous scrutiny of planning applications, regional spatial strategies and local development frameworks) is beginning to deliver accommodation benefits for some sections of the Gypsy and Traveller communities (Lishman & Richardson, 2007). In the summer of 2008 the Housing Corporation published a toolkit for registered social landlords which outlined how to make a business case for providing and managing pitches for Gypsies and Travellers and provided examples of how some housing associations have undertaken such an exercise (Niner & Walker, 2008). While the fact that such a document was considered necessary indicates the extent of racism and discrimination still to be combated, its publication must be included as another effective tool in addressing accommodation inequalities.

Clear monitoring of local authority equal opportunity and race equality policies has led to a dramatic increase in the inclusion of Gypsies and Travellers in published documents (both in hard copy and on websites) by public and voluntary sector bodies. While in practice it is difficult to assess how much change is occurring, this increased visibility and pump-priming of services from a range of diverse Government sources (for example, Supporting People) indicates that greater note is being taken of the accommodation needs of Gypsy, Traveller and Showpeople communities, and recommendations on partnership working, frequently incorporate principles of community development practice. Good practice in terms of consulting with Gypsies and Travellers on accommodation needs has been published by the Royal Town Planning Institute (RTPI) (2007) and the Irish Traveller Movement Britain (2006). Shelter (2007) has undertaken specific work on good practice in supporting housed Gypsy and Traveller families. In the wake of GTAAs, a number of localities have established fora for engaging with Gypsies, Travellers and Showpeople in relation to accommodation, community cohesion and needs planning. In April 2008, a report was published by the Housing Corporation and a consortium of registered social landlords, which detailed the findings from a community development and

neighbourhood planning project undertaken in an urban area with a large Gypsy and Traveller population (Gidley & Rooke, 2008). The report represented a mainstreaming approach to Gypsy and Traveller needs while taking account of differences in consultation methods, needs and approaches, for instance as a result of the reluctance of some community members in large mixed housing estates to self-identify as Travellers. Utilising a community cohesion approach to regeneration represents a new approach to working with Gypsies and Travellers within a wider community development agenda. While recognising the policy drivers which encourage mainstreaming of Gypsy and Traveller issues, we would however, warn against the risk of these communities' specific needs becoming submerged within a generalist approach to equality issues.

April 2008 also saw the launch of a DVD resource on needs-based planning, produced by Jake Bowers of the Gypsy Media Company and made available by the East of England Regional Assembly (EERA). This innovative approach to discussing the accommodation needs of Gypsies and Travellers is part of a media strategy which is accessible to all residents and members of the local community, whether Gypsies, Travellers or sedentary populations, and regardless of literacy levels. It presents the reasons for developing new site provision in line with the findings from local GTAAs and the decisions and processes undertaken as part of the regional spatial strategy. The DVD includes contributions from Gypsies, Travellers, Showpeople, members of the Regional Assembly and local settled populations who reside near to sites, and presents a well-rounded consideration of site needs, sedentary community concerns and shared agreement on the importance of access to education and health and of responsible behaviour. The DVD discusses concerns around litter and explores areas of mutual agreement on anti-social behaviour amongst Gypsies and Travellers and settled populations, as well as presenting the economic argument for site provision (Morris & Clements, 2002). The example provided within the DVD is of the economic savings to a local authority (Bristol City Council), which exemplified good practice by the development of a good quality transit site in response to high levels of unauthorised encampment in their area. Bristol City Council is an example which is widely cited in Government policy documents and by the RTPI (2007). It has minimised unauthorised encampments, and the trauma of eviction or other action against Gypsies and Travellers, and reduced spending on eviction and clean-up from £200,000 to £5,000 by developing short-stay transit provision which requires rent and a deposit to be paid prior to use. Both the practice of Bristol City Council and of East of England Regional Assembly (EERA) in producing the DVD are to be commended and recommended for replication in other localities.

Some support schemes have been designed to help with the transition into housing or to provide support once housed. In three areas with large populations of housed Gypsies and Travellers, we are aware of youth facilities with trained staff (Gypsies and Travellers themselves), who act as information sources to signpost services and provide support for community members of all ages. In one locality, a youth group run by a Romany play worker has been noted as decreasing social isolation amongst Gypsies and Travellers in housing, as both young people and their parents and grandparents meet and socialise when collecting children from the club.

Recommendations

Accommodation needs and desires vary across different communities of Gypsies, Travellers and Showpeople, and by region and local area. There is no definitive set of requirements for any one locality and the needs of each local community must be consulted on, met wherever possible (within resource constraints), and respected.

i. The recommendations on good practice in consultation on accommodation detailed by the CRE (2006), Shelter (2007), Irish Traveller Movement Britain (ITMB) (2006), RTPI (2007) and the CLG (various dates), which are broadly similar in approach and predominantly utilise community development approaches, should be adhered to by all public and private bodies.

ii. Fora should be established in partnership with local Gypsy, Traveller and Showpeople communities to consider housing, site and associated accommodation issues (for example, access to sources of advice, experiences of racism) and develop pathways of communication and trust within local areas.

iii. A wide range of accommodation should be considered and provided for Gypsies and Travellers (for example, group housing, the development of mixed tenure sites, and affordable site options) with good access to services.

iv. Consideration should be given to the inclusion of working areas within site design to encourage residents' economic inclusion.

v. Supporting People services (or similar outreach and support agencies) should continue to actively engage with Gypsies and Travellers who move into housing. Wherever possible, multi-agency working should be encouraged (including through Children's Centres) or utilising existing community facilities to provide drop-in advice for both housed and sited community members.

vi.   Further research is required into protective factors which support Gypsies' and Travellers' resilience in housing and when insecurely sited.

vii.   Homelessness strategies need to be reviewed regularly to see how they address the issues faced by Gypsies and Travellers.

viii. Assessments of need should be regularly updated and developed in partnership with Gypsies and Travellers to meet the needs of families and individuals in housing and on sites.

ix.   Service providers should include Gypsies and Travellers in monitoring systems.

x.   Outreach surgeries should be in locations known to have a relatively high number of Gypsy and Traveller residents which provide information on accommodation and related needs targeted at Gypsies and Travellers.

xi.   Capacity-building among Gypsy and Traveller organisations to deliver advice and support in partnership with mainstream service providers.

xii.   Materials should be produced in a range of non-written formats for example, DVDs, graphic design / cartoons.

xiii. Multi-agency work on protection of Gypsies and Travellers from harassment (including engaging with local media to counter negative stereotypes of Gypsies, Travellers and hostility to site provision in local areas).

xiv.   Monitoring and enforcement of local authority race equality duties.

xv.   Explicit references to Gypsies and Travellers in statements of community involvement in planning policy, and ensuring that such involvement is meaningful.

xvi.   Feedback to be given on all consultations, so that communities are made aware of how their involvement has impacted on change.

xvii. Local authorities, registered social landlords, police, race equality councils and community fora should formally monitor all incidents of racist abuse against Gypsies and Travellers resident in housing and on sites, and ensure that appropriate and accessible publicity materials exist to encourage reporting of incidents by Gypsies and Travellers.

xviii. Further research to gain a clear idea of the numbers and needs of Gypsies and Travellers in conventional housing.

xix.   Explicitly include Gypsies and Travellers in relevant housing policy.

xx. Review and monitor policies for dealing with unauthorised encampments to ensure that these policies promote access to services for occupants and good race relations between Gypsies and Travellers and other local residents.

xxi. Liaison with regional interagency partnerships to develop collaborative strategies on improving services for Gypsies and Travellers.

xxii. Development of a funding strategy to support Gypsy and Traveller involvement in meetings, for example, on accommodation policy. This should look at identifying barriers and ways of overcoming these such as covering expenses, training opportunities and payments for Gypsies and Travellers to take part in meetings.

2.2 Employment and economic inclusion

The policy context

For people of working age, economic inclusion is virtually synonymous with employment. A recent policy summary (Department of Work and Pensions (DWP), 2007, p. 9) stated that the Government target for employment of adults of working age is to rise to 80 per cent of the working population by 2017. Access to employment is a key plank of the Government approach to social cohesion and well-being, with considerable debate and resources devoted to developing the employability of economically inactive individuals, often explicitly linked to increasing the percentage of the population possessing academic qualifications. Where educational exclusion has occurred and / or literacy and basic skills are impaired, a problem estimated to affect around one in five of the mainstream population (Moser, 1999) and likely to be far higher amongst Gypsies and Travellers (Department for Education and Skills (DfES), 2003; Scottish Executive, 2004), considerable barriers may need to be overcome in order to encourage and support individuals into formal education and training opportunities (see also the section on Education).

Within this report we do not engage with the current academic and policy debate around qualification inflation and the decrease in availability of employment for individuals with low or non-existent academic qualifications (Furlong, 2006; Princes Trust, 2007; Green et al, 1999) but merely note where appropriate, that many Gypsies and Travellers do not have academic qualifications by reason of leaving school at a young age, and / or illiteracy or cultural resistance to secondary education (see the Education section of this report and Clark, 2006).

In the past 10 years, a raft of measures aimed at supporting the un- or under-employed and encouraging people into work have been implemented at a national level, incorporating both centralised policy approaches and local initiatives such as Local Employment Partnerships. The 2007 Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) document 'Ready for Work: Full employment in our time' summarised recent welfare reforms aimed at 'integrating employment and skills' as the 'key to sustainable employment' (2007, p. 9). Some groups of people who have tended to be under-represented in employment statistics, in particular lone parents and people claiming sickness and disability benefits (both categories amongst whom Gypsies and Travellers may be found), are to be particularly targeted with support and training opportunities to encourage a return to employment, whether on a full-time or part-time basis, with access to in-work benefits to enable claimants to be 'better off in work' and 'financially included'.

The Welfare Reform Act (2007) brought about a number of significant changes to welfare entitlements, including criteria for access to disability and incapacity benefits. The implementation of the Disability Discrimination Acts has in theory greatly enhanced the prospects of employment for disabled people and people with long-term illnesses, creating viable work opportunities for a significant proportion of the population who have been out of work as a result of ill-health or disability. GTAAs indicate that, of those Gypsies and Travellers who are in receipt of benefits, a relatively high proportion may be in receipt of disability and sickness benefits. The shifting expectations pertaining to the employment and training responsibilities of individuals with a diverse range of impairments are therefore likely to impact on this section of the Gypsy and Traveller population through increased pressure to engage in paid employment, although literacy and technical (for example, IT) skills are likely to be lacking, which in practice may have the effect of compounding their exclusion from employment (Bambra & Pope, 2007). The presumption that disabled benefit recipients will actively seek employment or training has led to debate about the changing Welfare State and the nature of the social contract which exists between welfare claimants and the state (Thornton, 2005), with positive responses from disability rights activists and organisations who are aware of the stigmatisation and discrimination faced by many disabled people who wish to work (Sapey, 2001; Stuart, 2006).

Other significant changes to the welfare benefits system include the requirement that by October 2010, lone parents whose youngest child reaches the age of seven will have a responsibility to be actively seeking employment and to access support packages to assist them into this transition into paid work. While lone parents are a small but growing population within traditional Gypsy and Traveller populations, amongst New Travellers, a relatively high percentage of parents have at various times moved in and out of the status of being a lone parent (Greenfields, 2002). For some lone parent claimants, the practicalities involved in actively seeking employment or training while highly mobile are likely to be profound (Webster & Millar, 2001). The debate around employment or training requirements for mothers in particular, while economically sound and proven to be beneficial across a full range of social inclusion domains for many women, may also prove problematic within some traditional communities where gendered attitudes preclude women working outside of the home, at least while they have young children (see Greenfields (2008a) and the Gender section of this report).

The policy drivers for enhancing economic inclusion through employment include recognition of the fact that communities experience exclusion across a range of

domains: political, social and economic (Percy-Smith, 2000; also see Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisations (SCVO), 2003; and Dobrowolsky & Lister (2005) for discussion on equalities dimensions to social exclusion). Localities where residents have low levels of academic qualifications, skills education and training tend to have the highest rates of poverty and unemployment (Joseph Rowntree Froundation (JRF), 2007). In addition, residents of these neighbourhoods are more likely to be disabled, have a tendency to be living in poorer quality accommodation, are at greater risk of being both victims and perpetrators of crime and have greatly decreased life chances across a range of domains (Palmer et al, 2007; Social Exclusion Unit (SEU), 2004). As discussed elsewhere in this report, the likelihood of depression, substance abuse and involvement with the criminal justice system, increase for socially excluded individuals, exacerbating the problems caused by low or unemployment. Many Gypsies and Travellers live in poor quality, socially excluded neighbourhoods, either on deprived housing estates or sites in bad locations, with high rates of unemployment and poor quality living conditions. People who are socially excluded in employment terms are also disproportionately likely to experience poor physical and mental health (Cummins et al, 2005). Accordingly, combating social exclusion through pro-employment policies can prove an important factor in improving living conditions and opportunities for people of working age and also their children, given the tendency for poverty and social exclusion to be transmitted across generations (Blanden & Gibbons, 2006).

Financial exclusion is closely linked to economic exclusion, in that the poorest members of society are often excluded from accessing bank accounts and reasonably priced credit, frequently leading people in poverty to incur debt to unregulated loan companies, or families on benefits paying exorbitant rates of interest to unofficial money lenders if they have been refused a Government Social Fund loan (Terry et al, 2005). Access to employment usually requires that an individual has a bank account (Webster & Millar, 2001) into which to be paid, and this is increasingly a requirement for receipt of welfare benefits. Cash is steadily being replaced by credit and debit card use and payment of bills is often cheaper if direct debit payments can be made, thus lack of access to basic financial products such as current or savings accounts significantly disadvantages vulnerable people still further (Reynolds, 2003). For highly mobile individuals and families, the requirement to prove their previous addresses or sufficient credit-worthiness to obtain a bank account, can be an enormous hurdle. In addition, both anecdotal evidence Scottish research (Lomax et al, 2004, p. 3) notes that having a site address is seen as a problem for finding work or opening a bank account.

Current approaches to supporting financial inclusion for marginalised communities and individuals are laid out in the 2007 Treasury document 'Financial Inclusion: An action plan for 2008-2011' (HM Treasury, 2007). The core elements of this policy involve ensuring that all members of society are able to 'manage their money on a day-to-day basis, effectively, securely and confidently; plan for the future and cope with financial pressure, by managing their finances to protect against short-term variations in income and expenditure, and to take advantage of longer-term opportunities; and deal effectively with financial distress, should unexpected events lead to serious financial difficulty' (HM Treasury 2007:5). However, the literature on economic and financial inclusion fails to address the particular problems faced by Gypsies and Travellers, although it is noteworthy that the Independent Task Force on Site Provision (2007) flagged up concerns pertaining to financial inclusion for members of these communities. In April 2008, the Communities and Local Government (CLG) response to the Task Force on Site Provision notes (2008, p. 12) that 'Communities and Local Government recognises that many Gypsies and Travellers can have difficulties accessing mainstream financial products such as bank accounts and low cost loans. This creates problems for the Gypsy and Traveller community in purchasing land to develop private sites. It also creates other practical difficulties such as site residents being unable to make savings through arranging direct debit payments, for example to utility companies'.

Gypsies' and Travellers' experiences

The Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) Gypsy and Traveller Strategy for England and Wales (2004) noted a lack of systematic data on Gypsy and Traveller employment. However, it reported anecdotal evidence which indicated that 'unemployment is high among Gypsies and Travellers and few of the general programmes set up to tackle unemployment have initiatives or schemes developed specifically for Gypsies and Travellers, who need training in practical skills as well as opportunities to obtain qualifications for skills they already have' (CRE, 2004, p. 12). Site managers in Niner's 2003 study reported that 'on seven out of 10 sites a minority of households work' (2003, p. 114), with over one-third of site managers noting that less than 10 per cent of residents were in employment (the report does not specify whether this refers to all residents, those of working age, or those actively seeking work). Poverty, financial and economic exclusion are thus issues where this pattern prevails. Evidence from Gypsy Traveller Accommodation Assessments (GTAAs) indicates that both age and locality of residence have an impact on employment rates: Gypsies and Travellers in Surrey for example, are more likely to be working in a range of non-traditional work and with a relatively high rate of employment. Inevitably, the possession or absence of formal qualifications, coupled with the

surrounding culture of employment (for example, community preferences for family-based self-employment or waged, 'individualistic' labour) has an impact on individuals' economic activity. Anecdotal information from community workers and Travellers Education Services staff (borne out by some GTAA findings) indicates that housed Gypsies and Travellers may be more likely to seek employment which is similar to that of their neighbours (for example, in a local factory) than to follow the employment patterns favoured by people living on sites. GTAAs indicate greater interest in accessing employment-related training on the part of housed Gypsies and Travellers, as compared with site residents.

The limited evidence on Gypsy and Traveller employment practices and preferences does, however, indicate a strong preference for male self-employment (Greenfields, 2006a, pp. 49-53), often associated with working in family groups and undertaking employment such as gardening, scrapping metal, building and market trading. Women have until relatively recently traditionally been involved in harvesting work, making holly wreaths or other traditional seasonal 'female' crafts, although there has been a sharp decline in such work in recent years with greater numbers of organised migrant field labourers from Eastern Europe undertaking such work and limited outlets for craft work when raw materials are expensive or access to market stalls may be difficult to justify if financial returns are low.

Findings from West Country GTAAs (Home & Greenfields, 2006; Greenfields et al, 2007) and Webster and Millar's (2001) research into New Traveller employment indicates that New Travellers in the West Country are involved in field work (for example, daffodil-picking) and a range of traditional employment associated with Gypsies and Travellers such as scrapping metal and trading, as well as craft or entertainment work at festivals. A small number of people had professional or trade qualifications, such as electricians, and one was a nurse (Greenfields, 2006b). New Travellers often alternate periods of self-employment with receipt of job seekers allowance, although state benefits can be difficult to access as a result of having no fixed abode or limited access to bank accounts (Webster & Millar, 2001). GTAAs have also found a small number of waged Gypsies and Travellers employed in low or semi-skilled jobs such as work in factories packing goods, although this is still relatively uncommon (Greenfields, 2006b).

A high percentage of women do not work outside the home, or may work only until they are married and children are born (see Gender section). However, anecdotally and based upon GTAA evidence, married women whose children are in school are beginning to enter employment in low but increasing numbers, often in low or unskilled jobs such as cleaning. Young women are also increasingly likely to report

an interest in training in health and beauty or other similar types of service industry, which can be practised on a self-employed basis while children are young; nevertheless, low levels of qualifications and literacy difficulties can act as a barrier, impacting on opportunity and confidence. Travellerspace (Cornwall), in response to the consultation, noted that 'a lot of young women we work with don't read or write well and feel that no-one would employ them'. Cultural resistance to women working was also noted in another response to the consultation: 'attempts to get young Gypsy women onto training courses or college are met with huge resistance from the older women … we have had some success getting young women into the Freestyle programme, perhaps because it is activity based and seems less of a threat [to traditional values and expectations]'. This gendered approach is also reflected in GTAA comments that daughters 'don't need to be going to college, she'll stay here and help me clean until she marries'. Significant variation in attitudes towards female education and employment nonetheless exists across communities and individuals. The questionnaire response from the Policy and Strategy Group of the National Association of Teachers of Travellers (NATT) noted that 'parental aspirations impact strongly on GRT young people'. It also referred to the 'strong work and lifestyle ethic' found amongst some New Travellers, a comment which supports GTAA findings and the work of Webster and Millar (2001).

Warrington and Peck's (2005) research with Romany Gypsies in the East of England reported a focus group participant saying that 'within his community, work tended to vary according to seasons. An emphasis was placed on flexibility as both a strength and requirement of Gypsy and Traveller communities'. The authors also noted 'a changing pattern of Gypsy self-employment: away from the more traditional pursuits … towards a range of building trades such as roofing, external decorating and PVC fascia-boarding'. Clark (2002, pp. 187-9) referred to the increasing diversification of trades and employment activities amongst Scottish Gypsy / Travellers.

Anecdotally, some Gypsies and Travellers who are working in building-related trades report increased difficulties in finding work in the past few years, with recent competition from new migrants with similar skills and who may not be subject to as much hostility and prejudice as Gypsies and Travellers, which can impact significantly on employment opportunities. The decline in employment obtained 'on the knock' has also impacted significantly on some sectors of the Gypsy and Traveller communities, particularly where high-profile 'no cold-calling' zones have been implemented (Travellers Times, 2006).

Anecdotal and GTAA evidence from across the UK indicates that Gypsies and Travellers who live on a site, or who are known to be members of local Gypsy or

Traveller families, encounter discrimination when applying for paid work. Although hard evidence is (unsurprisingly) hard to come by, examples abound of people not being called for interviews or of jobs being mysteriously filled.

One young woman who took part in a focus group with a member of the research team reported that she had a relative who worked for six months in a local jewellers' shop, having given the address of a housed friend when she applied for the post. Her work had been satisfactory and everybody seemed happy with her attendance and performance, to the extent that she was allowed to count the jewellery in and out of the safe while her colleagues were working in other sections of the shop or filling or emptying other display cases. Once it was known that she was a Gypsy though, she was no longer left alone with the gold and heard comments made about Gypsies stealing and their liking for gold. She left her post shortly afterwards. This case of constructive dismissal was not followed up by the young woman as she was too humiliated by the situation and in any event probably unaware of her legal rights.

Gypsies and Travellers who are self-employed and living on sites have frequently informed members of the research team or other education, voluntary sector and community development workers that they use a 'care of' address for their businesses, and ensure that their address is not displayed on letterheads, cards or the side of vehicles. When it has become known (for example, as a result of a planning case reported in a local paper) that they are Gypsies or Travellers, work will frequently 'dry up' or be cancelled. Disturbingly, many community members appear to regard this as a normal occupational hazard and simply take care to disguise their origins from customers and employers.

Gypsies and Travellers who are unemployed and seeking work can encounter barriers including literacy and numeracy barriers, requirements for qualifications, evidence of former addresses (perhaps dating back over the past three years), or requirements for references from former employers. Evidence received by the CRE (2004) indicated that Gypsies and Travellers rarely make use of New Deal or Jobseeker Plus and feel that services are inadequately tailored to their needs, echoing Webster and Millar's (2001) findings in respect of New Travellers. Employment service providers (both public and private) show little, if any, understanding of the barriers that Gypsies and Travellers face, or of ways of tailoring services to meet their needs. The CRE noted in 2004 that research into the take-up of benefits and benefit fraud failed to consider Gypsies' and Travellers' experiences, but stated that 'many of them may be missing out on benefits they are entitled to, due to low levels of adult literacy, lack of support and suspicion of benefits fraud' (2004, p. 12). It also noted that, despite a preponderance of self-employment, many Gypsies

and Travellers received little financial help or advice on starting up a mobile business. Again, it reported that one of the biggest and growing problems was not having a permanent address, or having a site address, given banks' and insurance companies' increasing insistence on evidence of a stable address as part of their identity checks (2004, p. 12).

For insecurely or unsited Gypsies and Travellers, frequent evictions or being moved on compound their ability to access employment: several respondents to GTAAs or who participated in focus groups (Greenfields, 2008a) have referred to losing jobs or training places as they were unable to attend work or college due to eviction or moving too far away to retain their position.

A further issue which impacts on Gypsies and Travellers resident on sites, is the prevalence of regulations precluding the storage of work materials or ability to work from sites (even where owner-occupied), which have a negative impact on work opportunities. Niner (2003, pp. 119-120) found that on 68 per cent of sites surveyed, working was not permitted from the site (for example, storage of scrap or disposal of green waste from gardening work). In practice however, a significant number of working site residents broke the rules (sometimes with a 'blind eye' turned by site managers). The problem of unofficial arrangements means that individuals who breach tenancy agreements endanger themselves and their families' security if site-owners should choose to enforce the regulations. The alternative for many Gypsies and Travellers who do not have alternative sources of employment or cannot afford or obtain storage facilities away from their home is to not work in traditional trades, or to remain dependent upon benefits, with the economic hardship this brings (Irish Traveller Movement Britain (ITMB), 2007).

Research team members are aware of a considerable number of planning cases where owner-occupiers have had 'non-working' conditions imposed as an element of being granted planning permission. For these families whose behaviour on their sites is often policed by neighbours – who then report perceived or actual breaches of terms to planning authorities – the situation is equally stark, with a choice between: breaching the terms and risk being fined or loss of planning permission; seeking to disguise working from sites; or paying for storage or working premises, which are often difficult to obtain, particularly where racism or discrimination limits their ability to hire premises. Housed Gypsies and Travellers who follow broadly traditional trades are also frequently precluded from storage or employment-related tools or goods, through covenants on owner-occupied premises or tenancy agreements when living in social housing (findings from GTAAs and anecdotal information).

Showpeople

There is no systematic information available on the employment and economic inclusion needs of Showpeople. GTAA evidence, particularly from the West of England (Greenfields et al, 2007) indicates that this community is generally economically stable and children tend to remain in the same profession as their parents. In a few cases, planning difficulties and lack of access to appropriate sites or winter quarters with space for rides has led to young people looking for employment away from their family business. On occasion, a young person will decide that they wish to follow an alternative career such as being an electrician, or to lead a more sedentary lifestyle. However, Showpeople predominantly appear to expect continuity of employment and community practices, as their self-employed status is secure and they have not been subject to the same cultural and economic shocks as Gypsies and Travellers.

Addressing inequality

Only a small number of initiatives explicitly address employment issues for Gypsy and Traveller communities. In some areas with relatively high Gypsy and Traveller populations (such as West Sussex and Leeds), Connexions services (which focus on employment services for young people) have dedicated staff to work with Gypsy and Traveller communities. Elsewhere, as in the East of England, Connexions staff work alongside Traveller Education Services (Warrington & Peck, 2005).

In many cases, the initiative rests with organisations either within or working closely with Gypsy and Traveller communities. A number of projects (for example, Ormiston Children's Trust, Save the Children Scotland, Leeds GATE, Derbyshire Gypsy and Traveller Liaison Group, Travellerspace and Friends Families and Travellers (FFT)) have active policies of recruiting Gypsies and Travellers to work on specific projects with and for their communities, for instance in health promotion, advice and information, cultural awareness training, or as planning caseworkers. This is not only good practice in terms of community development. As a means of reaching communities appropriately and responding to cultural differences in approach and in the use of services, affirmative recruitment is welcomed by service users as a positive way of redressing the balance of under-representation of minority communities.

A relatively recent growth area of employment for some (mainly, but not exclusively literate) Gypsies and Travellers has been as interviewers for GTAAs. The Cambridgeshire GTAA was the first project to recruit, train and employ community interviewers and all Gypsies and Travellers involved in that study subsequently went on to undertake part-time, temporary interviewing or community development work

(Greenfields & Home, 2006). This approach has been recognised as good practice by a number of agencies (Shelter, 2007; ITMB, 2006), although it is problematic in terms of only offering occasional employment. However, participants in community interviewing schemes have generally remarked on the fact that it has increased their confidence, taught new transferable skills and enhanced their knowledge of both political participation and community development.

FFT have run a woodlands skills course for (predominantly) New Travellers, teaching traditional wood crafts such as coppicing and woodworking. Several participants gained employment following the course, including the development of small businesses producing one-off craft objects such as wooden chairs.

Brent Irish Advisory Service Youth Development Project initiated a series of training tasters for young Travellers and a number of young people went on to take courses at the College of North-West London in welding, hairdressing and other practical skills (ITMB, 2007). A similar eight-week programme was run in Leeds in 2007, supported by the Travellers Education Service, Connexions and Leeds Youth Service. This consisted of a practical and theoretical programme to raise awareness of educational and employment options for young Gypsies and Travellers, to build confidence and develop new skills such as the use of libraries, IT and jewellery-making. The programme continued with one-to-one mentoring to support participants into education, training and employment.

One respondent to the consultation noted that a local authority has provided driving theory lessons for young Gypsies and Travellers, and the young people are supported and encouraged to undertake further training in literacy and computing. As well as helping them to become legal drivers, this is breaking down barriers of anxiety and embarrassment over entering into training, and thus supporting them into employment and economic inclusion.

The Irish Traveller Movement in Britain (ITMB) (2007) has set out a number of proposals for developing good practice in economic inclusion. The proposals are predominantly based upon the Irish model, where initiatives aimed at enhancing the employability of Travellers are considerably more advanced than in the UK. Suggestions include replicating the Traveller Training Centres, which provide basic literacy and practical skills training and act as a conduit to further education or preparation for entry to Leaving Certificate courses (equivalent to A-Level). In Ireland, training opportunities accessible through Traveller Centres are advertised in journals such as 'Voice of the Traveller', ensuring that Irish Travellers are familiar with the available opportunities.

ITMB (2007, p. 8) also refer to the Adapt training programme in the Netherlands, developed in response to the End of Life Vehicle Directive issued by the EU. Given that this Directive would impact heavily on Travellers in the Netherlands, the Adapt Programme provides assistance and training for Travellers to engage in the regulated system and procedures for car recycling. This practice could be adapted to assist Gypsies and Travellers when new policies impact on traditional practices; it could also act as a driver for the development of new business opportunities. ITMB is working with the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) to raise the profile of Gypsy and Traveller economic issues.

A number of Traveller Education Services across the UK, and an increasing number of local authority departments responsible for Gypsy and Traveller issues, actively recruit Gypsy and Traveller staff as Traveller Liaison Officers and Teaching Assistants. Where newly recruited staff do not have appropriate skill levels or qualifications to enter into employment at supervisory or more senior posts, those local authorities ensure that in-house training, funded NVQ and equivalent courses are made available to support staff development and permit career progression (as in the case of the Bristol City Gypsy and Traveller Unit and the Traveller Education Service in Cambridgeshire).

A further benefit of employing community members in specialist roles is that achieving a critical mass of staff from Gypsy and Traveller communities at both project and national levels helps to raise the communities' profile, allows for the development of mentoring schemes, and provides encouragement and recognition of positive role models. It is important though, that Gypsies and Travellers are not pigeon-holed into specialist or specially created roles, but are encouraged to apply for a wide variety of posts.

Other equality and human rights issues

The discussion of access to employment and economic inclusion for Gypsies and Travellers demonstrates inequalities resulting from racism and discrimination. Access to employment and economic inclusion are key human rights, and enshrined in a range of equalities legislation.

Older Gypsies and Travellers are often semi-retired in their fifties, in part due to the role of younger family members in supporting older family members. Given the preponderance of manual work amongst many Gypsies and Travellers, it is perhaps unsurprising that a relatively high percentage of the community (based on GTAA findings) reports bad backs and other employment-related injuries, leading to high rates of economic inactivity. Decreased life expectancy and poor general health (see

chapter on Health) mean that expectations of longer working life and deferred access to pensions may have a disproportionate impact on these communities. In addition, limited literacy or transferable skills mean that the drive to encourage disabled and older people to return to work may prove impractical for many older community members.

Gender issues are considered above in relation to female roles, but equally in a highly gendered society (although this is not applicable for New Travellers) young men may be culturally bound in ways which discourage them from applying for training or positions which are seen as 'feminised', such as community work or education (see Greenfields, 2008a).

For the relatively high proportion of disabled Gypsies and Travellers, economic exclusion is compounded by the potential difficulty of carrying out traditional manual work.

Recommendations

i. That further research is undertaken to explore the extent of employment-related discrimination experienced by Gypsies and Travellers, including barriers to entry and retention in training and employment.

ii. That the role of site design is considered as an employment and economic inclusion issue and that, when new social sites are developed, this important element of site design is fully taken into account by planners and designers.

iii. That the DWP and other Government Departments engage in a cross-Government and inter-agency forum to develop initiatives which assist in developing appropriate and accessible access to employment and training for Gypsy and Traveller communities, for instance innovative approaches to addressing social and employment change such as the Dutch 'Adapt' recycling scheme and support for specialist business start-up funds.

iv. That the model of community health and social care training, utilised in Ireland (ITMB, 2007) and Eastern Europe (EQUAL, undated) is developed in Britain to provide both public health and employment benefits for marginalised communities.

v. That consideration is given to the development of Traveller Training Centres, using the successful Irish model (ITMB, 2007).

vi. That local initiatives delivered via inter-agency teams from the voluntary and statutory sectors are funded and developed nationally to raise awareness of

employment and training prospects for young Gypsies and Travellers (as in the Brent and Leeds examples above).

vii. That role models and mentors from Gypsy and Traveller communities are recruited to engage in campaigns aimed at heightening the profile of successful Gypsies and Travellers and helping to develop others' self-esteem, confidence and aspirations. We are aware, for instance, of a number of entrepreneurs, teachers, politicians and journalists of Gypsy or Traveller origins.

3. HEALTH, SUBSTANCE ABUSE AND SELF-HARM

3.1 Health

The policy context

Reducing health inequalities has been placed alongside health gain as a core objective of Government health policy in recent years. Building on the Acheson Inquiry (1998), a series of policy documents have focused on prioritising public health, shifting the policy focus from sickness to health and wellbeing, and developing measures to tackle the underlying determinants of poor health as well as enhancing primary and secondary prevention to facilitate a reduction in inequalities (Department of Health (DH), 2004a, 2004b). Health, social and education agencies are required to demonstrate that they have taken account of different needs and inequalities within their local populations (DH, 1999, 2002, 2004c; Wanless, 2004). As 'Tackling Health Inequalities' (DH, 2003) makes clear, addressing inequalities involves making mainstream services more responsive to the needs of disadvantaged populations. The white paper 'Choosing Health' expressly contained a commitment to empowering people to make healthy choices by providing support and information when required and by fostering environments in which healthy choices are easier to make. It indicated that this process should be underpinned by three guiding principles: informed choice, personalisation and partnership working between service providers and users (DH, 2004c). Equality legislation also requires all public sector agencies to carry out race, disability and gender equality impact assessments of their policies and services (under the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000; Disability Discrimination Act 2005; and Equality Act 2006).

The net effect of the policy framework is an explicit drive to address the wider determinants of health: lifestyle, education, income, employment, housing, crime and environment. This is to be achieved through systematic review and the development of partnerships between voluntary and statutory agencies.

Ill-health and early death in Gypsy and Traveller communities

Statistical data are not currently collected within the National Health Service about the needs of Gypsies and Travellers, or the services they receive. National data about their health and healthcare status are therefore not available.

However, studies have found that the health status of Gypsies and Travellers is much poorer than the general population. Parry et al (2004) found that, even after controlling for socio-economic status and comparing to other marginalised groups,

Gypsies and Travellers have worse health than others: 38 per cent of a sample of 260 Gypsies and Travellers had a long-term illness, compared with 26 per cent of age- and sex-matched comparators. Significantly more Gypsies and Travellers reported having arthritis, asthma, or chest pain / discomfort than in the comparison group (22, 22 and 34 per cent, compared with 10, 5 and 22 per cent respectively). They were over three times more likely to have a chronic cough or bronchitis, even after smoking status had been taken into account. Mobility problems were reported by 25 per cent of Gypsies and Travellers and 15 per cent of the comparison group. Saunders (2007) reported a high prevalence of diabetes and a lack of community knowledge of risk factors or of the implications of having the condition. An outreach project in Wrexham noted that when compared to a control group of residents from a deprived local area, Gypsies and Travellers had lower levels of exercise, a significantly poorer diet (particularly in respect of fresh fruit and vegetables), and had far higher rates of self-reported anxiety and depression (Roberts et al, 2007). It also found that the risk of premature death from cardiac disease was particularly high for Gypsy and Traveller men. In the Dorset Gypsy Traveller Accommodation Needs Assessment (GTAA), 39 per cent of a sample of 89 New Travellers reported poor health, in some cases related to addiction, and including chronic liver conditions associated with substance abuse (Home & Greenfields, 2006). Health care staff report that patients commonly present with more than one condition (Parry et al, 2004).

It is frequently reported that Gypsy and Traveller women live 12 years less than women in the general population and Gypsy and Traveller men 10 years less than men in the general population (Crawley, 2004; Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), 2004). However, these statistics were extrapolated from data on Irish Travellers based upon health surveys and census data in Ireland (Barry et al, 1987). As discussed elsewhere in this report, the life expectancy of Irish Travellers in Ireland is still disproportionately inequitable, with recent findings from Eire indicating that just 30 per cent of Travellers live beyond their 60th birthday (Brack & Monaghan, 2007).

Few comparable data are available in Britain. Baker (2005) found that just three per cent of Gypsies and Travellers in Leeds were aged over 60, despite an overall Leeds average life expectancy of 78 years. A relatively high percentage of respondents in the Leeds study were Irish Travellers. The Bromley Gypsy and Traveller Community Project (1996) noted that clients using their services considered that individuals over the age of 50 were 'elderly'. Findings from GTAAs, however, are beginning to present a more complex picture, with indications that, among Gypsies and Travellers with access to secure local authority or private sites and who have been able to access adequate medical care, life expectancy may be more closely aligned to that of the

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surrounding sedentary population. The Cambridge GTAA (Home & Greenfields, 2006, p. 39) found that '12.9 per cent of respondents were older than 65, (equivalent to 17.4 per cent of English Gypsies and 3.7 per cent of Irish Travellers) … compared with 16.5 per cent of the general population of East Anglia … This improved life expectancy in our survey for English Gypsies probably reflects better access to health services and living with other family members, particularly for those living on council sites (85 per cent of the English Gypsy population in this age group)'. While no breakdown by age is provided in the Devon GTAA, Southern and James (2006, p. 27) reported that respondents were aged between 18 and 83. In East Kent (Richardson et al, 2007), 13 per cent of respondents were aged over 60, but none of these were Irish Travellers. The Dorset GTAA (Home & Greenfields, 2006b) found that 10 per cent of Irish Travellers aged over 60 and 22 per cent of Romany (English) Gypsies were of retirement age or above, all of whom were resident in housing or on authorised sites – indicating that linkages exist between secure accommodation and life expectancy. The lower life expectancy in Irish Traveller populations may result from poorer health status and an increased tendency to reside on unauthorised sites or in housing.

At the other end of the age spectrum, Baker (2005) reported an infant mortality rate that was three times higher than in the rest of the population, and Parry et al (2004) reported high rates of miscarriages and stillbirths. Premature deaths among young Gypsies and Travellers as a result of road traffic accidents are reported anecdotally, often associated with alcohol use and high-speed driving: such accidents accounted for 16 per cent of deaths among Irish Travellers in a sample in Dublin (Brack & Monaghan, 2007).

Only limited evidence exists on the health status and life expectancy of Showpeople but where GTAA data is available, it would appear that members of this population have generally better health and a longer life expectancy than Gypsies or other Travellers. A number of Showpeople were amongst the oldest people interviewed for GTAAs, generally reporting fairly good health and regular social contact. The longer life expectancy of Showpeople (broadly in line with the mainstream population) is likely to be a product of greater access to suitable accommodation, the tendency to live with relatives on private sites who are able to provide support and care, and the higher economic status of the majority of retired Showpeople.

Poor quality or inappropriate accommodation, including as a result of forced movement, inevitably exacerbates existing health conditions as well as leading to new problems (Van Cleemput, 2008a). Higher infection rates have been reported, linked to poor sanitation and poor access to clean water, particularly on roadside

sites (and specifically not linked to a lack of knowledge or cleanliness) (Neligan, 1993). The proportion of Gypsies and Travellers living on roadside sites in the UK who had no, or limited, access to clean water was found by Feder (1989) to be between 14 per cent and 30 per cent depending on location. Similarly, between 33 per cent and 58 per cent had no access to water or chemical toilets. In addition, the effects of a lifetime of physical hard work and stress should not be underestimated when considering the likelihood of premature mortality (Parry et al, 2004). Van Cleemput et al (2007, p. 207) found that 'Elderly participants suggested that the wet and damp endured during years of living on the road in all weathers had had a detrimental effect on their health, with many blaming these conditions for their arthritis and chest complaints'.

Van Cleemput et al (2007) also found an attitude of acceptance of ill-health among Gypsies and Travellers:

> *Many described their state of health, irrespective of its severity or extent, in terms of restrictions on their ability to perform daily tasks, and appeared to accept chronic ill health as long as day-today management of symptoms could be readily achieved … The inability to obtain relief for unmanageable symptoms was described, as was resignation and low expectations of improvement. Many Gypsies and Travellers who came to the presentations of the preliminary health survey findings were genuinely amazed that their overall state of health compared so unfavourably to other matched groups.* (Van Cleemput, 2007, p. 4)

In addition to low expectations of good health, particularly with increasing age, many Gypsies and Travellers believed that professionals were unable to significantly improve people's health status and might in fact diminish resilience by imparting bad news such as a diagnosis of cancer.

At the same time, Gypsy and Traveller communities identify with a holistic concept of health, as opposed to medical models that are rooted in concepts of disease and medication (Van Cleemput et al, 2007; Parry et al, 2004; Dion, 2008; Hodgins et al, 2006). The holistic approach emphasises social and environmental factors as key determinants of health. Van Cleemput et al (2007) noted that the concept of self-reliance and staying in control, together with a degree of fatalism, characterised people's health beliefs. It is particularly common for Traveller men to be stoical about their health. A Traveller health project in Sussex found that men are often reluctant to

come forward to discuss health issues, but may seek information through the services that their partners access.

Access to healthcare services

Despite greater health need, Gypsies and Travellers use mainstream health services less than other members of the population (Hawes, 1997; Jenkins, 2004; and discussion with a representative of the now disbanded National Association of Health Workers with Travellers (NAHWT)). Some of the reasons for this involve practical difficulties, such as complex procedures for registering and accessing services (Lynch, 2006), while the isolation of sites can create problems in accessing dentists and opticians (consultation response from the Citizens' Advice Bureau). Lawrence (2007) highlighted problems faced by Gypsies and Travellers in accessing health services such as minor injuries units and immunisation programmes.

NAHWT suggested that 'the most common problem for Travellers is difficulty in accessing primary care through GPs because of their insistence in having a permanent address'. Some GPs only register families as temporary residents, resulting in exclusion from a range of services, such as screening. Others allegedly refuse to register Gypsies and Travellers at all (NAHWT response). The Scottish Executive (2001) found there was little advocacy support for Gypsy / Travellers who have difficulties in accessing health services.

NAHWT added that those who are mobile have the greatest problems. Enforced movement can result in discontinuity of care and interruption or delays in medical treatment (Scottish Executive, 2001; Richardson et al, 2007), and an increased reliance on walk-in centres and Accident and Emergency (A&E) departments, where there is no follow-up or continuity of care. Research into childhood accident rates (Beach, 1999, 2006) and accidental injuries among Gypsy and Traveller children resident on sites (Beach, on-going as of 2008) similarly refers to the use of A&E departments in the absence of other primary care services. The lack of a postal address can mean, in addition, that appointment letters are never received, leading to missing treatment (Scottish Executive, 2001; Webster, 1995; Hawes, 1997; Home & Greenfields, 2006). The general lack of patient-held medical records can, for its part, result in tests being duplicated.

Cultural concerns and an intense fear of particular health conditions (particularly cancer) led many of the respondents in Parry et al's (2004) study to avoid seeking preventative care or screening, potentially leading to a cycle where, by the time a condition was identified, the prognosis was poor (see also Dion, 2008). In a study of attitudes to healthcare and patterns of attendance among Gypsy women in Europe,

Lehti and Mattson (2001) identified cultural factors which could potentially impact on willingness to attend for treatment, in particular strict rules of gendered behaviour, such as an unwillingness for women to discuss intimate or sexual / reproductive health issues with male care providers. Women in Kent similarly reported detrimental health impacts as a result of being unable to access female medical staff when living at roadside locations (Richardson et al, 2007). Strongly-held cultural taboos can influence relationships with doctors of the opposite sex and feelings about medical examinations. Lehti and Mattson also noted that the hierarchical cultural patterns which privilege males and elders in decision-making and defining appropriate behaviours, meant that health-related behaviours could be influenced by community or family members even when their advice or beliefs were inappropriate, a point reiterated by Dion (2008) in the context of children's eating habits.

Considerable anecdotal evidence exists to support the notion that many Gypsies and Travellers do not trust health professionals to provide appropriate care, or doubt their willingness to engage with community members on terms of equity, themes echoed in Greenfields' (2008a) study of Gypsy and Traveller attitudes to health and social care career options for members of their communities. A number of studies have reported Gypsies' and Travellers' fear of hostility or prejudice from healthcare providers and the ways in which this can impact on accessing or utilising services (Van Cleemput et al, 2007; Greenfields, 2008a; Henriques, 2001; Honer & Hoppie, 2004). Word-of-mouth reports of racist or intolerant attitudes expressed by both healthcare staff and receptionists (often perceived as refusing access to GPs, as confirmed in the Citizen's Advice Bureau response to the consultation) further alienates the community from seeking medical care (Scottish Executive, 2001). Van Cleemput (2008b) reported that:

> *Gypsies' and Travellers' general experiences of discrimination and racism contribute to a sense of devalued identity, characterised by feelings of shame and humiliation, which contribute to the specific ways in which they experience social exclusion. Shame and attempts to ward off shame are central features of relationships and encounters with health staff, as personal reactions to these experiences can produce mutual mistrust and poor relations between staff and the Gypsy and Traveller patients.* (Van Cleemput, 2008b)

Health professionals, for their part, lack knowledge about the beliefs and culture of Gypsy and Traveller communities (Goward et al, 2006; Van Cleemput, 2008b; Spencer, 2006; Jeffrey et al, 2000).

The importance of health promotion has been stressed by Richard O'Neill, a Romany Gypsy health advocate, who has encouraged men to discuss lifestyle risks associated with cardiac disease, such as stress, smoking and alcohol, as well as the need to think about health in order to minimise the chances of premature death (Clark & Greenfields, 2006).

Women's health

There is often a poor take-up of preventative healthcare by Gypsy and Traveller women, especially well-women care and immunisation programmes (Scottish Executive, 2001; Jenkins, 2004). Large numbers of women who have had several children have never had access to cervical cytology screening, greatly enhancing the risk of cervical cancer (Jeffrey et al, 2000; Hawes, 1997). Richardson et al (2007) noted that women may be reluctant to access cervical screening facilities if no female staff are available to both take smears and discuss the results of tests. In one case, a Traveller living on the roadside who had been moved on several times was only notified of a potentially fatal gynaecological condition after her (female) GP had driven around until she found the roadside site where the family had stopped after an eviction (Richardson et al, 2007). Evidence from Ireland found that Traveller women considered health prevention such as healthy eating initiatives and smoking cessation support to be largely irrelevant in the light of the multi-factorial disadvantage and insecurity they faced through living on the roadside (Hodgins et al, 2005). It is unclear whether the situation is similar in Britain: it does however, highlight a need for healthcare practitioners to be aware of the pressures under which women are living.

High rates of maternal death during pregnancy or shortly after childbirth have been reported (Parry et al, 2004). The Confidential Enquiry into Maternal Deaths (Lewis & Drife, 2001) found a disproportionate number of Gypsy and Traveller women within the maternal mortality statistics for 1997-1999. While poor roadside conditions, the risk of eviction, and lack of contact with medical or midwifery practitioners were implicated, the majority of deaths were considered preventable. Poor access to maternity services may be due to a variety of reasons: limited information on the importance of ante-natal monitoring; enforced movement; or being unsure how to access services (Jenkins, 2004). Being forced to move on, results in a lack of continuity of care, the treatment of symptoms rather than causes, the late detection of abnormalities, and sometimes the misdiagnosis of maternal and child health complications. One pregnant woman stated: 'The midwife was due to come back and see me. She was going to bring me milk tokens and some baby clothes ... but the police wouldn't let me wait' (Scottish Executive, 2001). In Ireland, cultural conflicts

over expectations of medical and midwifery staff could cause conflict and reluctance to access services (Reid & Taylor, 2007). In particular (echoing Lehti & Mattson, 2001), they reported that 'majority norm expectations of breast feeding, husband participation and rooming-in were culturally unacceptable' to women and their families (Reid & Taylor, 2007, p. 1).

Gypsies and Travellers have been said by some healthcare providers (including midwives and other primary care staff) to be 'resistant to services' and 'poor attendees' (Reid, 2005; Van Cleemput, 2008b; Reid & Taylor, 2007). The impression of many practitioners that Gypsies and Travellers are wilfully non-compliant with medical interventions highlights the need for greater communication and mutual understanding of the constraints faced by both parties in order to avoid hostility (Van Cleemput, 2008b). For their own part, Gypsy and Traveller women support the option of specialist training for members of their community in basic midwifery information to enable them to assist mothers in a culturally appropriate manner, while helping them to access appropriate care from qualified midwives (Greenfields, 2008a).

Childrens health

Comprehensive data in respect of children are lacking, but studies have found higher rates of illness among Gypsy and Traveller children as compared with others (Pahl & Vaile, 1986). Beach (2006) reported a higher rate of accidents among children, related to parental difficulties in accessing appropriate information on accident prevention and the impact of poor quality sites on injury rates. Parry et al (2004) identified an excessively high rate of premature deaths among children.

Low levels of immunisation for children can be a particular problem where families are highly mobile, continuity of care is lacking, and specialist health visitors for the Gypsy and Traveller community are not available (Dorset Health Authority / Friends Families and Travellers (FFT), 1999; Jeffrey et al, 2000; Feder et al, 1993). Concerns over the possible ill-effects of inoculations can also be an issue: in an outbreak of measles in 2006/7, a large number of unvaccinated Gypsy and Traveller children developed measles, leading to ill-health, disability and, in one case, death (Nursing Times, 2007; Cohuet et al, 2007).

Mental health

Gypsies and Travellers have been found to be nearly three times more likely to be anxious than others, and just over twice as likely to be depressed, with women twice as likely as men to experience mental health problems (Parry et al, 2004). A range of factors may contribute to this, including the stresses caused by accommodation problems, unemployment, racism and discrimination by services and the wider

public, and bereavement. For women, long-term mental health difficulties can result from feeling trapped on a site where no-one would want to live (Appleton et al, 2003). Moving into housing is associated with depression and anxiety, and may be reflective of loss of community and experiences of racism and discrimination (see Chapter 2). Greenfields (2002) found that, where New Travellers moved into housing to escape violence or because of family law cases which impacted on their ability to live on a site, respondents reported depression and anxiety in a similar manner to Gypsies and other Travellers. In response to the consultation, Shelter noted that research is needed into mental health issues among housed Travellers, while a specialist Traveller team referred to 'Travellers psychological aversion to housing and how housing can impact on Travellers' mental and physical health'.

A small-scale research project by Bristol MIND (2008) found that attitudes towards mental health issues in Gypsy and Traveller communities, and the language used to describe them, were culturally specific. While terms such as 'nerves' were discussed openly (see also Home & Greenfields, 2006; Richardson et al, 2007; Southern & James, 2006), the word 'mental' was viewed with suspicion, being linked to madness. Treise and Sheppard (2006) mentioned cultural beliefs, such as keeping problems within the family or extended family unit, as reasons why people did not access mental health services. However, secrecy about depression keeps it hidden and increases the burden, while using alcohol as a coping strategy introduces new problems (Parry et al, 2004).

The Travellers Aid Trust's response to the consultation noted that mental health issues were often overlooked. Six per cent of the women interviewed by Parry et al (2004) had experienced the death of a child (excluding miscarriages), which could be a reason for depression. However, medical staff are more likely to offer anti-depressants and not counselling (Richardson et al, 2007). The Bristol MIND report (2008) noted that Gypsies and Travellers were not looking for a specialist mental health service: they just wanted the same as everyone else. However, it is important that Gypsies and Travellers are supported to access culturally sensitive services by community groups, GPs, health workers or advocates with whom they have built up a relationship of trust. A more 'joined-up' approach to meeting Gypsies' and Travellers' mental health needs may also be needed, with services working across boundaries to address the social and economic factors which contribute to distress within the community (Goward et al, 2006). Goward et al (2006) also called for increased education, information and training on mental health needs for both health staff and community members, to reduce discrimination and increase support.

At the time of writing (2008), the Derbyshire Gypsy Liaison Group were in the process of publishing two reports, 'I Know When It's Raining' (concerning cultural aversion to bricks and mortar accommodation and the mental health impacts of enforced settlement) and 'Shoon to o Puri Folki' (Listen to the Elders), on the mental health needs of elderly Gypsies and Travellers.

Dental / oral health

Although little research has been undertaken into the dental / oral health needs of Gypsies and Travellers, a study by Edwards and Watt (1997) found that Gypsies and Travellers are significantly disadvantaged in access to dental care and oral health through the inability to obtain regular check-ups and on-going treatment, a point reiterated by both Hawes (1997) and a pilot study into Irish Travellers' access to healthcare in London (O'Dwyer, 1997). Other than a reference to transient families experiencing difficulties in accessing dental care in Leeds (Horton, 2004) and a discussion of childhood eating habits in Dion (2008), which refers to the later health impacts of high rates of sweet intake, no more recent evidence exists in relation to dental access or care needs of Gypsies and Travellers. However, casework undertaken by the authors of this report and indications within GTAAs (Southern & James, 2006, Fordham Research, 2006) imply that access to preventative dental services has worsened in recent years. The general decline in access to NHS dentists over the past few years (Clark, 2008) is likely to have an even greater impact on highly mobile families.

Palliative care

The needs of terminally ill Gypsies and Travellers are being overlooked by hospitals and GPs, according to research carried out by Jesper et al (2008). Although Gypsies and Travellers preferred to die at home, there was often little support from healthcare professionals. None of the people interviewed in the study (regardless of accommodation status) had been able to use palliative care services for their family members. The reasons included pride in caring for a person at home, clashes with medical staff over large numbers of visitors, and limited knowledge of the services available. Enforced mobility reduced access to GPs and made it difficult to organise programmes of palliative care to support Gypsies and Travellers who wished to die at home.

Hospitals

Jesper et al (2008) noted a lack of understanding of Gypsy and Traveller culture in hospitals. Interviewees reported that elderly patients admitted to hospital or hospice could feel threatened and scared by the lack of cultural familiarity. Many were unable to read and write but were sometimes reluctant to admit this. An inability to fill out

menus or order food, or breaches of cultural hygiene rules such as staff using the same table for washing equipment as patients is then eat on, added to feelings of being a 'fish out of water' (Jesper et al, 2008, p. 8).

Poor provision for visiting family members, cultural clashes with staff and other patients, distress experienced by people with limited literacy skills, and unfamiliarity with being inside bricks and mortar, all contribute to Gypsies and Travellers frequently choosing to discharge themselves early from hospital (McQuillan & Van Doorslaer, 2007; Jesper et al, 2008).

Specialist health workers

Research on health promotion within the wider population often refers to the need to provide community outreach services, particularly where there is low take-up of provision, as can be the case with ethnic minority or disadvantaged groups (Naidoo & Wills, 2000; Power et al, 1999). Many reports also highlight the efficacy of employing specialist health outreach staff to work with Gypsies and Travellers (Jeffrey et al, 2000; Goward et al, 2006). Nevertheless, the vast majority of Primary Care Trusts (PCTs) in England do not employ specific staff to help Gypsies and Travellers meet their health needs. Where there are large communities of Gypsies and Travellers and specific needs are identified, PCTs commonly add the responsibility for such work to the existing work of, for instance, health staff for ethnic minority groups, homeless people or asylum-seekers (Parry et al, 2004). Such an approach fails to recognise the unique health needs of the Gypsy and Traveller community.

The discussion with the National Association of Health Workers with Travellers (NAHWT) emphasised the need for culturally sensitive staff. Specialist health workers can ease access to services (consultation response from the Citizens' Advice Bureau) and outreach services such as health visitors, can partly plug the gaps in advice or preventative services such as immunisation (discussion with a NAHWT representative). Roberts et al's (2007) evaluation of a project in Wrexham highlighted the value placed on health outreach staff by Gypsies and Travellers, with respondents noting that the qualities of the outreach practitioners were important in encouraging them to participate in health partnership work. A high premium was placed on health staff being good listeners and communicators. It was noteworthy that over time, participants reported that staff changed from being seen as 'nurses' and took on a wider role as advocates, bridging the gap between health and social care providers. However, NAHWT noted that 'if Travellers are moved rapidly it can be difficult even for outreach workers to see Travellers quickly and so they are never

offered any care'. Moreover, outreach workers cannot offer a full range of services to those who are ill.

Addressing inequality

A number of initiatives have aimed to improve the health of Gypsy and Traveller women. Several have been based on the concept of peer educators, which has found particular favour (Greenfields, 2008a). Richardson et al (2007), for instance, found that in relation to depression and bereavement, women respondents said they would welcome support from trained members of their community who would both understand the issues and their cultural concerns.

A Traveller Health and Social Care Project in Sussex, hosted by FFT (Sussex Traveller Women's Health Project, 2007), utilised a method of peer education that had been first piloted in Dublin. This project involved working with a Gypsy Traveller outreach worker to visit sited and housed Travellers and set up support groups in different localities. Work was then undertaken with Traveller women to identify their health needs and priorities and put in support and training around those needs. The groups were for women only, as many women said they would not feel comfortable talking about their health issues in front of men. Participants reported that most members of their families could benefit from the skills that the women acquired and that information and knowledge would accordingly be shared with other members of the community. As a result of its initial work, the project was better able to identify and quantify the health and social care needs of Gypsies and Travellers within Sussex. The project now has a dedicated team of 10 workers, four of whom are Gypsies or Travellers, and works with the community to support access to primary health services, adult social care and mental health services, as well as providing community support and young people's services. The initiative has enabled the workers to make contact with Gypsies and Travellers hitherto 'hidden' from mainstream health services. The work thus evolved from the provision of a direct service to becoming a link between statutory health agencies and the Travelling community, helping to reduce the real or perceived mistrust that is commonly held by both (Parry et al, 2004; Van Cleemput, 2008b).

One of the first locally specific health booklets for health staff on Gypsies' and Travellers' cultural values and supporting them to access healthcare, was produced by Derbyshire Gypsy Liaison Group in 2006 (Spencer, 2006). An information booklet from the Ormiston Trust, jointly with Cambridgeshire Community Services (2008), stressed practitioners' responsibility for engaging with their patients and ensuring they were, for instance, familiar with instructions relating to medication. The publication of such materials reflects a trend which is increasingly, if slowly, being

utilised across the country to enhance communication and awareness of health engagement processes.

A response to the consultation from Travellerspace noted that a group was set up for Gypsy and Traveller women in Cornwall, in partnership with the Traveller health visitor for the local site. Her aim was to address health inequalities and access to services, and she sought to build skills, confidence and self-esteem through a range of activities for both adults and children. The group subsequently obtained the free use of premises at the local Children's Centre and received visits from family learning staff, a drugs and alcohol information group, midwives, a breast awareness group and other health support groups.

In recognition of the problems faced by mobile Gypsies and Travellers in accessing health care, and the particularly high risks of cardio-vascular disease within these communities, the Welsh Assembly Government's Inequalities in Health Fund supported a research project in Wrexham, North Wales. The 'Coronary Heart Disease and Travellers: Redressing the Balance' project began in 2002, with initial funding for three years, and was managed by Wrexham Multi-Agency Traveller Forum. Its aims were to engage with residents of local sites and families passing through the area, improve access to health services, and reduce and prevent the incidence of heart disease amongst Gypsies and Travellers. The project was staffed by a project health worker, a mental health worker and a researcher, and provided mobile outreach health services from a camper van. By 2004 the project was reported as demonstrating:

> *Dramatically improved access to health services, so that more than 95% of Travellers involved with the project are now registered with a GP. The Mobile Health Unit on the Traveller site also provides a private and safe environment for people to discuss their health concerns. Eighty-seven adults and 70 children have been reached by the project … The project is the first in Wales, and possibly the UK, to undertake an in-depth study of the coronary health of Gypsy Travellers.* (Welsh Assembly website, 2004)

A subsequent evaluation by Richards et al (2007) noted that Gypsies and Travellers felt they 'owned' the project: this indicates the importance of joint service planning by health providers in partnership with community members.

A project in Newark involved partnership with Gypsies and Travellers to assess health needs, develop a patient-held record, design audio-visual educational

materials, appoint a family worker from within the Gypsy and Traveller community, and provide training for health service staff (Patel, 2005). In Devon, the Race Equality Council and Primary Care Trust (PCT) arranged for a part-time community development worker with a public health remit to identify and support mental health needs and wellbeing in the Traveller community (consultation response). Both FFT and the Derbyshire Gypsy Liaison Group have appointed staff with a similar remit, to work specifically with Gypsy and Traveller communities and to link with and support people through appropriate mental health services.

There is, overall, a consensus of opinion about the value of community outreach health projects undertaken in partnership with the voluntary sector and local Gypsy and Traveller agencies. A major concern noted by a number of respondents to the consultation however, concerns the short-term nature of many projects. While evaluations are overwhelmingly positive and indicate significant health gains, the majority of projects run for between one and three years, with a risk that the health improvement will be lost once they finish. It is clear that a national strategy on Gypsy and Traveller health is needed, supported by dedicated funding, to continue the improvements commenced by local projects.

Recommendations

i.   A National Traveller Health Strategy is needed in order to reduce the severe health inequalities faced by Gypsies and Travellers throughout Britain.

ii. There is a pressing need for further research into specific health topics which impact on Gypsies and Travellers. New Travellers in particular, are frequently excluded from health research: limited information on their health status is often only found in GTAAs from localities with large New Traveller populations. Specific topics on which research is needed (in respect of all communities) include:

- Economic, social and environmental factors that contribute to poor health

- Substance abuse

- Suicide rates among Gypsies and Travellers

- The prevalence of diabetes and knowledge of preventative care and treatment

- The need for mental health promotion initiatives

- The extent of need for preventative health screening

- Culturally appropriate co-counselling for depression and anxiety

- The healthcare needs of elderly Gypsies and Travellers

- Maternal and child health

- Experiences of miscarriage and child bereavement

- New Travellers' health beliefs and access to services

- Dental and oral health and the prevalence and risk of developing oral cancers as a result of high rates of cigarette use

- The health needs of Traveller men.

iii. The provision of health and social care personnel to coordinate and support nationwide developments to improve the health status of Gypsies and Travellers.

iv. Enhanced monitoring and evaluation of local initiatives and the sharing of information to assist in developing and improving services.

v. A toolkit for health and social care providers to assist in engaging with Gypsy and Traveller communities in a consistent and cohesive manner.

vi. Innovative partnership working with third sector agencies, which already demonstrate good practice in delivering health initiatives.

vii. The development of creative, accessible and culturally appropriate health literature material, in partnership with Gypsies and Travellers.

viii. Support for initiatives that help Gypsies and Travellers to become health advocates, service providers and trainers within their own communities.

ix. A need for health service providers to recognise the importance of assertive outreach work in order to improve health outcomes for Gypsies and Travellers.

x. A requirement for the ethnic monitoring of Gypsies and Travellers to be incorporated into NHS data collection, in order to provide statistical information and inform commissioning strategies that meet the needs of the community and enhance equity of outcomes.

xi. Targeted services are needed to increase male engagement in preventative health care.

3.2   Substance abuse

The policy context

The context in which substance abuse occurs has connections with mental health issues, suicide, self-harm and domestic violence, which are covered elsewhere in this report. The impacts of substance abuse are often highly gendered (for example, through poverty or family breakdown associated with substance abuse, domestic violence triggered by alcohol or drug use) and will therefore also be touched upon within the section of the review which considers gender issues. In this context, 'substance' refers to both alcohol and drugs, used by a person in a harmful manner or on which they are dependent.

At an international level, attention has been paid to the circumstances of Gypsy, Traveller or Roma women who are substance-abusing or living with relatives who abuse drugs or alcohol. The Council of Europe's (2003) report on women's health which considered travelling people from the UK as well as mainland Europe noted that:

> *[l]ike mental ill-health, substance abuse is more common in circumstances of poverty, discrimination, and socio-economic disadvantage - those in which a disproportionate number of Roma find themselves … There exist varying degrees of awareness about alcohol abuse among Romani communities … some Romani women's experiences have led them to believe that it is normal to have alcoholic husbands; many men and women may be unaware of the potential harms of alcohol abuse; a few individuals may know where to seek help and are familiar with persons who have been treated successfully … With respect to drugs, there seems to be markedly less awareness about rates of abuse, let alone access to information about harms or possibilities for treatment. More investigation is required to determine the need for drug abuse treatment among Roma in various communities, and whether these communities have equal access to information and rehabilitation resources. Research has shown that women drug users generally have fewer options for supporting themselves and their families and are at greater risk of violence and HIV infection.* (Council of Europe, 2003, pp. 64-5)

The Council of Europe (2003, p. 65) noted that the International Harm Reduction Development Program (IHRDP) of the Open Society Institute had targeted Romani women through several initiatives including peer education training and seminars on

the provision of culturally appropriate training materials on harm reduction, developed in partnership with Roma leaders. However, given the greatly increased risk of substance abuse, both of drugs and alcohol, by men, consideration was being given by the IHRDP in 2003 to refocusing the direction of harm prevention strategies towards men through the use of male educators, while retaining support programmes for women and children in recognition of the stress and instability that men's substance abuse causes to their families.

While the increased likelihood of male substance abuse within Roma populations reflects our knowledge of substance misuse patterns amongst Gypsy and Traveller communities in the UK, a small but increasing number of Gypsy and Traveller women are now becoming involved in illicit drug (ab)use. Alcohol misuse has always been known to occur amongst a minority of Gypsy and Traveller populations but anecdotal evidence indicates that, amongst some communities, particularly where families have been housed into run-down housing estates, or unemployment and depression are common (Richardson et al, 2007, p. 114; Parry et al, 2004, p. 53), young men are becoming increasingly involved in a culture of alcohol and drug dependency, reflecting patterns found amongst youths of all ethnicities (National Collaborating Centre Drug Prevention (NCCDP), undated; Scottish Advisory Committee on Drugs Misuse (SACDM) / Scottish Advisory Committee on Alcohol Misuse (SACAM), 2003, Annex A). Increasingly, substance abuse is reported as leading to entry into the criminal justice system for young Gypsies and Travellers (Power, 2004) as with many other young residents of socially excluded localities (Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF), 2000; Buchanan, 2004). In acknowledging the similarities in risk factors for substance abuse which exist for excluded young people of all ethnicities, the centrality of poverty, socio-economic background and educational achievement and the linkage to offending behaviours, this review also permits exploration of Gypsy and Traveller positioning in wider social policy discourse. Bellis et al (2005) found that people from lower socio-economic groups suffer disproportionately from alcohol-related mortality and morbidity. Substance use which initially commences on a recreational basis (including binge drinking) may move to problematic misuse and then addictive behaviour as individuals self-medicate to cope with psycho-social ills (Curtis, 2006).

In the UK, national substance abuse policies are governed by a combination of Health and Home Office policies which include approaches to policing, prevention and treatment. Despite intense media interest and popular discourse around youth drinking in recent years, successive Governments have tended to focus policy on illicit drug use. In 2004, in recognition of the scale of alcohol misuse in Britain, an

Alcohol Harm Reduction Strategy was launched. In 2007, the Department of Health in England published a 10-year action plan on reducing harm from drugs. Overall, although substance misuse policy considers all age groups, older substance users (both parents who have responsibility for children and people in their 50s and above whose children are likely to have left home) generally do not feature greatly in targeted initiatives and approaches, with the prevention of youth substance use (explicitly linked to offending) more likely to be the focus of campaigns and initiatives. Government policy from a broad range of departments inevitably synthesises with substance use policies – as in the case of Every Child Matters in relation to safeguarding children from substance abuse at home and in the community, or safer community and community cohesion agendas.

In 2001, the National Treatment Agency (NTA) for substance abuse was established with the aim of improving treatment for people involved in substance misuse. Diversity issues formed a central element of NTA strategies, in recognition that many sections of the community, particularly those groups or sectors facing social exclusion by virtue of ethnicity, disability or sexual orientation, may be excluded in the planning of appropriate services or the way they are delivered. Drugscope (a UK drugs information agency), working with the Department of Health in England has undertaken a series of short reviews which signpost best practice materials for working with diverse communities, including one on materials for Travellers (2004). In 2006 it produced an updated briefing including information on a range of 'highly mobile' groups and risk factors for substance use. The Home Office (2005a) has emphasised the importance of engaging with all communities when devising crime and substance misuse strategies.

In a review of ethnic minority groups and substance abuse, Fountain et al (2003) stressed the relative invisibility of some groups of black and minority people in debates around need, risk factors and service provision. Their review highlights the importance of ensuring that services are both culturally appropriate and accessible to diverse communities, emphasising the lack of homogeneity amongst ethnic minority groups – though they do not make reference to the needs of Gypsies and Travellers or their absence from the literature.

As part of the Irish National Drugs Strategy 2001-2008, four main groups (Travellers, early school leavers, sex workers and homeless people) were identified as being at greatest risk of social exclusion and involvement with substance misuse (Fountain, 2006, p. 11). Given the socially excluded position of Irish Travellers and the fundamental importance placed on engaging with this community, the National Advisory Committee on Drugs Use commissioned a special study to explore the

needs of and risk factors facing Travellers. Findings from the research (Fountain, 2006) included recommendations for developing Traveller community education and engagement programmes. In the UK, no specific research or policy initiatives (and only limited educational outreach) has been undertaken with Gypsy and Traveller communities to date, despite their status as communities at risk of exclusion.

Prescribed drugs

Gypsy and Traveller dependency on prescribed drugs is not included within this review as it is a complex area requiring separate study and in any event we are unaware of any British publications directly referring to this topic. However, we would note that through the research team's experience of undertaking casework and anecdotal information received from community members and service providers, we are aware of Gypsies and Travellers (overwhelmingly female) who have been prescribed anti-depressants and tranquilisers at some period in the past, and who have continued to receive regular repeat prescriptions ever since, often for many years, and frequently without review of their circumstances. Where families are highly mobile, doctors will sometimes provide a repeat prescription on sight of a medicine packet and when faced with a desperate temporary patient who reports an inability to manage without their medication. Very few women report having been made aware of the dangers of addiction to prescribed drugs or are aware of the availability of support for cutting down on dosage. Literacy problems within the community greatly enhance the risks of accidental overdose, inappropriate dosage and / or sharing of anti-depressants and tranquillisers (see below).

Although the subject of addiction to prescribed drugs may properly be considered under health needs, we would suggest that further research and policy consideration is given to the impact of high prescription rates of such medication when other forms of therapy may be available. As highlighted in the section on suicide and self-harm, despite the policy emphasis on involving service users in planning, and a recognition of the specific needs of ethnic minority groups, there appear to be significant discrepancies in the provision of information and delivery of appropriate services to Gypsies and Travellers. Female participants in a focus group reported that 'it is very rare if you have a grievance in the family, if something has happened, lost a child, parent or whatever, I have never… had a doctor ask me would I like to have someone to talk to, would I like counselling. They never give us that opportunity' (Richardson et al, 2007, pp. 114-5). Limited knowledge of access to bereavement services or of patients' rights, and the stigma associated with seeking mental health support, when coupled with lack of culturally accessible services, greatly increases

the likelihood that bereaved families will take anti-depressants or self-medicate with alcohol to cope with grief (Van Cleemput et al, 2007).

We understand that sharing of anti-depressants is common amongst women when someone is feeling 'low', and is popularly seen as a supportive, friendly action, with no conception that it is the inappropriate supply of medication. These anecdotal impressions are supported by a recent study of Travellers' drug use in Ireland, where the researchers found that 'sedatives, tranquillisers and anti-depressant use was wide-spread', with the age of users being 'mid-twenties upwards, but mainly used by older women to whom they had been prescribed'. The report further noted that 'women share the drug with others … [also] sold on the illicit market …males use these drugs with alcohol and high caffeine drinks' (for recreational purposes) (Fountain, 2006, p. 38).

Experience in Gypsy and Traveller communities

Until relatively recently, the use of drugs was virtually unknown in Gypsy and Traveller communities. Within the past fifteen years or so, health and education staff, community workers, voluntary sector agencies and community members themselves have anecdotally reported increasing levels of drugs use amongst men (and some women), with a wide age-range at first use of illicit substances, from teenagers to people in their 30s. The Policy and Strategy group of the National Association of Teachers of Travellers (respondents to the consultation) noted that 'Traveller Education Services comment on increased awareness of both use and dealing in street drugs on Traveller sites and in the [Traveller] communities'. One respondent to the consultation, who works predominantly with unsited Gypsies and Travellers but with a special interest in New Travellers, stated that 'the role of eviction-generated stress in inducing pathological behaviour has to be acknowledged, as has the sense of hopelessness induced in youth at being unable to positively realise their aspirations'.

The pattern of drug use anecdotally occurring amongst traditional Gypsies and Travellers – while still probably involving a relatively small proportion of the community – is of special concern as it frequently seems to involve poly-substance use where individuals take a variety of drugs in cocktail forms, or gravitate towards crack-cocaine or heroin at a rapid rate, often having little knowledge of the effects of drugs or relatively safe levels and methods of substance use. UNITE (2006) found that many Gypsies and Travellers commenced drug use in their 30s, often treating drugs as a discovery which would make their life easier. Most of the older users were using cannabis or amphetamine for a specific purpose such as driving long distances to work or to keep up with their younger counterparts while cannabis would allow

them to relax (2006, p. 14). The UNITE research provides some helpful qualitative information on responses to substance use amongst Gypsies, Travellers and Showpeople and is the only literature which refers explicitly to Showpeople. Unfortunately, Showpeople are not distinguished from the other groups in terms of presentation of data on attitudes towards or experience of substance use, so no useable information exists on whether they are more or less likely to misuse substances than other groups, despite their position of relatively less exclusion and greater access to education. Further limitations in this study consist of broad generalisations on attitudinal tendencies based on small sample numbers, and limited information on how respondents were accessed, which may distort the assumptions and findings. Statistics on alcohol and nicotine use for instance, are not fully compatible with findings from Parry et al (2004) or other health studies, evidence on religiosity and substance use (Strand, 2001), or research team members' own knowledge of nicotine and alcohol use amongst Gypsy and Traveller communities. Some findings, for instance related to substance use for work purposes, may not be reflective of wider patterns of misuse as this sample appeared to consist of a very high proportion of employed people and respondents with lower than usual rates of disability or non-economic activity (as compared with GTAA findings and a range of health studies). The presentation of the data is not always clear (for example blurring between prescribed and illegal drug use and unclear data on illegal drug use and location of supply). However, the research was undertaken by community consultants who were able to access substance misusers who would be unlikely to discuss the topic with outsiders, and the study provides valuable indications of attitudes, levels of knowledge and routes into substance use.

Although the literature on New Travellers is extremely limited and largely dated, members of this community have been noted to have a consistently different pattern of substance use (comprising both recreational as well as problematic abuse of drugs and alcohol) from traditional Gypsies and Travellers, with (from what little research exists on New Travellers) both greater selectiveness over recreational drug of choice by some individuals and, at the other end of the continuum, a higher likelihood of addiction to heroin (and possibly alcohol) amongst both genders (Stangroome, 1993; Hennick et al, 1993; Greenfields, 2002).

New Travellers in general have a greater knowledge of the impacts of various drugs, safer drugs use and a longer history of awareness of substances. Alcohol use on some New Traveller sites may be high, as may heroin use / addiction, although generally family sites do not co-exist with sites where many residents (often single) have substance addictions. Considerable evidence exists of community support for

individuals seeking to minimise or end their use of heroin or alcohol, and children of substance-abusing adults are often cared for by other New Travellers if parents are unable to care (Greenfields, 2002; Webster, 1999). Some (mainly anecdotal) evidence exists, supported by occasional passing references (Greenfields, 2002; Earle et al, 1994; Webster, 1999) to the fact that homeless people, ex-prisoners and mentally ill people with substance abuse problems have drifted into travelling as a result of their inability to sustain employment or on finding New Traveller communities at festivals and other events generally welcoming to marginalised individuals (Webster & Millar, 2001). On becoming absorbed within a travelling group, some people with substance abuse problems have used the support networks and knowledge available to overcome the problems while others remain involved in cycles of substance misuse.

Although New Travellers often had considerable contact with and knowledge of a range of substances as part of the 'party lifestyle' which encouraged people to attend festivals prior to becoming Travellers (Earle et al, 1994; Greenfields, 2002), for ethnic Gypsies and Travellers, a relatively recent history of contact with drugs has been reported as having a devastating effect on many communities. Where substance abuse exists on Gypsy and Traveller sites, and given the lack of alternative suitable accommodation, families with children may live in very close proximity to substance-abusing individuals who are frequently related, trusted family members and whose influence may be significant on other site residents, especially if they are successfully hiding their drug use. In effect, the normalisation of drug use amongst large sectors of the mainstream British population, and increasing rates of poly-drug use (Ford et al, 2006), are being played out within traditional Gypsy and Traveller communities, with young people coming into contact with drugs through school or in their neighbourhoods (often when housed on estates), and then sharing access to drugs and (often inadequate or inaccurate) knowledge of substance use with friends and relatives on both sites and in housing.

Many of the older generation have had little knowledge of illicit drugs until they become aware that family or community members are involved in substance misuse. In some cases (UNITE, 2006, pp. 14-16) younger family members may introduce older relatives to substances to help with depression, or to offer a boost for undertaking hard physical labour or with driving long distances.

Some Gypsies and Travellers have advised us of their shock at finding that people in their 30s, whom they had known all their lives and who were 'respectable' men and women a few months previously, had become addicted to drugs, then ceased to fulfil their traditional family roles. In a highly gendered traditional society, substance

misuse by women may be particularly distressing for relatives. If a Gypsy or Traveller woman leaves her children or becomes unable to care for them effectively, the stigma on her family may be especially severe, impacting on the reputation, and potentially marriageability, of her siblings or daughters. Anecdotal reports exist of marriages breaking down as a result of substance addiction of young men and occasionally women, and also arising from family decisions that a spouse is behaving unsuitably. Given the tendency to marriage and parenthood at a young age, a possibility exists that substance use which would potentially be regarded as experimentation in some communities may have more damaging impacts for young Gypsies and Travellers when family responsibilities for children exist, or community expectations pertaining to the behaviour of young married women may be at odds with the norms of much of wider society. Accordingly, anecdotal information exists that domestic violence may occur when, for example, a young woman objects to her husband taking recreational drugs and going out, or where poly-drug use has occurred amongst young men and women have been held responsible for keeping children quiet when the husband wishes to recover from the effects of substance use. While these examples of substance use exacerbating domestic violence are not unique to Gypsies and Travellers, if families are living in trailers, insecure or inappropriate accommodation, or have larger than average families, the problems of space, noise and stress are multiplied.

In a parallel development, perhaps in response to witnessing increased rates of substance abuse amongst their communities, many members of Gypsy evangelical religious organisations abstain totally from alcohol or nicotine. Indeed Strand (2001, p. 45) notes that 'the frequency of testimonies about pre-conversion drug-problems was very high'.

Although the findings in the UNITE (2006) report must be treated with caution (see above), it noted that alcohol use often took place on a daily basis (although not necessarily in large quantities) and that many interviewees failed to recognise alcohol as a drug, even though some noted that relatives or friends were advised to stop drinking as it would impair their health. In some cases, informants reported that a known person had subsequently died as a result of continued alcohol use, with many interviewees apparently failing to make the connection between poor health and daily intake of alcohol (2006, p. 12).

Within the past decade, Gypsies and Irish and Scottish Travellers have been noted by health, education and community workers to have experienced a considerable upsurge in both recreational drug use (for example, cannabis) and also heroin and crack cocaine usage (Taylor, 2004; UNITE, 2006; Wired, 2005). It has been

suggested that Gypsies and Travellers are less likely to be able to access appropriate support and more likely to die of heroin overdoses (Taylor, 2004) or through suicide, possibly associated with shame and depression (Pavee Point, 2005; Nexus, 2006). Drugscope (2004, p. 4) states that women in particular are likely to express their concern over the substance use habits of relatives but that knowledge of drugs and available assistance for substance misusers is poor. Evidence exists (Taylor, 2004; Wired, 2005; Fountain, 2006; and discussion within the video resource 'Ladged No Longer' - Bowers & Taylor, 2004) that some Gypsy and Traveller families may attempt the home detoxification of substance-addicted relatives (such as tying a person down or locking them up so that they cannot obtain drugs) without professional support, which can be extremely distressing and potentially dangerous for both the substance user and their relatives.

Fifteen per cent of deaths from injected drugs occur shortly after a substance-addicted person had been released from prison (Department of Health (DH), 2007). A number of respondents to the consultations commented on the prevalence of illegal drugs within prisons (see too Power, 2004; Wired, 2005) and Gypsies and Travellers may encounter drugs while on remand or once sentenced. Accordingly, even if they were not drug users at the point when they entered the criminal justice system, a number of Gypsies and Travellers known to service providers had become regular users or substance-dependent during their time in jail. The relatively free availability of heroin and other injectable drugs on release, particularly if of a higher quality than hitherto available, has been responsible for a number of deaths of Gypsies and Travellers shortly after ending their sentence (see too references to deaths by suicide - Pavee Point, 2005; Nexus, 2006).

Drugscope (2004, p. 6) links the disrupted education experienced by many Gypsies and Travellers and parental objections to drugs advice provision within the school curriculum to limited knowledge of problematic drug use, a comment made by several respondents to the consultation. UNITE (2006) are explicit that the majority of respondents to their community consultation had erroneous or virtually non-existent information on the impacts of substance use, types of drugs and associated dangers. Amongst Gypsy and Traveller communities, the absence of public discussion on drugs (associated with stigma or fear that discussion of the topic would lead to gossip that a family member was addicted) is exacerbated by the inability to read or access suitable sources of information (Drugscope, 2004; Fountain, 2006; Pavee Point, 2005).

While UNITE (2006) reported excessively high levels of drinking, their findings may not be reflective of all sections of the communities. Twenty-five per cent of

respondents to a Forest Bus consultation in Hampshire (2006) reported not drinking alcohol at all, while just over one third stated that they drank over 14 units a week. Considerable anecdotal evidence, supported by Van Cleemput et al (2007) and Roberts et al (2007), suggests that alcohol use by some community members may be considerably higher than recommended weekly rates, with self-medication of depression and anxiety by alcohol being reported in some studies. A few GTAAs report respondents referring to alcohol problems on sites or amongst their own immediate families, leading to problems including domestic violence. Tavares (2001, p. 73) reports several health workers explicitly linking depression among men with alcohol use: 'perhaps as a result of lack of education opportunities, environmental problems, unemployment, there are alcohol problems'. One Irish health study which used vignettes relating to Traveller women's health in focus groups, reported that on discussing one scenario, 'women were seen to worry about drinking husbands and getting a beating', with a clear link made between female depression and male alcohol abuse. Some community workers anecdotally report violence occurring between Irish Traveller women following alcohol use (Hodgins et al, 2006, p. 1986).

Overall, no clear picture can be gained of the prevalence of alcohol and drug use amongst Gypsy, Traveller and Showpeople communities. Evidence is partial, predominantly locally-based and focusing largely on levels of alcohol use. What does appear to be clear is that, alongside what is a long-term and perhaps relatively unchanging pattern of alcohol use amongst some community members, drug use is becoming increasingly problematic within Travelling communities.

Both anecdotal evidence and findings from other sources (UNITE, 2006; Taylor, 2004; Wired, 2005; Greenfields, 2008a) indicate that significant levels of stigma exist around discussing substance addiction within the Gypsy and Traveller communities and that accordingly, limited or inaccurate information is in common circulation. UNITE (2006) suggested that respondents were extremely concerned that contacting doctors for advice on substance misuse would lead to social services intervention or police action. Accordingly, very little external help is sought for alcohol or substance misuse, with families preferring to attempt drastic self-help detoxification or merely 'managing' the problem.

Addressing inequality

Gypsy and Traveller-friendly outreach projects appear to have had some success in supporting families; however, they are few in number, and appropriate information on sources of advice or help for substance users and their families are similarly lacking (UNITE, 2006; Taylor, 2004).

Drugscope (2004) summarised the available DVD and CD resources which have been made for community members with the assistance of Gypsy and Traveller communities. The advantages of this type of approach include culturally appropriate language, avoiding the requirement for written skills to access materials and the use of Gypsies and Travellers openly discussing substance-abuse issues within their communities. Disadvantages (see UNITE, 2006 for an evaluation of the effectiveness of such resources) predominantly consist of respondents' concerns that gossip will accrue if it is known that individuals are watching substance abuse educational materials.

We are aware of two DVD / video resources. 'Ladged No Longer' (Bowers & Taylor, 2004) is a Home Office-funded drug awareness programme featuring Barrie Taylor (a community drugs educator), Jake Bowers (a Romany journalist), and Gypsies and Travellers whose family members have experienced substance abuse problems. It discusses different types of substance and where help can be sought. The second, 'Opening the Door' (2005), consists of a fictionalised video, which explores Gypsy and Traveller youth engagement with a variety of substances and provides information on access to local counselling and support services.

In 2004, the Ormiston Travellers Project produced an audio tape of Romany women discussing experiences of drugs, substance abuse and how they were able to access training. A short report to accompany the tape by Peer (2004) explains the project from inception to delivery of the tape. When reviewing the effectiveness of various modes of information delivery, UNITE (2006) reported consultees as stating that audio tapes could be seen by someone else in a car, leading to stigma, or might distract or make someone sleepy when listening and driving.

Where specialist trusted outreach staff are attached to services, there is a broad consensus from both professionals and community members that, in line with other forms of health care delivery, effective interventions can occur most efficiently. In Ireland, where substance abuse service delivery for Travellers is more highly developed than in the UK, practitioners work closely with the Travelling community through the provision of advice and support at Travellers' Centres. The National Advisory Committee on Drugs' submission to the Irish Health Services Executive intercultural strategy consultation in 2007, emphasised the importance of developing cultural competence across a range of substance misuse services, including flexible delivery of care. Pavee Point and the Traveller Specific Drugs Initiative (2007) reported that training on drug issues for Travellers should make use of pre-existing projects (the equivalent in the UK would be national organisations such as: the Showmen's Guild; Irish Traveller Movement Britain and Friends Families and

Travellers; and local projects such as the Canterbury Gypsy and Traveller Support Group, the Ormiston Trust Travellers Projects, Derbyshire Gypsy Liaison Group) to disseminate information and cascade training. They suggested that all training delivery should incorporate members of the Travelling communities and that Travellers should be actively engaged in peer counselling, a model which anecdotally finds favour amongst Gypsies and Travellers in the UK.

Some Traveller projects in Ireland have also undertaken work on substance abuse issues (Fountain, 2006) and their linkages to, for example, domestic violence. The Travellers Centre in Tuam for example, is recognised across Ireland for its groundbreaking work with young people, with research, training and advocacy undertaken in partnership with a range of agencies, including health authorities. Voice of the Traveller (forthcoming article) refers to the success of the Tuam Traveller project in engaging with young people on a range of substance issues: in particular, encouraging over 700 young people to take part in a consultation on alcohol and substance use within their local community. Staff hope to obtain finance to support young Travellers in training as peer health advocates who will be able to deliver advice, training and on-going support to other youth as well as raising self-esteem and dealing with substance abuse issues. The issue of short-term funding for targeted projects and the damage which can be caused to already marginalised communities by repeatedly starting up and then stopping schemes, have been cited by several community members and respondents, as trust can be lost and Gypsies and Travellers left with a sense that their needs do not matter and that they have been abandoned in favour of the next new topic. The Travellers Specific Drugs Initiative in Ireland (2007), called for a coherent national policy to tackle substance misuse across the Traveller communities as well as support for local projects. We would echo that call within the UK, given the dearth of coherent data or policy approaches to working with Gypsy and Traveller communities on substance abuse issues. All of the above examples of good practice from Ireland are capable of policy transfer to the UK, subject to monitoring and incremental development to ensure that they are appropriate for local English, Scottish and Welsh Gypsy, Traveller and Showpeople communities.

Other equality issues

The gender implications of substance abuse within Gypsy and Traveller communities are particularly strong. As noted above, women who become involved in substance abuse may be especially excluded and unable to access support, as doing so would mean acknowledging the breach of very strong gendered expectations of behaviour within their communities. Some respondents and UNITE (2006) refer to Gypsies and

Travellers' extreme fear of accessing medical support for substance abuse in case police or social service involvement occurs. Women are particularly likely to experience this fear as a result of their primary childcare role and belief that a 'bad mother' would have her children removed. One person interviewed by UNITE said, 'It's hard enough being a Gypsy, but being a Gypsy with a drug problem is worse in their eyes. They'd have us strung up and the children in care if they could, we don't want to give them the chances' (2006, p. 94). The use of prescribed drugs itself appears to impact disproportionately on women. Depression caused by male substance abuse and / or violence which may arise when a partner has been drinking or taking drugs, is also of concern.

Recommendations

i.   That further research is undertaken to explore the extent, duration of usage, and needs of substance misusers amongst Gypsy, Traveller and Showpeople groups in the UK.

ii. That a national review is undertaken to record local strategies, projects, resources and publications pertaining to Gypsies, Travellers and Showpeople and substance misuse, to ensure good practice is shared and resources are not inappropriately duplicated. Evaluations should be put in place to ensure that resources are appropriately targeted to the communities in question.

iii. Ethnic monitoring of service-users' access to and receipt of substance misuse treatment should be implemented to ensure that services are appropriate to the needs of local and transient populations. The need to ensure that Gypsies and Travellers are not receiving unequal treatment in access to services for instance, where highly mobile Travellers are unable to obtain advice or support without long journeys or lengthy waiting-times.

iv. That healthcare providers, adult social care, children and young people's services and police authorities recognise Gypsies, Travellers and Showpeople's substance use and develop strategies to minimise community fear and mistrust over coming forward to seek help and advice (UNITE, 2006, p. 94).

v.   That a particular enquiry is made into the circumstances of New Travellers and Showpeople – as little is know about their needs and knowledge about substance use.

vi. That a national strategy to engage with Gypsies, Travellers and Showpeople on substance use issues is developed in partnership with national agencies for

example, the Showmen's Guild, Gypsy Council, Friends, Families and Travellers, Irish Traveller Movement (Britain).

vii. That all substance misuse agencies receive cultural competence training on Gypsy, Traveller and Showpeople issues, specifically tailored to meet the needs and circumstances of local communities, including Scottish Gypsy / Travellers and Welsh Gypsies.

viii. That healthcare providers and national agencies (for example, National Collaborating Centre for Drug Prevention) work in partnership with Gypsy, Traveller and Showpeople's charities and organisations to both utilise existing information resources and develop a range of appropriate educational materials for people of all ages. Further action is needed to ensure that publicity and outreach work is undertaken and to disseminate existing resources such as 'Ladged No Longer' (Bowers & Taylor, 2004) and other DVDs / audio tapes. UNITE (2006) found that many interviewees were unaware of these resources.

ix. That community mentoring and substance use advice training is developed utilising models under development in Ireland, to be delivered by Gypsies, Travellers and Showpeople to members of their own communities.

3.3   Self-harm and suicide

The policy context

Suicide and self-harm are clearly linked to the section of this report pertaining to health. However, we have elected to discuss these topics separately, given the abnormally high mortality rate through suicide found amongst Gypsies and Travellers. To the best of our knowledge, no data exists on suicide patterns amongst Showpeople or New Travellers.

Since the 1990s, rates of suicide in the UK for all young men (aged 15-34) have declined steadily, reaching their lowest rate for almost 30 years in 2005 (Biddle et al, 2008). Patterns of suicide amongst young women have tended to be more stable although also showing a decline. Suicides by hanging (as opposed to poisoning, inhalation of carbon monoxide, and other common methods) have however, shown a marked increase amongst both genders, although most noticeably amongst young women, increasing from 6 per cent of female suicides in 1968 to 47 per cent in 2005. The majority of anecdotal reports of suicide amongst Gypsies and Travellers in the UK involve death by hanging.

Despite the overall decline in suicide rates in Britain, analysis of trends over the past three decades demonstrates that suicide in the 1990s accounted for approximately one-fifth of all deaths amongst men under the age of 34, the largest cause of death in men of this age group (Queen Mary College, 2005). Time-series analysis undertaken by Biddle et al (2008) shows parallel increases in suicide and risk factors such as unemployment, divorce rates, substance use and income inequalities. Although divorce rates are low amongst Gypsies and Travellers (though we have been advised anecdotally of an increase in marital breakdown in recent years, particularly associated with movement into housing by formerly sited or nomadic families), on all other indices they are over-represented as being at risk of suicide. While unemployment rates have fallen across the UK population since the 1990s, findings from GTAAs and responses from agencies and individuals who responded to this consultation indicate that Gypsies and Travellers are frequently under- or unemployed (see Chapter 3). Evidence from a number of studies (Parry et al, 2004; Goward et al, 2006; MIND Bristol, 2008) shows that Gypsies and Travellers have greatly raised rates of depression and anxiety, the two factors most highly associated with suicide, with relative risks 20 and 8.5 times higher than in the general population (Harris & Barraclough, 1997). Male members of social class V (comprising occupation groups such as labourers, and including many Gypsies and Travellers) have a greatly increased rate of suicide when compared with other socio-economic

classes. Irish-born people living in the UK have a higher rate of suicide than any other ethnic minority group living in the country (National Insititute of Mental Health (NIMH), 2003): this increased tendency may to some extent, be a reaction to anti-Irish racism and discrimination (MIND, undated) and may be relevant when considering suicide rates amongst Irish Travellers in Britain.

Some of the accommodation, social and economic characteristics of Gypsy and Traveller communities bear a strong resemblance to the circumstances of Native Americans in the USA, First Nations (Canada) and Aboriginals (Australia), particularly those communities' experiences of oppression and marginalisation (Cemlyn & Briskman, 2002). Evidence from Canada, the United States and Australia indicates that native communities who find themselves subject to oppression, racism and rejection of their community norms and way of life, are likely to experience heightened levels of substance abuse, suicide and self-harm (Chandler & Lalonde, 1998; Tatz, 2004; Health Council of Canada, 2005). Studies from Canada report widespread agreement on many of the community characteristics associated with elevated suicide rate, including poverty, family dysfunction, crowded housing conditions, a relative absence of elders and disconnection from traditional languages and culture (Chenier, 1994; Assembly of First Nations, 1997). A special report on suicide by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples in Canada (1995), found that substance abuse and suicide were frequently linked, with many people being drunk at the time the suicide attempt was made. Overall however, the Commission felt that unresolved grief related to cycles of death, poverty and social exclusion and situational factors were more likely to lead to an attempt to commit suicide. The Royal Commission report defined 'culture stress' as:

> *A term used to refer to the loss of confidence in the ways of understanding life and living that have been taught within a particular culture. It comes about when the complex of relationships, knowledge, languages, social institutions, beliefs, values, and ethical rules that bind a people and give them a collective sense of who they are and where they belong is subjected to change. For Aboriginal people, such things as loss of land and control over living conditions, suppression of belief systems and spirituality, weakening of social and political institutions, and racial discrimination have seriously damaged their confidence and thus predisposed them to suicide, self-injury and other self-destructive behaviours.* (1995, p. 2)

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Australian research into the suicide rate amongst Aboriginal populations finds similarly, that members of those populations have been consistently oppressed and experience 'a lack of a sense of purpose in life; a lack of publicly recognised role models; … drug and alcohol misuse; animosity and jealousy evident in factionalism; the persistent cycle of grief due to the high number of deaths within many communities; and illiteracy, which results in exclusion and alienation' (Elliott-Farrelly, 2004, p. 3).

That these descriptions are similar to the situation in which Gypsies and Travellers find themselves in 21st Century Britain is self-evident. Although no information exists on the suicide rate amongst New Travellers, the cultural stresses experienced by these communities will not be as high amongst first-generation Travellers who have grown up in mainstream society and housing, although children may experience similar stresses as their cultural milieu alters. We would suggest that for Showpeople too, suicide is likely to be less prevalent (although no data exists), as their traditional mode of life, employment prospects and close-knit family life have remained broadly unchanged for decades, although accommodation pressures are similar to those experienced by Gypsies and Travellers.

Suicide and para-suicide (self-harm) inflict an appalling toll on family and social wellbeing and happiness, with relatives of suicide victims often becoming depressed and unable to work or even committing suicide themselves (Runeson & Asberg, 2003) if they are unable to recover from their bereavement or sense of guilt. Although the economic costs of self-harm and suicide are difficult to calculate, not least because calculations tend to rely on assumed average earnings, it has been calculated that, in Scotland in 2004, the economic costs of suicide within the overall population amounted to £1.7 billion (Scottish Executive, 2006a). No comparable figures are available for England or Wales.

Lowering the rate of suicide forms a central plank in health policies in Britain. In England, a target was been set for reduction in suicide rates by at least one-fifth by 2010 (Department of Health (DH), 1999a). In addition, a national strategy on suicide prevention was published in England in 2002, to be delivered by the National Institute of Mental Health in England (DH, 2002). The strategy specifically highlighted key at-risk groups. Gypsy and Traveller suicide victims are frequently found within two of those target categories (young men and prisoners) and within the categories whose mental health is to be promoted, namely socially excluded and deprived groups, ethnic minorities, and those bereaved by suicide. However, no explicit mention was made of the increased risks faced by these Gypsy and Traveller communities as such. The Government in England has also published a National Service Framework

for Mental Health (DH, 1999b), which considers the mental health needs of adults of working age. Core principles include involvement of service users and carers in planning, the delivery of services, and health promotion. These policy frameworks provide clear scope for joint working between statutory and voluntary sector agencies to engage in suicide prevention amongst Gypsy and Traveller communities, groups which to date have been ignored in consultations or the provision of appropriate mental health and suicide prevention services.

Experiences of Gypsy and Traveller communities

Writing in 2000, Hajioff and McKee reported that some studies of the Roma population had found an excess of suicide (2000, p. 866). Parry et al (2004) and Appleby et al (2006) examined the mental health needs of Gypsies and Travellers in Britain, referring tangentially to increased suicide rates alongside high levels of depression and anxiety. Other than these, and local studies of broad health issues (Roberts et al, 2007), research projects have not explored the links between mental health and suicide amongst Gypsy, Traveller and Showpeople populations. Anecdotally, few service providers who work with Gypsies and Travellers will be unaware of numerous cases of suicide, often of young men, but sometimes also of middle-aged people, both male and female. Impressionistically, more Irish Travellers than Gypsies or other Travellers would appear to take their own lives, with death by hanging appearing to be the most common form of suicide. Staff who work with prisoners (see Chapter 6 for a full discussion on the criminal justice system) are very clear that, despite the fact that no official statistics exist on Traveller and Gypsy prisoners (they are not included within ethnic monitoring categories in prison statistics), these communities are significantly overrepresented in prison suicides. In his submission to this review, Father Barry referred to seven Irish prisoners, of whom several were Irish Travellers, committing suicide in one London prison between 1999-2001 (see also the Heavens Report (2003) and the Commission for Racial Equality's (CRE's) (2003) investigation of the prison service in England and Wales).

Power (2004) examined the experiences of Irish prisoners at risk in the prison system, shedding light both on endemic anti-Irish racism and problems specifically experienced by Irish Travellers. One prison officer he interviewed referred to Irish Travellers 'making it hard for themselves by not 'playing by the rules'. He felt that, unlike most other prisoners, Travellers deliberately challenged authority and rejected the system. But this behaviour is often indicative that Travellers don't understand how the prison system works and are not socialised into accepting any authority that comes from outside their extended family patriarchs' (Power, 2004, p. 97). Lack of literacy amongst Traveller prisoners and a culture of appearing street-wise may mask

the fact that 'they don't actually understand the sentence, the magistrates court, the judicial procedure generally, they don't understand the prison remand and allocation procedure' (Power 2004, pp. 97-8). When the reality of prison life hits home, suicide may seem an effective release from the claustrophobia experienced by most prisoners, and in particular by Gypsies and Travellers who are used to living as part of an extended family and with much of their life lived in public, outside areas.

Evidence provided to the review by Yvonne McNamara of the Irish Traveller Movement and Father Gerard Barry confirms a high rate of suicide amongst Irish Travellers, both in and outside prison, linked to a sense of hopelessness, depression, unemployment and repeated criminalisation, often initially for small-scale driving offences. Speaking at the Irish Traveller Movement Conference in November 2007, Father Barry referred to the need for support and action to stop young prisoners killing themselves when on remand in prison or when sentenced as he was 'sick of burying young Travellers'. Criminal justice matters are dealt with in Chapter 6, but the responses from Father Barry and Yvonne McNamara fully support the anecdotal evidence of community members that young Gypsies and Travellers commit suicide at an exceptionally high rate, frequently shortly after being imprisoned or remanded. Irish Traveller Movement staff recounted numerous cases of racist bullying in prisons and unrecognised depression and anxiety amongst Travellers, who on many occasions found it impossible to deal psychologically with imprisonment, separation from their families, and - if they had limited understanding of how to arrange a prison visiting order - the inability to know when and how they might see their relatives.

Suicide risk is significantly increased in prison by many Gypsies and Travellers' inability to write and the difficulties in arranging visits if relatives live a long distance away, are subject to frequent eviction or cannot provide an appropriate form of identity when visiting a prison. One community member recounted how a relative had managed to arrange a prison visiting order for his grandfather who was in poor health. When the family arrived for the prison visit, complications ensued over the lack of appropriate identification, too many relatives arriving together, and the prisoner having used a nickname as his grandfather's first name, rather than his official birth name. The visit was unable to take place and, faced with the prospect of waiting some months until he was next able to see his family, who had travelled a long distance to visit him, the young man committed suicide a few days later.

For women prisoners, separation from children can be particularly devastating, especially if a decision is made that a child should be adopted away from the Irish Traveller community while the mother is imprisoned and will thus be raised away from their own culture and community (submission by Father Barry).

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As noted elsewhere, enforced separation from family and community appears to have a disproportionately severe impact on Gypsies and Travellers. Depression caused by bereavement frequently appears to be a trigger for suicide or self-harm through alcohol or substance abuse, which can in itself lead to a vicious cycle of contact with the criminal justice system, conviction and imprisonment. The close-knit nature of Gypsy and Traveller communities means that the death of a relative is felt with great intensity, with many informants referring to life-long grief over the death of a parent or sibling (Van Cleemput et al, 2007; Parry et al, 2004) The impact of suicide is likely to be even more severe. Van Cleemput et al (2007) support anecdotal evidence from a number of sources on the use of alcohol or drugs as a support mechanism after bereavement, despite its harmful effects (2007, p. 208). Funerals are themselves important in helping Traveller communities to cope with the death of loved ones. If Travellers in prison are unable to attend the funeral of a close family member, the stress that they feel can cause incidents of self-harm and suicide attempts (submission by Father Barry).

Anecdotally, suicides which occur in prison often have a sequential effect on suicide patterns in the wider Gypsy and Traveller world, feeding a sense of grief and hopelessness in communities which are often already marginalised, socially excluded and at risk of depression and mental health problems, in some cases exacerbated by substance abuse.

In Ireland, where the rates of suicide amongst Irish Travellers are particularly high (nine per cent of all Traveller deaths in a 10-year sample of burials undertaken by the Parish of the Travelling People in Dublin - Brack & Monaghan, 2007), statutory and voluntary sector bodies have combined to form the National Traveller Suicide Awareness Working Group (Voice of the Traveller, 2007). Pavee Point (2005) initially highlighted the excessive rate of suicide amongst young male Travellers when responding to the Irish National Strategy for Action on Suicide Prevention, referring to the lack of expertise in dealing with the phenomenon amongst both the Travelling community and service providers working with Travellers. In their submission, Pavee Point identified the causes and risk factors for suicide amongst Travellers with whom they had worked as:

- Experiences of racism and discrimination

- Low self-esteem

- Identity crisis

- Poverty and indebtedness

- Copy-cat dimensions (Coleman, 2008)

- Depression

- Confusion / stigma over sexual orientation

- Addiction to alcohol or drugs

- Marital breakdown (a relatively new but increasing phenomenon amongst Gypsy and Travellers, with community members often citing substance abuse and / or domestic violence as factors in the separation).

In addition to the above elements, Nexus (2006, p. 32) identified the following causes of suicide amongst Travellers in Ireland: imprisonment or depression after incarceration; bullying; social isolation; family disputes; and, particularly alarmingly, domestic violence as the cause of six cases of female suicide, the second highest category for female suicide after depression. Both Pavee Point (2005) and Nexus (2006) reported young people committing suicide as a result of confusion or distress over their sexual orientation. Stonewall's response to this consultation noted that 'young gay, lesbian, bisexual and transsexual people were at increased risk of suicide and self-harm'. Given the highly heterosexualised norm found within Gypsy, Traveller and Showpeople communities and expectations of early marriage, it is unsurprising that suicide may appear to be the only route out an impossible situation for some Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender (LGBT) people.

Brack and Monaghan (2007) noted that where suicide occurs, the cycle of family tragedy may lead to on-going depression and an inability to recover from one death before others intervene. The following example of patterns of bereavement is not untypical:

> *I came home from work … checking a few horses, the night was so dark I had a torch. I saw a sort of white sheet or a shirt and I kept the torch on it for a moment and as I got closer to it I knew it was a body and I kept on shouting 'hello, hello' and then I went over and shook the body'. The man who had committed suicide was the respondent's married son. It is believed that his suicide was a response to his grief over the death of his own five-year-old daughter, who had died a month earlier. The young man committed suicide while visiting his parents. 'He took his jacket off, said 'Mammy I'll leave that there and I'll be back in a minute' but he went*

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through the door and I never seen him until his father found him. (2007, pp. 11-13).

The deaths of son and granddaughter compounded a cycle of bereavement, with the couple having experienced the death of another infant grandchild a few weeks previously. The bereaved grandfather also reported that two of his siblings had committed suicide some years previously. The two earlier suicides were both of youngish men, 26 and 33 years old, both by hanging and taking place within a few years of each other. Since the suicide of their son and death of two grandchildren, the respondents quoted above also noted the declining mental health of one of their daughters who 'became very withdrawn, wouldn't speak for a very long time and refused to eat or drink' (2007, p. 13).

Nexus' (2006) research into the experiences of the relatives of Traveller suicide victims, supported the view that depression and the inability to recover from one major loss after another compounds the likelihood of suicide, noting that respondents in their study had experienced the suicides on an average of four or five people in their close extended family (for example, parent, spouse, siblings or first cousins). Increased use of alcohol or other substances, and mood-swings such as isolation or withdrawal, were often cited as indicators, which in retrospect could be seen as signs that the person was suicidal. However for many suicide victims, death was the culmination of a number of other events, including a reaction to time spent in prison, bereavements or other family tragedies (2006, p. 5).

Both Brack and Monaghan (2007) and Nexus (2006) were clear that a lack of suitable, culturally-aware counselling services, cultural barriers to accessing existing services, and lack of information in a suitable format, meant that many relatives of suicide victims were left to struggle alone with intense grief, anger and guilt. In some cases, alcohol or drugs were used to assist in numbing the grief, compounding the likelihood of self-harm, accidental injury, domestic violence or illness.

The long-term impact of suicide on surviving family members cannot be over-estimated (see especially Nexus, 2006): in their sample of Irish Travellers it led to many children growing up without at least one parent. Brack and Monaghan note that, from the male suicide statistics analysed in Dublin, 75 per cent of victims were aged between 25 and 39 and over half were married, most of whom would, given cultural norms, have left young children. Not only were children raised by a single parent more likely to suffer economic and other inequalities (Economic and Research Council (ESRC), 2004; Preston, 2005) but, in the light of Runeson and Asberg's

(2003) study, a real risk exists that the surviving parent or the children themselves will also become victims of suicide.

Addressing inequality

No specific suicide prevention work in the UK appears to be targeted at Gypsies and Travellers. However, Father Gerard Barry's submission to the review reports on the importance of having Travellers' groups in as a means of social support and for educational reasons. Both Father Barry and Yvonne McNamara during her interview for this review have stressed the importance for Travellers in prison of being in contact with members of their own community and culture to avoid the sense of total isolation. Ms McNamara referred to suicides occurring where Travellers were particularly isolated or subject to racist bullying and noted the role of Irish Traveller Movement (ITM) in facilitating transfers of isolated prisoners to prisons where more Travellers were serving sentences. If specialist support groups were set up in a greater number of prisons (which consultees believe will occur through the auspices of the Prisons Race Equality Action Group, who have noted the success of the initiative at Full Sutton, where Father Barry works), it may be that incarcerated Gypsies and Travellers will feel more able to serve out their sentence without resort to self-harm or suicide.

The recent appointment of a project worker for the Traveller Suicide Awareness Project in Ireland is an example of best practice, which could be replicated in Britain. The project worker has responsibility for reducing the suicide rate amongst Travellers across the whole of Ireland, predominantly through the development of information, raising awareness of mental health and counselling services, and acting as a conduit for information to community groups. She will also work to develop local training through community group initiatives (Voice of the Traveller, 2007). Other specialist counselling services are available to a limited extent in Ireland through clergy, specifically the Parish of the Travelling People and local Traveller Training Centres (Brack & Monaghan, 2007).

Richardson et al (2007, p. 118) found support for the idea of specialist trained mental health staff (ideally Gypsy and Traveller community members), who would be available to support families after a bereavement:

> *If you walked into a surgery … and knew that there was a woman who worked with Gypsies and Travellers and knew about us and we could walk in and say we were really depressed ... what about when you're on the road – you could ring her up and get in her care, and then come down here to her – like the health visitors.*

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Respondents also referred to the value of peer support for depressed or isolated community members, stressing the gendered nature of the community and the need for sensitivity in discussing depression and anxiety. One participant referred to a youth club used by housed Gypsies, run by a Romany woman. Although initially it was only young people who attended, occasionally dropped off by a mother, over time older people of both genders began to congregate before and after the youth sessions:

> *[Man] turned up the other week. He's in a bad state, he's only in his 20s and he's in a house which has made him bad. Now he knows there's men there, the men are all in the corner counselling the men, the women are in another corner. With the men turning up it shows how desperate they are for a bit of community and family again.* (Richardson et al, 2007, p. 118)

Several Irish studies have recommended the need to support individuals at risk of suicide by raising the topic of depression, discussing concerns with people at risk, offering support and passing on information about available services (Brack & Monaghan, 2007; Nexus, 2006; Voice of the Traveller, 2007).

Recommendations

i.   That urgent research is undertaken into the prevalence of suicide and self-harm amongst Gypsy, Traveller and Showpeople communities in Britain, as no adequate statistics exist on the true extent of the problem, or on the numbers of families affected by premature death by suicide.

ii. That a specialist national suicide prevention strategy is drawn up in partnership with Gypsy, Traveller and Showpeople communities to explore ways of engaging with the communities most effectively and involving them in service planning in line with the English National Service Framework (NSF) for Mental Health (DH, 1999b). We consider that policy transfer may effectively take place from Ireland, subject to appropriate monitoring and adjustment for cultural suitability.

iii. In the light of the potential for suicide intervention by health professionals, Gypsy / Traveller should be included as a category in all health records to assist in the mapping of self-harm, depression and associated risk factors.

iv. That health and social care agencies should be made aware of the particular cultural impacts of bereavement on Gypsy, Traveller and Showpeople communities (Parry et al, 2004; Van Cleemput et al, 2007; Appleby et al,

v.   Information about recognising suicidal behaviour, its management and where to obtain support should be made available in a culturally appropriate form for Gypsies, Travellers and Showpeople, utilising non-written materials as required.

vi.   That health services work in partnership with community groups, the voluntary sector and specialist agencies to train and employ peer mental health workers and bereavement counsellors from Gypsy and Traveller communities (Richardson et al, 2007).

vii.   That bereavement counsellors undertake training on the needs of Gypsy, Traveller and Showpeople communities and publicise their services more widely.

viii.   That action is taken with Gypsy and Traveller communities to develop materials and strategies for minimising the stigma of acknowledging grief and suicidal thoughts and that awareness is heightened of the trans-generational impact of suicide.

ix.   That agencies in contact with Gypsies, Travellers and Showpeople, such as education services, clergy and public health staff, are made aware of the increased risk of suicide and self-harm amongst the communities, and of the need to make referrals or provide advice where a support need is identified.

4. EDUCATION, EARLY YEARS AND CHILDREN'S EXPERIENCES

4.1 Education

The policy context

Gypsies and Travellers have the same rights to appropriate education under sections 28 and 29 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child as all other children. In England and Wales this is reflected in the 1996 Education Act. Schools are required to be open for 190 days or 380 sessions. Parents are required under section 7 of the 1996 Act to ensure that children of compulsory school age receive full-time education, and failure to do so constitutes an offence under section 444. However, Gypsy and Traveller parents whose livelihoods involve travel have a legal defence if the child has attended 200 sessions (Department for Children Schools and Families (DfCSF), 2008e). Rather than reducing a child's entitlement, this is intended to protect families from unreasonable prosecution while travelling for work (O'Hanlon & Holmes, 2004).

Under the 1981 Education Act, children with special needs are assessed to determine whether they require a Statement of Special Educational Needs (SEN) that requires additional support provision for the child. As the broader debate about exclusion and integration of disabled children developed, the subsequent Education Act 1993 provided qualified support for educational integration, while the Special Educational Needs and Disability Act 2001 introduced changes to the special education legal framework, including strengthened rights to a mainstream school place for disabled children.

Since 1998, Pupil Registration Regulations, which were revised in 2006 (Ministry of Justice, 2008a), have enabled registration at more than one school if the child travels away. This protects Gypsy, Roma or Traveller children from being deleted from the register of their 'base' school while they are attending elsewhere. Section 7 of the 1996 Act also allows parents to provide education for their children 'either by regular attendance at school or otherwise'. 'Education otherwise' or Elective Home Education is being chosen by an increasing number of Gypsy and Traveller parents for their children, as discussed below.

Rights for minorities within education are also addressed in the European Framework Convention for the Protection of Minorities 1995, which is binding on members of the Council of Europe. Article 12 refers to state parties taking 'measures in the fields of

education and research to foster knowledge of the culture, history, language and religion of their national minorities and of the majority', to providing adequate opportunities for teacher training, and 'equal opportunities for access to education at all levels for persons belonging to national minorities'.

Policy and provision to promote the education of Gypsy and Traveller children has developed since the 1970s through various stages. Following the lead of voluntary organisations in providing mobile and summer projects and undertaking research, a specialist HMI (Her Majesty's Inspector) was appointed in 1970 to oversee developments in the education of Gypsy and Traveller children, and local authorities started to employ specialist teachers to promote education. A test case in Croydon in 1977 successfully challenged a legal loophole that denied children on unauthorised sites access to schooling. A funding scheme, the No Area Pool, was established into which all local authorities paid and from which those that made specialist provision for Gypsies and Travellers, or other children without a fixed area, could draw up to 100 per cent reimbursement. However, public hostility and political resistance meant that provision was often low-level or segregated, and many authorities did not make any such provision. In 1990 the funding to promote access and integration of Gypsies and Travellers in education changed to a central government specific grant with a local authority contribution. Traveller Education Services (TESs) were set up more widely across England and to a lesser extent across Wales, resulting currently in a national network of over 100 TESs (Clark, 2006; Derrington, 2005; Derrington & Kendall, 2007).

The mechanism for central funding went through several changes between 2000 and 2003. First it was merged with the Ethnic Minority Achievement and Traveller Grant, then a specific grant was reintroduced in the Traveller Achievement Grant, and in 2003 this was merged with the Vulnerable Children Grant. Although the negative impact of these changes on TESs in terms of funding and remit of work was sometimes less than feared, the pace of change in funding arrangements was not helpful. There has also been a development fund to promote innovative approaches, for example, in relation to early years provision, and transfer and retention in secondary schools, although overall the extent of central funding to local authorities has declined (Clark, 2006; Derrington & Kendall, 2007).

Central government commitment to promoting equality in education for Gypsy and Traveller children is reflected in a range of policy statements, guidance and case studies available through the website of the Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF - formerly the Department for Education and Skills), and a letter from the Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for Schools and Learners, Lord Adonis,

to Directors of Children's Services in November 2006. Two important publications are 'Aiming High: Raising the Achievement of Gypsy Traveller pupils' (Department for Education and Skills (DfES), 2003) and 'Aiming High: Partnerships between schools and Traveller Education Support Services in raising the achievement of Gypsy Traveller pupils' (DfES, 2005a). The main themes of the guidance include: addressing the barriers to inclusion through race equality strategies and clear policies for tackling racist bullying; a welcoming ethos and culture of respect; high teacher expectations for the achievement of Traveller pupils; ethnic monitoring to measure and address differential achievement levels; an inclusive curriculum that values Gypsy and Traveller cultures; involvement of parents and the communities; encouraging regular attendance; and promoting innovative methods for ensuring continuity of learning.

The Welsh Assembly's review of service provision for Gypsies and Travellers considered similar themes in their review of barriers to inclusion and factors promoting inclusion and equality. Ten local authorities had received the specific grant for Traveller education provision in 2002/3. The review recommended increased funding so that provision could be made in all authorities, while also emphasising that the pupils are the responsibility of schools. Recommendations covered detailed attention to the identified issues relating to the education of Gypsy and Traveller children in local education authorities' strategic plans, and specific monitoring of local performance by the Assembly Government. School anti-racism strategies and any review of the curriculum by the Assembly Government to tackle racism should specifically include Gypsies and Travellers. Examples of good practice were also given in the report (National Assembly of Wales (NAW), 2003), which is discussed more generally in the section on Wales in Chapter 8.

In Scotland there is no specific central government grant for Traveller education, with the responsibility for such provision resting with local authorities. The Scottish Executive (2004) made 11 recommendations concerning education in its review of services for Scottish Gypsy / Travellers, one of which was that local authorities should ring-fence or top-slice resources for specific initiatives and interventions. Save the Children Scotland reported in 1999 that there were fewer than 10 full-time equivalent education staff working directly with Gypsy / Travellers across Scotland (Morran et al, 1999) and Clark (2006) affirmed this finding. More recent information about the development of specialist provision to promote Scottish Gypsy / Traveller inclusion and attainment is not currently available.

The Scottish Executive funds the Scottish Traveller Education Programme (STEP), which aims to: improve the educational opportunities of Scottish Gypsy / Travellers;

listen to and represent the views about education of Gypsy / Traveller children, young people and parents; encourage the development of a wide, diverse and flexible range of educational opportunities for Gypsy / Travellers; promote the development of inclusive practices to support diversity in education and to address racism, harassment and bullying; enable all those engaged in education to know and respect historical cultural traditions and contemporary cultural practices and living circumstances of Gypsy / Travellers; and support and promote inter-agency working which acknowledges the links between education, housing, health and other key social services (STEP, 2008). The other education recommendations of the Scottish Executive review reflected the aims of STEP and covered a range of issues related to access, inclusion, innovation and flexibility, engagement with and active involvement of parents and the communities, anti-bullying strategies, ethnic monitoring and information systems, and adult learning. Clark (2006) also discussed some optimism associated with the wider policy environment of inclusion and equal opportunities. A recent National Literacy Trust (2007) report suggested that the Scottish Curriculum for Excellence (2008) may make schools more relevant for Gypsy / Traveller children.

Educational inequality experienced by Gypsy and Traveller children (quantitative data)

Despite some progress, Gypsy and Traveller children remain highly disadvantaged in terms of access, inclusion and achievement, and are 'the groups most at risk in the education system' (DfES, 2003, p. 3 - quoting Ofsted, 1999). 'The vast majority of Traveller pupils linger on the periphery of the education system. The situation has persisted for too long and the alarm bells rung in earlier reports have yet to be heeded' (Ofsted, 2003, p. 6).

Since the introduction of changed ethnicity codes for the Annual School Census in 2003, DCSF has been able to obtain and publish figures about the participation and achievement of Gypsy and Traveller children in schools. It should be noted that these national figures apply to two groups, Travellers of Irish Heritage and Gypsy / Roma pupils, while Ofsted reports include a broader range of Gypsy and Traveller groups than DCSF, including Fairground and Circus families, New Travellers, bargees and others living on boats. However, Ofsted (2003) also state that most of their findings relate to Irish Travellers and Gypsies / Roma. This increased monitoring of achievement, attainment and exclusion has enabled the extent of educational inequality to be revealed.

Figures from DCSF show that in 2007, 2,880 pupils of Irish Traveller heritage and 5,400 Gypsy / Roma pupils were registered in maintained primary schools in

England, representing 2.5 per cent of the primary school population. The numbers in maintained secondary schools were 1,040 Irish Traveller pupils and 2,620 Gypsy / Roma pupils, representing one per cent of the secondary school population (DCSF, 2008a). Although DfES (2005b) suggested that the figures for these two groups are probably the least reliable of those for all ethnic groups, they indicate a decline in access and attendance at secondary level compared to primary level.

No national data is available on school attendance disaggregated by ethnicity (DfES, 2005b), but the same Ofsted (2003) report calculated attendance rates based on an evaluation of provision and support for Traveller pupils in 11 Local Education Authorities (LEAs) between 2001 and 2003. This found that the average attendance rate for all Traveller pupils was around 75 per cent, which is the worst attendance profile of any ethnic minority group and well below the national average. While there have been improvements in access to primary schools, Ofsted (2003) estimated that 12,000 Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children might not be registered at secondary schools in England and Wales. In Scotland it has been estimated that only 20 per cent of Gypsy / Traveller children of secondary age attend school regularly (Clark, 2006), and this may be even lower in more remote areas (McKinney, 2001 – cited in Clark, 2006).

Being in school is only the start. Gypsy and Traveller children's achievement remains sharply below that of all other groups and this inequality is increasing. Achievement is measured against national Key Stage (KS) expectations for the level children should reach at specific ages, namely KS 1 being the level expected of the average seven year-old, KS 2 of an 11 year-old, KS 3 of a 14 year-old and KS4 being GCSE level at 16.

Selected examples demonstrate the extent of underachievement of Gypsies and Travellers. In 2003, 28 per cent of Travellers of Irish Heritage and 42 per cent of Gypsy / Roma pupils achieved level 2 or above in reading at Key Stage 1 compared to 84 per cent of all pupils (DfES, 2005b). In 2007, 26 per cent of Irish Travellers and 27 per cent of Gypsy / Roma achieved this level compared to 84 per cent overall (DCSF, 2008b). The pattern of achievement is reflected in subsequent key stages and other subject areas. While Gypsy and Traveller pupils show some relative development through primary school, the inequalities remain and are starkly demonstrated in GCSE results. Moreover, Gypsies and Travellers are the only ethnic group whose performance has deteriorated in recent years. In 2003, 42 per cent of Irish Travellers and 23 per cent of Gypsy / Roma achieved 5+ A*-C GSCEs or GNVQs compared to 51 per cent of all pupils, while in 2007 this dropped to 16 per

cent of Irish Travellers and 14 per cent of Gypsy / Roma compared to 59 per cent of all pupils (DCSF, 2008b; DfES, 2005b; Skidmore, 2008).

There is a general concern about the over-representation of ethnic minority pupils among those identified as having special educational needs. Socio-economic disadvantage and gender have stronger associations with overall prevalence of SEN and with some categories of SEN than does ethnicity (Lindsay et al, 2006). However, when these variables and year groups are controlled for, Irish Traveller pupils are 2.7 times more likely than other white British pupils to have SEN, and Gypsy / Roma pupils are 2.6 times more likely to have SEN. Irish Traveller pupils are more likely than other white pupils to have SEN in relation to moderate learning difficulties (MLD), severe learning difficulties (SLD), specific learning difficulties (SpLD), and behavioural, emotional and social difficulties (BESD), and less likely to have SEN for Autistic Spectrum Disorder (ASD). Gypsy / Roma pupils are more likely to have SEN in relation to MLD, profound and multiple learning difficulties (PMLD), hearing impairment (HI) and SLD and less likely to have SEN for ASD. Lindsay et al (2006) comment that these high levels appear to have a number of contributory factors, including negative teacher attitudes, racism and bullying, and a curriculum that does not take sufficient account of Traveller cultures and mobility. However, the research base is limited and this is an area that requires further investigation as part of any racial equality strategy.

There is very significant inequality in relation to exclusions of Gypsy and Traveller pupils from school. A DfES (2005b) research paper, using data from 2002/3, reported that Irish Travellers were the group most likely to be permanently excluded, with 0.51 per cent of Irish Traveller pupils permanently excluded. This represented nearly four times the overall exclusion rate of 0.13 per cent of all pupils. Gypsy / Roma pupils were the third mostly likely group to be excluded. However, published Government figures on permanent exclusion by ethnic origin from 2005 to 2006 do not include Gypsies and Travellers as an ethnic group (DCSF, 2008d).

Following growing concern among Traveller Education Services (TES) about the number of pupils whose parents were opting for Elective Home Education (EHE), the then DfES commissioned a small-scale project to investigate policy, provision and practice in EHE for Gypsy / Roma and Traveller children (DfES, 2004b). This involved questionnaires for 23 local authorities identified as models of good practice for including Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children. The questionnaires were sent both to the officer responsible for EHE, of which 16 were completed, and to the TES, of which 20 were returned. Nearly 3,000 children overall were registered for EHE in the 16 respondent local authorities, of which two-thirds were secondary level, and it was

estimated that between 16 and 35 per cent of the children were Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children. The reasons for choosing EHE were reported as including fear of cultural erosion, perceived lack of relevance of the secondary school curriculum, and fear of racist bullying.

The study found that arrangements for EHE were poorly supported and monitored. Twenty-five per cent of responding local authorities did not have a written EHE policy. While advice was given to parents, only two local authorities provided educational materials. Over 62 per cent of the local authorities did not always see the child during an initial or monitoring visit (they have no right to see the child), and sharing of information between agencies was patchy. In many cases it could take up to a term between the initial request for registration as an EHE provider, and the final approval or rejection. In terms of training EHE officers, only 56 per cent of responsible officers within the sample had attended in-service training on EHE, and only 36 per cent had attended any training concerning Gypsy and Traveller communities.

The research raised 'serious concerns about the quality of professional judgements being made by officers' (DfES, 2004b, p. 5). Nearly half of the local authorities and 94 per cent of TESs expressed concerns over whether Gypsy / Roma and Traveller children were receiving a full-time education appropriate to their age, abilities and any special needs. This was mainly due to concerns over parents' skills, especially in regard to literacy and numeracy (the limited educational levels of many Gypsy and Traveller adults are discussed below).

Despite these findings, the report's author was concerned that they should not be seen as an implied cultural pathology or deficit model that added to negative stereotyping of Gypsy and Traveller communities. The line between the denial of children's individual rights to education and the possible stereotyping and further pathologising of a minority culture is a fine one to tread. In the subsequent guidance on EHE this was addressed as follows: 'Local authorities should have an understanding of, and be sensitive to, the distinct ethos and needs of Gypsy, Roma and Traveller communities. It is important that these families who are electively home educating are treated in the same way as any other families. Home education should not necessarily be regarded as less appropriate than in other communities' (DCSF 2007, p. 18). Jordan and Padfield (2003) also discuss the negativity with which home education can be viewed, while recognising its significance for some Gypsies and Travellers in maintaining cultural boundaries.

The recorded numbers of Gypsies and Travellers entering post-16 education are tiny: just 26 students in 2007 (DCSF, 2008b, 2008c). At this level also, Irish Travellers and Gypsy / Roma have the lowest achievement of all ethnic groups, although caution is needed because of the small numbers. Within this overall picture of inequality for Gypsies and Travellers, boys are even more educationally disadvantaged, with girls making better progress than boys in both primary and secondary school (DCSF, 2008b; Ofsted, 2003; Skidmore, 2008). Clark (2006) also refers to the dearth of research into Scottish Gypsy / Traveller young people's experiences of further and higher education.

Anecdotally, it is known that colleges in some areas are providing specific vocational courses, and young Gypsies and Travellers are entering university and various professions such as law, teaching, planning and journalism (Clark, 2006; Travellers Times, 2006 (27)). Dawson (2004) also refers to Gypsies and Travellers in various professions. Nevertheless, there is anecdotal evidence of difficulties and barriers within higher education.

In relation to educational levels in adult Gypsy and Traveller communities, Hately-Broad (2004) refers to literacy levels being well below the national average, and draws on estimates from the 1990s of 75,000 adult Gypsies and Travellers having lower than functional literacy levels (Acton & Kenrick, 1992). DfES (2003) and the Scottish Executive (2004) report that problems with basic skills are likely to be far greater among Gypsies and Travellers than the mainstream population, even though they may be as high as one in five in the population overall (Moser, 1999). In 2004, Dawson published research he had undertaken into literacy levels in the late 1980s and early 1990s as a headteacher working with Gypsy and Traveller communities. He assessed 300 adults with the aim of finding out if literacy levels were improving as a result of improved educational provision. He assessed reading and writing levels against the national Key Stages for children in order to measure different levels of literacy and differential patterns between age-groups and between women and men (Dawson, 2004).

Dawson found that overall, Traveller men could read only half as well as Traveller women: at the lowest level of achievement, 21 per cent of men and 9 per cent of women could not read at all. However, women's and men's ability to write was comparable, with 14 per cent of men and women being unable to write anything. A third of the sample could only write their name at best, although women's writing levels were better than men's. Younger men and women were more likely to be able to read and write. Dawson commented anecdotally on how the children of the sample in his study could read and write. Nevertheless, there is only limited recent research

that investigates adult literacy levels among Gypsies and Travellers. The website of the Basic Skills Agency for adults (2008) refers to just two resources for Gypsies and Travellers, both of which are school-related. More hopefully, the National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (NIACE) responded to a Government consultation on the Draft Race Equality Scheme 2005 –2008 and commented that 'NIACE has supported adult learning providers working with gypsy and traveller [sic] communities and would be happy to share our experiences of challenges and successes' (NIACE, 2005). NIACE (2006) also explored good practice for adult learners from Gypsy and Traveller communities, as discussed below. However, the areas of adult and higher education need further research attention.

Qualitative findings relating to educational inequality

A number of studies have used qualitative methodologies including interviews, case studies and practitioner research to explore the experiences of Gypsy and Traveller young people in school, outside school and in their communities, the views of parents, and the attitudes, practices and strategies of teachers and other staff. This has generated further understanding of the factors underpinning the inequality they experience, the barriers faced, and the complexities involved. There are strong common themes throughout the studies in relation to the barriers encountered by Gypsy and Traveller pupils. These include: enforced mobility and interrupted learning; consistent experiences of racist harassment and bullying; excessive exclusions linked to these experiences and to inadequate school responses; the lack of validation of Gypsy and Traveller culture in schools; the limited relevance of the curriculum for some pupils; cultural barriers that children have to negotiate between home and school; teachers' low expectations; and the impact of national targets on schools' readiness to admit Travellers. Some of the literature explicitly explores issues for Occupational Travellers such as Show families, for example Jordan (2000, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c) and Lloyd and Stead (2001) in relation to experience in Scotland.

The accommodation difficulties facing nomadic Gypsies and Travellers and the problems of repeated eviction have been considered in Chapter 2. They are also regular themes in the education literature, as primary factors in preventing some children's access to schools and causing interrupted learning (Bhopal, 2001; Derrington & Kendall, 2007; Jordan, 2001a; O'Hanlon & Holmes, 2004; Power, 2004; Save the Children, 2001). This can be compounded when schools fail to pass on records to the next school (Lloyd & McCluskey, 2007). Interrupted attendance also has a negative effect on children's social relationships and inclusion, which can lead

to a cycle of exclusion that undermines learning as well as self-esteem (Derrington, 2005; Jordan, 2001a).

Interrupted learning also arises in relation to Travellers whose mobility is self-chosen. In a series of studies, Jordan (2000, 2001a, 2001b) explored the exclusion that Scottish Gypsy / Travellers and Showpeople who travelled away from a base school for work, experienced within an education system designed for sedentary children. Jordan (2001b) analysed how inclusion projects presumed a settled accommodation pattern and focused on economic disadvantage and local communities, within which, Travellers are rarely included. Little state support was available for out-of-school learning. Jordan and Padfield (2003), exploring contradictions between social justice policies in the Scottish context and parallel exclusionary processes within school systems, commented on the fragmented character of support projects, and the exclusion of Gypsies and Travellers from some that were developed – for example, the provision of laptop computers for young people outside school. However, more recently there are innovations developing in this area, as will be explored below.

A range of factors apart from mobility (chosen or enforced), have been explored in relation to the low levels of educational participation, attendance and achievement. Racist harassment and bullying is the most prominent theme in all the studies, combined with the inadequacy of many schools' responses. Jordan (2001a) and Lloyd and Stead (2001) discuss the persistent name-calling experienced by Scottish Gypsy / Traveller and Show children. This continuous current of hurtful attitudes and behaviour is described in both educational and broader studies (Ureche & Franks, 2007; Warrington, 2006). Bullying, both psychological and physical, is widely reported (Bhopal, 2004; Derrington, 2005; Derrington & Kendall, 2004, 2007; Jordan 2001a; Lloyd & Stead, 2001; NAW, 2003; Power, 2004; Save the Children, 2001). While some schools have good anti-racist policies and anti-bullying strategies that involve an integrated response, others fail to take it seriously, so that neither children nor parents have confidence in reporting incidents.

Lloyd and Stead (2001) refer to teachers frequently not believing or dismissing these complaints, and sometimes viewing being picked on as 'normal'. They also discuss the inadequacy of individualised responses to racist bullying that fail to take into account the broader social and structural influences affecting the lives of Gypsies and Travellers. Teachers might perceive Gypsies and Travellers as excessively concerned with their rights in a way that did not acknowledge the fundamental social injustices they experienced. (Here we see a link to the importance of social and structural factors in assessments of children 'in need', discussed in the section on Social Work in Chapter 5.) For Traveller parents who often had negative experiences

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themselves, there is great anxiety about the racism and bullying that their children will experience in schools and fear for their safety (DfES, 2003; Derrington & Kendall, 2004; Jordan, 2001a; O'Hanlon & Holmes, 2004; Power, 2004).

Racist bullying and the response of Gypsy and Traveller children to such incidents are widely given as a reason for exclusion from school (Derrington & Kendall, 2004 2007; Jordan, 2001a; Lloyd & Stead, 2001). There are repeated findings that Gypsy and Traveller children tend to be blamed for their retaliation while the original provocation is ignored. Many Gypsy and Traveller parents consider schools unsafe for their children in view of the racism and name-calling they experience, and this can lead to supporting children's self-exclusion.

Moreover, schools need to be seen in the wider community and social context of racism (Power, 2004). This includes outright racist actions such as vigilante attacks, anti-Traveller petitions, boycotts and pickets of schools where Gypsies and Travellers are enrolled (Levinson, 2007), as well as the ongoing racist taunting and diminishing attitudes and behaviour referred to throughout this report. In Scotland, Jordan (2001a, 2001b) found that schools failed to value the learning of skills and values that Gypsy / Traveller and Show children gain in their families and communities, and the central importance of this learning within the communities.

The lack of validation of Gypsy and Traveller culture and language in schools can operate throughout the overt and the hidden curriculum, in terms of cultural assumptions, barriers to engagement, and negative and stereotypical views. These are widely reported in the literature and are linked with Gypsies' and Travellers' fears about assimilation. The dominant sedentary culture of schools can be perceived as a threat, a means of assimilation, in which children's cultural identities will be undermined and they will learn alien values and be exposed to damaging moral influences related to, for instance, drug use and sexual behaviour (Bhopal, 2004; DfES, 2003; Derrington & Kendall, 2004; O'Hanlon & Holmes, 2004; Parker-Jenkins & Hartas, 2002; Power, 2004). Assimilatory attitudes that deny difference are exemplified in a teacher's comment about Scottish Gypsy / Traveller girls reported by Lloyd and Stead (2001, p. 371) in their research: 'They were very acceptable, they were nicely dressed, they turned up nice, they didn't make themselves different in any way …They were actually very clean and tidy ... they didn't make themselves out to be tinker girls'.

Many of the studies explore the questionable relevance of the curriculum to many Gypsies' and Travellers' cultural and employment patterns, especially at secondary level. Bhopal's finding that some parents believed that the curriculum was not

relevant and more practical subjects would link better to their traditional lifestyle and employment patterns, is echoed throughout the literature (Bhopal, 2004; McCluskey & Lloyd, 2005; Lloyd & McCluskey, 2007) and in consultation responses from the Children's Society and Save the Children. However, Derrington (2005) and Derrington and Kendall (2007) point out that many parents in their study were positive about engagement with education until their children experienced racism and unhelpful school responses. There is general acknowledgement of a complex interplay of factors (Derrington & Kendall, 2007). For some parents and children there is also a cultural resistance to secondary education, as both unnecessary in relation to Gypsies' and Travellers' employment patterns and as undermining cultural cohesion.

Gender issues have been explored in the context of cultural barriers between home and school. Levinson and Sparkes (2003) discussed the development of cultural and gender identity amongst young people in Gypsy communities. They found in their study that while a growing number of young women were valuing education at least in some ways and finding it empowering, young men focused on the acquisition of status within the group. Young men 'tended to select the same areas as being crucial to the acquisition of prestige and respect as those chosen by fathers and grandfathers: business skills, physical strength, fighting and sexual prowess' (Levinson & Sparkes, 2003, p. 600). The skills needed for future employment were to be gained through physical and active labour rather than mental and theoretical labour. These skills were generally much more important to them than the potential to fulfill wider aspirations through individual education. Levinson and Sparkes considered these issues in the context of different masculinities and the power dynamic of the interface between home and school for marginalised male students. Young Gypsy males who were alienated from school tended to reject school-based learning.

In a separate paper, Levinson (2007) explored the relationship between Gypsies and Travellers and the arguably narrow construct of literacy as operationalised in educational policy and provision. Moreover, Gypsy and Traveller languages are rarely acknowledged. Levinson discussed alternative concepts of literacy, or alternative literacies, in which Gypsy and Traveller children might have enhanced skills but which are not valued in schools, for example, linguistic skills in arguing and negotiating. Indeed, other studies (Derrington & Kendall, 2004; Derrington, 2005) have found that Gypsy and Traveller children's direct communication style and willingness to argue was frequently cited unfavourably by teachers, and could contribute to behaviour being labelled as troublesome. Levinson (2007) explored resistance to literacy as a positive boundary-marker for maintaining cultural identity,

when other such markers related to travelling and self-employment are under threat. Literacy could be seen not only as irrelevant to the kind of memory skills and direct communication of value to Gypsy and Traveller employment patterns, but as a means by which young people would be assimilated into the dominant culture, with cultural autonomy further eroded. Failing at school might therefore be seen as succeeding in cultural terms.

Derrington and Kendall's study (2004) provided insights into the experiences of schooling of Gypsy and Traveller children at secondary level in England, and the factors behind non-attendance and exclusion, echoing those of Jordan and of Lloyd and Stead in Scotland. They undertook a longitudinal three-year study of the experiences of 44 Gypsy and Traveller children, their parents and teachers, from the transition from primary to secondary school through to Key Stage 3. These students were all accommodated in relatively stable situations including official public sites, private sites, 'tolerated' sites and housing. More than half of the sample had dropped out of school by Key Stage 3 at 14, and less than a third continued to 16.

The authors explored the challenges and difficulties of negotiating the different cultures of home and school. The experience of cultural dissonance and the power dynamics between home and school cultures is graphically expressed in the words of one pupil: 'It's like, when you grow up, you learn that the grass is green don't you! But then you gradually find out that other people say the grass is blue and then they try to teach you that the grass isn't green at all, it is actually blue!' (Derrington & Kendall, 2004, p. 89). Negotiating cultural differences is also discussed by Lloyd and Stead (2001, p. 370) as a 'difficult balancing act not much recognised by their schools'.

In a study combining quantitative and qualitative methods, Clay (1997) explored cultural differences between home and school in relation to primary and secondary schools in an area of South Wales. She found lower attendance rates for Gypsy and Traveller children compared to other children, with Gypsies and Travellers losing twice as many days, although attendance levels had improved over time. Their absence was intermittent and cumulative, rather than being made up of continuous and lengthy periods of absence. In interviews, she found that absence was often caused by important family occasions such as weddings and funerals. She concluded that the maintenance and reinforcement of Gypsy and Traveller culture and self-identity was an important factor for these families in terms of 'their cohesion and survival as a people' (Clay, 1997, p. 156).

In Jordan's extensive studies in Scotland, she found that Show children were generally regarded positively by schools. Despite the inflexibility of schools, Show

families regarded schooling as the norm for their children from the age of five onwards. There was also evidence that they valued the possibilities of alternative employment choices that might be opened up in the context of economic uncertainties facing their traditional businesses (Jordan, 2001b). Jordan (2001a) found that Show families did not permit their children to drop out even when experiencing racist behaviour from other pupils, but might, as a group, seek out another school that would respond more positively.

As in the case of communication styles, other cultural attributes, even if viewed positively by schools in some ways, could also be constructed more negatively. For example, schools might approve the family orientation and social cohesiveness of Gypsy and Traveller children, but see this paradoxically as a source of their isolation. Culturally important issues such as enabling older siblings to enter classes with younger ones in order to fulfill the expectation of looking after their safety were not accommodated in the school setting (Jordan, 2001b; Save the Children, 2001).

Linked with the lack of validation of Gypsy and Traveller culture is a frequent reference in the literature to teachers' lower expectations of Gypsy and Traveller pupils (DfES, 2003). For instance, Jordan (2001b) discusses how, instead of prioritising academic achievement as they do for other children, teachers may focus on social issues in relation to Gypsy / Traveller children but, in doing so, operate from a cultural deficit model that problematises Gypsy / Traveller cultures. In other words, while social inclusion is a valid aim, it needs to be on the basis of cultural validation and respect, and to support rather than detract from educational aims.

Some commentators have considered the impact of national targets on schools' readiness to admit Travellers, due to lower expectations of achievement and anticipation of the need for increased resources to support access to the curriculum (Bhopal, 2004; Derrington & Kendall, 2004; McCluskey & Lloyd, 2005). Lloyd and McCluskey (2007) discuss the benefits of increased monitoring of achievement and exclusion in exposing inequalities more starkly. At the same time, the introduction of a quasi-market with associated targets and league tables, competition between schools and a concern with public image, mean that Gypsies and Travellers can be seen as not contributing to marketability. In this respect we see a further example of contradictions in public policy between an emphasis on equality and inclusion alongside market-oriented reforms that encourage discrimination and exclusionary practices.

Overall these factors present a complex picture. The severe inequalities and discrimination experienced by Gypsy and Traveller children impede their participation and achievement throughout the education system. These experiences interact with

factors associated with the maintenance and protection of cultural identity in a context in which Gypsies and Travellers, individually and as a group, are systematically disempowered and devalued. Further research is needed in some of these areas to gain increased understanding.

This discussion has provided a very negative picture, although there are a range of positive developments (as will be explored below), including the efforts of Gypsies and Travellers to engage with education. While many are seeking to make use of opportunities, the evidence in this sub-section shows that these opportunities are often limited, conditional on non-recognition of cultural rights, or not available. The conditions for inclusion and equality are not provided.

Similar factors are evident in relation to barriers to further and adult education, although the research is much less developed in this area. The daily difficulties caused by insecure accommodation and being moved on, means adult education becomes impossible to access for some families. Nor can it be a priority when basic living conditions are unachievable (Hately-Broad, 2004, NIACE, 2006). The lack of relevance of much of the further education curriculum to many young Gypsies and Travellers has been widely commented on, not least in consultation responses to this review. The hostility and racism of the sedentary society leads to a lack of confidence in mainstream provision for young people and adults, compounded by poor childhood educational experiences and achievement that undermine confidence in educational provision and self-confidence as a learner.

 Hately-Broad (2004) and NIACE (2006) discussed other barriers that provide parallels with the situation in schools. These include inflexible curricula, the need for labour-intensive outreach methods and the perceived impact on education providers' targets. NIACE commented on the severe disadvantage of short-term, insecure funding that further undermines the possibility of building learners' confidence in the provision available.

Hately-Broad also reported findings that connect with Levinson's (2007) discussion of the relationship between literacy and cultural preservation and values. Assumptions that engaging with learners' particular areas of interest (for example, driving theory and 'nail art' in her study) would lead to further engagement with adult education, proved unfounded. Moreover, members of classes showed little interest in the accreditation they achieved and the certificates provided (Hately-Broad, 2004). However other commentators, including respondents to the consultation, have referred to the relevance of tailored approaches, with the particular example of

driving theory classes that are both popular and have the potential to provide a foundation for other activity (see section on community development in Chapter 7).

Addressing inequality

Detailed and helpful guidance on good practice is available in some of the studies and reports (Bhopal, 2000; DfES, 2003; DfES, 2005a; Derrington, 2005; Jordan, 2001c; O'Hanlon & Holmes, 2004). This section will summarise key issues in relation to schools and school management, distance learning projects, Gypsies' and Travellers' perceptions of education, the role of Traveller Education Services (TES), work with young people and adults in continuing education, and implications for national policy.

Schools hold the responsibility for promoting positive educational experiences and achievement for Gypsy, Traveller and Show pupils. A primary issue is a strong and coherent race equality policy that specifically includes Gypsies and Travellers and has well-developed strategies for tackling racism and racist bullying. In parallel with this is the need for a thorough and sensitive approach to ethnic monitoring, an area in which TESs often assist schools.

Committed school leadership is required to develop and maintain a school culture and ethos based on equality policies and a positive approach to valuing diversity (rather than a cultural deficit model). Bhopal (2000, p. 56) referred to the need for 'robust advocacy for the right of Gypsy Traveller pupils to be free from the damaging constraints of racial prejudice and discrimination' and the importance of a designated post at senior level for Gypsies and Travellers. Extending this point, Ofsted (2003) discussed the value of specific posts for championing the involvement and rights of Gypsy and Traveller communities, sometimes through additional funding from area regeneration programmes. These champions can build on the relationships and trust already established by schools and TESs with the communities, and promote involvement with a range of initiatives. The multi-disciplinary environment for all children's services is relevant here. Moreover, community development strategies are important in all public services (see section on community development in Chapter 7).

A corollary of the broader school ethos is the raising of teachers' expectations of their Gypsy and Traveller pupils, and effective and regular in-service training, in which again the work of TESs is central. A welcoming and appropriately structured induction for newly-arrived pupils at both primary and secondary level and the presence of a trusted adult provide important bridges between home and school (Bhopal, 2000; Derrington & Kendall, 2005; DfES, 2003; O'Hanlon & Holmes, 2004).

The transfer to secondary school is a stage that requires careful support and management. Ofsted (2003) and Derrington and Kendall (2005) discuss various strategies for close liaison between families and primary and secondary schools, the provision of induction packs and programmes, and dedicated liaison staff.

Many studies refer to the importance of the school's physical environment and of the curriculum reflecting positive images of Gypsy and Traveller cultures. TESs have played a major role in this respect. Further reflection on this issue is provided by Derrington and Kendall (2004), in that such input needs to build on consultation with Gypsy and Traveller children if it is not to be experienced as patronising and perhaps inaccurate. TESs and a range of other national and local bodies in the statutory, voluntary, community and academic sectors have worked with Gypsy and Traveller communities and pupils to produce culturally relevant resources (Friends Families and Travellers (FFT), 2008a; General Teaching Council for England, 2005). The Gypsy, Roma, Traveller History Month in June 2008 provided a focus for a range of activity supported by TESs in enabling Gypsy and Traveller children to explore and present aspects of their cultural history.

Flexibility of response to Gypsy and Traveller pupils is widely advocated. This involves both social and organisational issues, such as enabling siblings to be in a class together, at least initially (Save the Children, 2001). Flexibility of curriculum becomes of particular salience at secondary level when the divergence between home and school learning sharpens as young Gypsies and Travellers prepare for and enter adult economic and social roles. There is a developing array of initiatives to attract and maintain students' engagement at secondary level. These depend on greater flexibility in relation to the national curriculum, and often on joint working between education and other agencies such as Connexions or voluntary or community bodies. They can involve small groups of pupils in outdoor or craft activities, or packages of work linking home and college courses such as blacksmithing or gamekeeping (Ofsted, 2003; NAW, 2003). A local TES reported on growing success with the Early College Placement scheme involving such a mixture of school, college and work placement, which may also promote continued engagement in post-16 courses.

The development of positive home-school partnerships based on mutual respect is highlighted in many studies. Gypsy and Traveller parents need to feel involved in schools and to have trusting relationships with teachers so that problems can be raised and addressed. Schools also need to recognise the very real difficulties that parents may face, and to provide bridges into engagement (Bhopal, 2004; DfES, 2003; Derrington, 2005; Jordan, 2001c; NAW, 2003; O'Hanlon & Holmes, 2004).

Some schools, particularly at primary level, have developed informal drop-in sessions or adult education classes for parents that can assist in the development of confident relationships between school and home.

Another theme is the promotion of continuity in learning. Continued attendance at the same school despite evictions and other moves within a region can be maintained through facilitative transport arrangements (DfES, 2003). When students do travel away regularly, as is the case for many Fairground children, clear arrangements are needed for links between base schools and schools attended while pupils travel. Distance learning packs for Fairground children have been in operation for many years, provided by the base school and supported by TESs in the different locations visited by pupils.

Over the last decade, new technology has been increasingly used for supporting the continued learning of Gypsy and Traveller pupils in more engaging and imaginative ways. The E-Learning and Mobility Project (E-Lamp) has developed interactive learning approaches to support students' work with their distance learning packs (Marks, 2004). This method is now being developed to support excluded pupils too. Linking with Jordan's earlier studies (Jordan, 2001a, 2001b) and work in relation to Elective Home Education, this raises questions about the current policy approach, in which children who have withdrawn from school are the educational responsibility of the parents rather than of the state education system. TESs provide continuing support where possible, but children are not seen as having an entitlement to educational provision. Marks (2004), argues that access to education should not be equated with school attendance. A revised approach would include school-parental agreement about learning targets, which can be flexibly combined with individual attendance targets and appropriately supported by a range of education services.

While the earlier discussion referred to the anxieties felt by many parents and children about the education system in relation to physical, moral and cultural safety, many studies also comment on positive parental attitudes towards education and a growing recognition of its relevance for future economic security and continued economic resilience (Bhopal, 2004; Jordan, 2001a; Lloyd & McCluskey, 2007; Save the Children, 2001). These attitudes are balanced against negative experiences, but Bhopal (2004, p. 62) argues that positive aspirations, while not adequately met at present, nonetheless provide 'a clear window of opportunity for Gypsy Travellers, schools and policy makers to engage with each other on areas of newly emergent common ground. If this does not happen then new, harder and more complex challenges will need to be faced in future'.

The work of TESs has already been mentioned. There is general agreement about their very significant role in promoting educational inclusion and racial equality through their work with schools and with the communities. Their wide-ranging work includes outreach, advocacy, facilitation of access, promotion of communication and trust between schools and Gypsy and Traveller parents, curriculum development, in-school support, in-service training, and inter-agency liaison and development. Many TESs now employ members of the communities as liaison workers or teaching assistants allocated to schools, which greatly enhances the development of trust and understanding between schools and communities. There are tensions and obstacles to be negotiated, including ensuring that schools do not abdicate responsibility for their Gypsy and Traveller pupils, or for liaison with parents, to TESs (Bhopal, 2000; Ofsted, 2003; O'Hanlon & Holmes, 2004). Some TESs are underfunded and all TESs have experienced a series of changes to their funding regime in recent years. TESs remain of crucial importance in promoting education for Gypsies and Travellers and it is essential that they are adequately and securely funded.

Work with young people and adults in continuing education has been a neglected area in research, but a range of practice initiatives has developed. NIACE (2006) reviewed factors promoting engagement that are echoed in Hately-Broad's (2004) study. Recognition of the serious obstacles provided by accommodation and related issues underpins any approach. As in other service areas, outreach is seen as crucial, with particular benefits of employing outreach workers or mentors from the communities. Learning activity times and models need to be adapted to suit the working patterns and lifestyles of Gypsies and Travellers. This might include short programmes. For some learners, their home provides the most appropriate learning context, while for others or in other situations an informal neutral space can enable the opportunity to drop in and sample without commitment. Insecure funding undermines positive developments therefore more sustained funding streams are required.

Further support for 16 and 17 year olds to participate in education and training may result from the Education and Skills Act 2008. However during the prior progress of the Bill there was considerable concern about the imposition of a duty on 16 and 17 year-olds to participate in education or training, which could be further alienating for Gypsy and Traveller young people, if appropriate and flexible education and training provision is not offered. The Children's Rights Alliance (2008) had commented in relation to the possibility of criminal sanctions including fines that this would be 'a frustrating and alienating experience which can only be counterproductive. More seriously it may lead many into debt and crime'. (The plethora of discriminatory

routes into engagement with the criminal justice system for Gypsies and Travellers is discussed in Chapter 6.)

Overall the Government in England has given considerable attention to the education of Gypsies and Travellers, although Ofsted's clarion call in 2003, cited earlier, that 'the alarm bells rung in earlier reports have yet to be heeded', remains relevant in 2008. One of the findings to emerge from this discussion is that despite relevant policy guidance and the impressive development of good practice in a number of areas, other aspects of policy contradict these efforts. One of these is the internal market between schools, with its associated emphasis on league tables and public image. This needs to be significantly modified, even if not abandoned, so that equality and human rights values, inform perceptions and measures of quality at least as much as purely academic performance indicators.

Another issue also reflects a wider policy area in terms of citizens' contract with the state. In the current relationship between parents and the education system, school or college-based education is institutionalised as the norm, and does not cater for differences relating to Gypsies and Travellers, or other minority and marginalised groups such as sick or excluded children. A revised form of contract is required which posits shared responsibility within or outside school and provides resources to support learning in whatever context is the most viable for particular pupils.

Other equality and human rights issues

Racism has been a significant theme throughout this discussion, as a factor creating inequality and standing in the way of access and achievement at every level. In this context, as in others in this report, racism towards Gypsy and Traveller children and communities is stark and pervasive.

There have been some findings in relation to gender issues in both the quantitative and qualitative studies, although some of the latter involve relatively small samples about which caution is needed. The quantitative evidence is fairly clear that boys and men overall have even lower levels of educational achievement than girls and women, within a context where levels for both genders are shockingly low. Some qualitative studies have explored the impact of cultural expectations on both boys and girls (Derrington & Kendall, 2004; Levinson & Sparkes, 2003). The domestic and caring expectations for girls can create barriers for engagement in education or after-school activities (Derrington & Kendall, 2004; NAW, 2003). Conversely, educational involvement can be experienced as a positive alternative to domestic roles, as expressed by Trudi Maddocks from Pembrokeshire who gained a degree at

Carmarthen School of Art and returned to teach at Monkton Primary School: 'If it wasn't for this school I'd be home cleaning' (Travellers Times, 2006 (27), p. 9).

However, the negotiation of cultural boundaries and the management of cultural dissonance can pose very significant challenges for Gypsy and Traveller learners. There is evidence that for some girls, the education system represents a more attractive opportunity for individual aspiration than for boys, for whom cultural attributes unconnected with traditional educational achievement are more important. Levinson and Sparkes (2003) raise problematic issues about the relationship between cultural and gender identification among young Gypsy males and their non-affirming experiences within the school system, reinforcing educational exclusion. However, the overall drop-out rate in secondary education indicates that for many girls as well as boys, individual rights to education take second place. Even amongst their relatively settled sample, Derrington and Kendall (2004) found that more than half had dropped out by the end of Key Stage 3. Amongst those who attended school regularly throughout, there were no obvious trends relating to gender or attainment, although this remaining sample was just 10 students.

The human rights implications of the situation discussed in this section are serious. The right to education underpins many other areas of social and economic life, such that fundamental inequality within education maintains and reinforces a range of other inequalities. These inequalities, in turn – in relation to accommodation, health, discrimination, play and family life – are factors underpinning educational inequalities.

The non-implementation of children's and adults' rights to education is further compounded by non-implementation of the rights of minority cultural groups under the European Framework Convention, as well as under domestic racial equality legislation. Instead of conditions to 'maintain and develop their culture, and to preserve essential aspects of their identity' (article 5), Gypsy and Traveller children in school face the invidious choice of denying and hiding their identity, or experiencing bullying, racism and exclusion because of their identity. At secondary level, the pressures to hide their ethnic identification increase. Even within the broad outcomes of the Westminster Government's children's policy framework, Every Child Matters (DfES, 2004a), Gypsy and Traveller children are unable to stay safe in school or to enjoy and achieve.

Recommendations

i.   Adequate accommodation is needed for all Gypsies and Travellers to enable children to access education without forced disruption.

ii. Racism in the wider community needs to be addressed in order that schools can operate within a safe community context in providing education for Gypsy and Traveller children.

iii. Anti-racist policies, explicitly including Gypsies and Travellers, need to be firmly in place in all schools.

iv. Anti-bullying strategies need to be further developed in many schools to acknowledge and respond to name-calling as well as to more physical acts of bullying. The provocation that can underpin acts of retaliation by Gypsy and Traveller pupils needs to be investigated and actively addressed.

v. Ethnic monitoring needs to be continuously and sensitively developed. Consideration should be given to monitoring of non-ethnic Gypsy and Traveller groups who can experience similar levels of harassment and discrimination.

vi. All schools need to demonstrate and display a positive attitude to diversity and to Gypsy and Traveller cultures, but resources and displays must be developed in partnership with the communities and the children involved.

vii. Schools should have a named person for liaison with and support to Gypsy and Traveller children and parents. This role is likely to involve robust advocacy.

viii. The good work of some schools in developing partnerships with Gypsy and Traveller communities needs to be extended to all schools. Community schools may need to develop specific projects for involving Gypsy and Traveller parents in recognition of the barriers they face.

ix. Outreach remains crucial, and it is important for schools and education authorities to have a positive strategy for employing and supporting outreach workers and mentors from the communities.

x. Schools' contribution to community cohesion by advocating for the rights of, and promoting the educational equality of Gypsies and Travellers, should be included as part of 'added value' in performance targets.

xi. A policy shift is needed to move away from seeing children outside school as the sole responsibility of parents, and into more flexible and supportive agreements that can incorporate education in a range of settings.

xii. Secure funding arrangements for Traveller Education Services need to be maintained and enhanced, in recognition of the wide-ranging and essential work they undertake.

xiii. A much more sustained focus is needed on adult education provision for Gypsies and Travellers, with the establishment of secure funding streams. The development of work in this area by a range of community-based bodies needs to be further encouraged and supported.

xiv. Further research is needed on adult basic skills in Gypsy and Traveller communities and how these can be enhanced.

xv. Further research is needed in relation to the identification of and response to Special Educational Needs among Gypsy and Traveller children.

xvi. Research is needed on the experience of disabled Gypsy and Traveller children in the education system and the support which they are able to access.

xvii. Further research, in partnership with the communities themselves, is indicated on the interaction between the efforts of marginalised Gypsy and Traveller communities to maintain their cultural identity in the face of a hostile and rejecting society, and the engagement and achievement of individual children and adults in education provision.

4.2 Early years and play

The policy context

The overarching framework for all policy and provision for children in England and Wales is 'Every Child Matters' (Department for Education and Skills (DfES), 2004a), with five aims for each child of being healthy, staying safe, enjoying and achieving, making a positive contribution and achieving economic wellbeing. There is an emphasis on integrated multi-disciplinary working involving education, health, family support and the voluntary and independent sectors, represented in Children's Trusts as established in the Children Act 2004. In Scotland, the consultation paper 'Getting it right for every child' (Scottish Executive, 2006) put similar emphasis on holistic outcomes and integrated working with children, families and communities.

Children's development in their early years needs to be understood as dependent on positive influences in all aspects of the child's world (Aldgate, 2006). There is a statutory framework for the early years foundation stage in England and Wales, whose key principles are that each child is unique, that positive relationships and an enabling environment underpin children's learning, that they learn in different ways and at different rates, and that all learning is interconnected (Department for Children Schools and Families (DCSF), 2007a). Associated practice guidance provides detailed suggestions for the implementation of these principles (DCSF, 2007b). The section on meeting children's diverse needs emphasises that this requires the promotion of positive attitudes to diversity and difference, ensuring all children and parents feel included, safe and valued, are treated respectfully and not discriminated against, and that the needs of children from ethnic minority groups are planned for (DCSF, 2007b, p. 6). More specifically, the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) highlighted the importance of early years opportunities for Gypsies and Travellers: 'the most effective way to promote the achievement of Gypsy Traveller children is to ensure they are able to gain early access to education during the foundation stage' (DfES, 2005b, p. 2).

From 1999, DfES provided designated funding, for which Traveller Education Services in England and Wales could bid, to provide enhanced early years work with Gypsy and Traveller children (Save the Children, 2007). In England, the Sure Start programme worked through community and multi-professional partnerships to promote enhanced outcomes for children aged 0-4 in disadvantaged areas, although the geographical base of the programmes did not necessarily include Gypsy and Traveller sites (Cemlyn et al, 2002; Mason et al, 2006). Where the Sure Start area did include Gypsy and Traveller communities, local programmes frequently

recognised the need to reach out to Gypsy and Traveller families, and fruitful partnerships were built with TESs (DfES, 2003; O'Hanlon & Holmes, 2004).

More recently, Sure Start Children's Centres are being established more widely with the aim of providing services for children under five and their families, which integrate education, care, family support, health services, and support with employment and information (DCSF, 2008f). This provides enhanced possibilities for partnerships to develop between TESs and Sure Start Children's Centres, as is happening in some areas, although nationally, there is variability in the availability, experience and qualifications of TES early years workers (Save the Children, 2007). In Wales, Sure Start was amalgamated in 2003 with the Children and Youth Partnership Fund and the Childcare Strategy, resulting in a unified fund, Cymorth, the Children and Youth Support Fund. This also aims to provide integrated support across different policy areas for disadvantaged children and families (Welsh Assembly Government (WAG), 2008a).

Experiences in Gypsy and Traveller communities

Gypsy and Traveller children enjoy and learn greatly from: close and supportive family relationships; a culture in which children are highly valued, and in which they are involved as members of the community in a range of activities that provide opportunities for learning. The separation between adults' and children's worlds is considerably less in many respects than in sedentary communities (Dean, 2007; Save the Children, 2007). Nevertheless, O'Hanlon and Holmes (2004) draw attention to the loss of extended family for many young families because they can no longer be accommodated together. Places are not available on many local authority sites for children when they marry and start their own families, and they have to move away, camp on the roadside or attempt to move into housing where they are more isolated (London Gypsy and Traveller Unit (LGTU), 2001).

Gypsy and Traveller children remain severely disadvantaged at all ages. Cemlyn and Clark (2005) reviewed the evidence about social exclusion affecting Gypsy and Traveller children and reported inequalities and experiences of discrimination across a range of policy areas including accommodation, economic exclusion, education, health and social work – as documented in other sections of this study.

These inequalities affect young children in specific ways. Play is crucial to children's development, but Gypsy and Traveller children are often deprived of adequate play opportunities. There is a lack of safe play facilities on roadside sites and indeed, they can be exposed to extreme danger from passing traffic or from pollutants, as well as from vigilante attack (Warrington, 2006). Public sites can also be situated in

dangerous environments close to major roads or motorways, and with minimal or non-existent facilities for children (Van Cleemput, 2000). Such sites are often remote from public provision of playgrounds or other play facilities, and public transport can be almost non-existent (Mason et al, 2006; Mason & Broughton, 2007; Greenfields et al, 2007; Ofsted, 2001; Warrington, 2006).

For children whose families are subject to constant eviction, the situation is even worse. The disruption, instability, stress, and highly problematic conditions in which families have to live, not only drastically restrict play and learning opportunities and parents' ability to support their children in making use of these opportunities, but they prevent any consistent early years service being provided. Moreover, the frightening and traumatic experience of eviction itself, constantly repeated, has a strong impact on children, but the longer-term consequences of this have not been researched (Cemlyn, 2000a; Warrington, 2006).

Access to early years provision such as playgroups and nurseries is prevented by enforced mobility, restricted by the remoteness of some sites and inaccessibility of public transport, and undermined by cultural barriers – as explored in other sections of this report. Families' strong desire to protect their children will mean that any provision that is not welcoming and supportive, or is located within a village or area where families have experienced hostile attitudes, as is so frequently the case (Cemlyn & Clark, 2005; Warrington, 2006), will be effectively inaccessible. National data relating to participation in early years provision by Gypsy and Traveller children is not readily available. Ofsted (1996) put their participation rate at 20 per cent, and this figure is still referred to by more recent sources (O'Hanlon & Holmes, 2004; and anecdotally by Traveller Education Services (TESs).

Children's rights to protection, care, opportunities for development, educational experiences and cultural identity are expressed both in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and in domestic legislation. There is a long way to go in ensuring equal rights for Gypsy and Traveller children. The broader policy context of discrimination and exclusion continues to undermine these rights.

Addressing inequality

There have been developments in work with young Gypsy and Traveller children through TES, Sure Start local programmes and subsequently Children's Centres, and voluntary projects. DfES (2005b) commented that TES advisory teachers visit children soon after their third birthday to encourage the take-up of places in foundation stage settings. The trust that can be developed between families and TES, and local schools if there are older children in the family, are positive factors

influencing take-up. If children's families are themselves, isolated from extended families and lack information and understanding of school environments, TES can provide particular support to assist the transition to school.

Outreach work by TES and partner agencies can assist families in accessing established foundation settings, helping them overcome practical, informational and cultural barriers. It can also deliver services directly to children and families and provide specifically tailored services (Save the Children, 2007). Work may take place in a variety of settings including family homes, site cabins and community venues. Best practice in this area helps to deliver the policy aspirations of the early years foundation standards through flexible, creative, partnership-based approaches that build on a validating and respectful relationship with the child and family and their cultural experiences and environment, celebrate the child's achievements, empower parents, and provide links to other services. These outreach services provide a range of portable resources such as playboxes and story sacks that families can use at home between sessions. Playbus projects have also been engaged for many years in providing play opportunities on an outreach basis to children and families in isolated and disadvantaged sites, and are equally engaged in active partnerships with TES, local projects and Sure Start schemes. Save the Children (2007) and the National Playbus Association (undated) provide detailed discussion and guidance relating to early years work with Gypsies and Travellers.

Little specific research relates to disability and early years in relation to Gypsies and Travellers, but Save the Children (2007) refers to the importance of early diagnosis of specific learning difficulties and how early years provision can assist this process (Save the Children, 2007), thus enabling appropriate provision to be made to enhance children's subsequent learning.

Recommendations

i.   Suitable accommodation is needed for all Gypsies and Travellers to enable young children to have equal access to early years provision.

ii. TESs should be resourced to work consistently with early years children.

iii. Mainstream settings should provide culturally appropriate resources that include Gypsy and Traveller children.

iv. The very significant contribution of early years workers from Gypsy and Traveller communities needs to be further supported and developed.

v.   Training should be provided for all early years workers in mainstream settings and, wherever possible, members of Gypsy and Traveller communities should be centrally involved in delivering this training.

vi. The impact of repeated and often violent eviction on young children's development needs to be investigated.

vii. There is a need for a more accurate picture of the extent of Gypsy and Traveller children's involvement in foundation settings, and the nature of their experience in those settings.

4.3   Children's experiences and leisure, play and youth provision

Policy context

The Children's Fund, Connexions, Youth Service and voluntary agencies are all involved in provision for children and young people. The Children's Fund, launched in November 2000 in every local authority area in England, was aimed at tackling disadvantage and risk of social exclusion among children and young people aged 5-13, providing a responsive approach to service development. Its main principles were to provide preventative services for children and their families, to work through multi-agency partnerships, and to ensure the active participation of children and young people in the design, operation and evaluation of the programme, which accords with the participation principles of articles 12, 13 and 14 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. From April 2008, the Children's Fund was mainstreamed into Children's Trusts. Gypsy and Traveller children were the focus of some projects, although the related literature-base is slim.

Connexions supports young people aged 13-19 to access appropriate support, particularly towards employment, further or higher education, and brings together different youth support services in Connexions Partnerships. In relation to the Youth Service, in 2007 the Westminster Government published the last strand in their policy review relating to children and young people, a 'Ten Year Strategy for Positive Activities' (HM Treasury, 2007). In March 2008, the implementation plan was published (Department for Children Schools and Families (DCSF), 2008g, National Youth Agency (NYA), 2008a). This focuses on: young people's participation in shaping activities; engaging the most marginalised young people; bridging the gap between young people and their communities; increasing the quantity and quality of opportunities; and ensuring Children's Trusts recognise and respond to the specific needs of young people. There is a notable emphasis on young people becoming involved in decision-making about relevant budgets and developing influence in their community.

These are laudable aims, although the gap between them and important aspects of many young Travellers' lives is very wide (in one respect, the gap may be narrower than for some other groups of young people: in relation to integration in their own communities, as opposed to the wider community). A national conference in 2007 launched the UK-wide 'All Different All Equal' campaign, bringing together involved organisations and projects, promoting young people's active contribution in project and strategy development, and making recommendations for the continuation of the campaign. Of seven recommendations, the final one was 'Attention through the

campaign should be given to key groups that face discrimination e.g. gypsies [sic]' (NYA, 2007, p. 11). This recognition was undoubtedly due to the contribution of Blue Jones, a 13 year-old Romany Irish Gypsy from Kent, who is involved with his local Youth Council and the Kent Youth Parliament and who addressed the conference (NYA, 2007, p. 15).

Youth and community workers are often, but not invariably, professionally qualified. The National Youth Agency accredits English courses, while the Education and Training Standards Advisory Group in Wales, and Community Education Validation and Endorsement in Scotland perform this function. However, the Professional and National Occupational Standards for Youth Work (NYA, 2008b) apply across the UK, focusing on promoting learning and development, and on facilitating young people's involvement in designing and evaluating youth work activities in self-exploration and self-representation, as well as a range of requirements in relation to information, safety, well-being and equality.

The experiences of Gypsy and Traveller children

This discussion summarises the findings about the wide-ranging inequalities and social exclusion experienced by Gypsy and Traveller children and young people, often evidenced by powerful accounts from the young people themselves. These young people are extremely disadvantaged in relation to the policy aspirations outlined above. Findings relating specifically to unequal access to play and youth service provision are discussed subsequently.

Hester (2004) undertook a review of services for Gypsy and Traveller children for the National Evaluation of the Children's Fund, focusing particularly on education and health. Hester noted extensive inequality, disadvantage, racism and bullying. In their review of the social exclusion of Gypsy and Traveller children, Cemlyn and Clark (2005) discussed spatialised forms of poverty experienced by Gypsies and Travellers and their frequent invisibility in policy areas where other ethnic minority groups are more likely to have their voices heard. These experiences constitute widespread discrimination and a denial of human rights. However, Cemlyn and Clark also noted the involvement of Gypsy and Traveller communities, and young people in particular, in promoting their rights and celebrating the culture of their communities.

A small number of published studies actively involved young people in different ways in exploring their lives, identities and experiences (Lloyd et al, 2005; NAW, 2003; Save the Children Scotland, 2007; Smith, 2004; Ureche & Franks, 2007; Warrington, 2006). The strongest and most pervasive finding was in relation to the racism experienced by young people in school, in the street, in shops and on sites,

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especially unauthorised sites. This included violent threats and attacks. Housed young people in Cambridgeshire felt most exposed to racism from neighbours (Warrington, 2006). In Scotland, 92 per cent of young people interviewed had experienced discrimination, whether living in housing or on sites, and 45 per cent said that it had got worse in the last three years. They experienced it in the street, school, shops, media and leisure venues (Save the Children Scotland, 2005). Young people in Wales reported similarly widespread experiences (NAW, 2003).

Racism was experienced not just from the public but from people in authority, including the police (Lloyd et al, 2005; Ureche & Franks, 2007). The Welsh young people revealed a possible gender difference, as girls and young women seemed to be picked on by other children and by boys, while boys and young men experienced more harassment from teachers and the police (NAW, 2003). There is strong evidence that Gypsy and Traveller young people are more vulnerable to racism in some respects than even their adult counterparts, as they experience it both from their peers and from adults in the sedentary community. The power differential between children and adults adds a further dimension and makes it harder for them to challenge racism from adults (Warrington, 2006).

Different strategies were used by young people in response. Although the young people from Romany Gypsy and Irish Traveller backgrounds in the studies almost universally had a strong sense of their own cultural identity and pride in this identity, one strategy was to hide their identity to avoid racism. Other strategies were to avoid situations where it could arise, to make light of its importance, to report it to those in authority or to retaliate (Warrington, 2006). Reporting often met an unsatisfactory response; retaliating could sometimes achieve the result of stopping the harassment, while at other times it led to the Gypsy or Traveller young person themselves being blamed for the exchange.

Warrington (2006) found a tremendous enthusiasm for learning and a strong desire among many to be able to mix more with non-Traveller peers, but also a range of barriers to relevant opportunities, including fear of racism, enforced mobility and having to negotiate different cultural worlds. Mason et al (2006) also highlighted a range of barriers preventing Gypsy and Traveller children from accessing play and leisure activities, including the physical isolation of sites, lack of transport, material deprivation particularly in larger families, lack of parental time, literacy issues, experiences of racism and parents' fear of exposing children to racism, and the lack of engagement of existing provision in reaching out to their communities. Housed families could be isolated by lack of inclusion in their community's networks.

Lack of safety and security was a common experience in Warrington's study in relation to accommodation. Distressing experiences of eviction and the damage of living with the threat of eviction featured throughout the study process. The Children's Society consultation response also drew on their own research and practice to highlight the frightening and damaging impact of eviction on children. An earlier participation project with young people had involved a board game about their 'dream site', but reference to eviction had to be removed from this because of the distress caused to the children (Children's Participation Project, 1998). The most frightening and brutal evictions, involved private bailiff companies. Greenfields (2006) also discussed brutal evictions and the impact of traumatic or repeated evictions on children in terms of long-term emotional and psychological damage. The Children's Society consultation response expressed concern that there is no-one on site during these evictions for Travellers to negotiate with and there are no safeguards to protect the children's welfare. This issue will be considered further in the section on social work.

Ureche and Franks (2007) included a small group of New Travellers in their study and found particular issues in relation to isolation, lack of structure and stability and hence very limited opportunities to access other services or support, or indeed other young people. There is evidence that some were young carers, but without access even to the limited support available to other young carers. Smith (2004) also found some very vulnerable isolated New Traveller families with minimal family support. Young people were living 'chaotic' lives, moving not only between sites and other accommodation but between carers, with irregular access to school and friendships. She recommended designated youth work provision with mobile outreach facilities and enhanced interagency coordination, including a Traveller lead officer in all agencies. Ureche and Franks (2007, p. 22) conclude that outcomes for these young people are the 'most precarious', that they experience similar discrimination to other Gypsies and Travellers but without the community support and historical coping mechanisms.

Provision for children and young people

The section reviews the limited evidence about the provision of play, leisure and youth services intended to counteract exclusion.

One Children's Fund project was run by a local TES, with the aim of promoting mainstream education and providing out-of-school learning experiences for children at risk of social exclusion. A qualitative evaluation was undertaken early in the life of the project, and was mainly intended to assist the development of the project, exploring processes and barriers involved in social and educational exclusion (Dean,

2007). The young people themselves used photography to illustrate aspects of their lives and environment that were important to them. This was followed by discussion and making photo albums, both within family homes on-site, and in a 'buddy club' at school that included both Traveller and non-Traveller pupils. Building on interests identified by the children, the project was then developed to include sessions on motorbike mechanics for boys and transport to local dance classes for girls.

However, the project also focused on examining processes of participation, and on inter-cultural and child-adult dynamics. The children were readier to share experience and perceptions within their own territory of the trailer, supported by parents, than in the school environment. The work in a family setting illustrated: how central the family and community are to the lives of Gypsy and Traveller children; how travelling patterns affected school attendance; worries about being culturally isolated and bullied at school; and concerns within a Pentecostal family about boys and girls mixing at secondary school age. The study had initially been based on individual children having the opportunity to record and share their perceptions of the world, and to identify their own needs to inform service provision. This individual focus however, did not take account of the way individual Gypsy and Traveller children's perceptions and experiences are interwoven with family and community. The study therefore echoed other findings about cultural exclusion and inequality, and how a lack of attention to cultural differences creates further barriers to educational attendance and achievement.

The importance of building on cultural preferences and strengths, rather than imposing solutions, was demonstrated in an evaluation of Children's Fund programmes (Mason et al, 2006; Mason & Broughton, 2007). In this instance, a unique regional consortium of the Children's Fund worked with Gypsies and Travellers to develop appropriate provision. However, development was slow and problematic: 6 out of 14 regional partnerships joined, and three left after the first year. Each Children's Fund programme was coterminous with a top-tier local authority and therefore covered a wide area, with Gypsy and Traveller groups widely dispersed within them. Just three Development Officers were employed, each working across two Children's Fund areas. They found a very high need for access to play and leisure activities: given the dispersed and under-resourced nature of their work, this aspect dominated, alongside some support to parents. The objective of promoting change in mainstream services was minimally developed. Strategy was replaced by immediate responses to children's needs, although an amended service in the second year sought to provide more opportunities for parents and children to participate in evaluation and planning for the future. The study concluded that a

greater development focus is needed, involving work with existing networks in Gypsy and Traveller communities and developing new networks involving those communities and service providers, thus enhancing 'bridging and linking' social capital (Mason & Broughton, 2007). (These key aspects of community development are discussed further in Chapter 7, and link with the empowerment of communities and working in partnership with those communities to design solutions.)

The issue of assimilation in the context of tackling social exclusion is discussed both by Mason et al (2006) and in Hester's (2004) review of services for Gypsy and Traveller children for the Children's Fund. Hester argued that 'within the context of this particular group, who have experienced such extremes of persecution in the past, it is by no means a simple matter of opening doors or providing resources. In other words there may be specific areas where efforts to 'increase' social inclusion are not helpful, particularly when these may be seen as insensitive attempts at assimilation' (Hester 2004, p. 49). The extent to which the aim of integrating Gypsy and Traveller children in mainstream services may be at risk of promoting assimilation and undermining their culture, rather than tackling discrimination and prejudice, was previously analysed in relation to education (Clark, 1997; Okely, 1997), and is a theme in other service areas, for example, social work (see Chapter 5).

Cultural issues also arise in relation to play. For instance, Levinson (2005) noted some cultural limitations on play, for example, girls' early involvement in domestic tasks and learning, which precludes time for play, although he also highlighted their pride in adult responsibilities. However, he questioned a range of assumptions that Gypsy and Traveller children are unable to play or are destructive in their play, which can lead to a deficit view of cultures and may underpin remedial measures to promote assimilation. Gypsy and Traveller children are more integrated in the adult world than their sedentary counterparts, and play may be through manipulating real objects rather than toys. Broken toys may be the result of imitating adult behaviour such as scrap-breaking. There can also be different attitudes to use of inside and outside space. Gypsy and Traveller children's behaviour in the school playground might be seen as either wild or as segregating themselves. Additionally, their full role in adult community life affects their approach to all adults. As noted earlier, Gypsy and Traveller children's more direct approach to adults in authority can meet mixed responses (Derrington, 2005). Levinson (2005) argued that the children's approach to play and their wider behaviour in school settings may be a means of maintaining cultural identity in a context where other traditional identity markers are threatened. He also suggested that divergent views about the purposes and meaning of play need further investigation. Dean (2007) similarly pointed to stark differences in

relation to cultural and physical environments, attitudes and aspirations between school and Traveller sites.

The research literature on youth work is even slimmer, although agency documentation and responses to the consultation from specialist agencies show that positive work is being undertaken. One study on the Youth Service response to young Gypsies and Travellers had a very low response rate (Beddows, 2000). Those who replied gave very low numbers of Gypsies and Travellers using their service. Some positives such as cultural sensitivity and culturally valued techniques like drama, music and art were referred to, but barriers to appropriate service provision included shortage of funding, community hostility and resultant lack of political will to fund a service. In responding to this consultation, Save the Children Scotland considered, similarly, that very few young Scottish Gypsy / Travellers engaged with mainstream statutory or voluntary provision, as was echoed by Devon Racial Equality Council. However, a few other consultation responses, other media and anecdotal knowledge indicate some positive developments, as discussed in the next section on promoting equality.

Addressing inequality

There is evidence of excellent specialist work undertaken by Gypsy and Traveller young people in partnership with voluntary and education projects, sometimes in published work but increasingly reflected in young people's own presentations through video and digital films, art, photography and web-based media. The National Playbus has taken an active role in working with Gypsies and Travellers for many years (National Playbus Association, undated). Cemlyn (1997) discussed work by the London Gypsy and Traveller Unit (LGTU, 2001) that negotiated cultural boundaries to provide a space in separate gender groups for young Irish Travellers to explore and develop aspects of their personal and cultural identity. Kiddle (1996, 1999) reported on work by young people from the Gypsy and Traveller communities in developing photographic exhibitions to present their own cultural images, and young Showpeople presenting detailed technical drawings, photographs and histories of family rides. Photography was also used by children in Dean's (2007) Children's Fund evaluation. Ridge (2003) described the powerful use of cartoons by young people to explore and challenge racism. LGTU, Save the Children Scotland and other specialist projects have supported young people in producing films, posters, plays and exhibitions. Use of the internet is being increasingly developed as a powerful medium for young people to exchange and develop views. The potential loss of the Save the Children Scotland project announced at the end of 2008 is

extremely concerning for the future of this development and participation work in Scotland.

The consultations identified two Youth Service projects working with Gypsy and Traveller young people. In one case, a project was located near a site. The other involved a mobile bus project that worked on a site, based on experience that Gypsy and Traveller young people did not go to youth clubs. (The issue of integration versus separate provision will be discussed further in the chapter on community cohesion and community development.) The consultation responses reported partnership-working between: different voluntary projects, for example, an anti-racism group and a specialist group working with older teenagers not in employment or education; TES, Youth Service and Connexions; and between a statutory specialist Gypsy and Traveller team, Connexions and a voluntary groupwork project. A review sponsored by the Children's Workforce Development Council is currently investigating approaches to working with children, young people and families from the Gypsy, Traveller and Showpeople communities to explore findings on best practice and information, support and training needs for staff (National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER), 2008).

Recommendations

i. Inequalities relating to accommodation need to be addressed in order to reduce other aspects of exclusion experienced by children and young people.

ii. The racism experienced by young Gypsies and Travellers needs to be tackled at every level, and active support provided to them so that they feel safer to report it.

iii. Young Gypsies and Travellers need greatly extended opportunities to learn about, explore and develop their own heritage and culture and to share this on their own terms with the wider community.

iv. Play and youth facilities should actively seek ways to make themselves accessible and valuable to young Gypsies and Travellers.

v. Specialist and outreach provision should be available where the barriers to inclusion are currently too great.

vi. Key organisations nationally and locally, such as the National Youth Agency and local play associations, should provide leadership in developing inclusive policies and practice. The National Playbus Association and more specialist local projects provide examples of such leadership.

vii.   Further research and understanding is needed of the different meanings of play in Gypsy, Traveller and sedentary communities.

viii.   Research is needed into the different meanings of community and the individual's role in Gypsy, Traveller and sedentary communities.

ix.   The needs of young disabled or gay, lesbian and bi-sexual Gypsies and Travellers, about which information is currently lacking, require investigation.

x.   Further research is needed into the exclusion of young Gypsies and Travellers from play and youth service opportunities in all three countries.

xi.   Further research is also needed into best practice in work with young Gypsies and Travellers, so that lessons can be learnt.

5. SOCIAL WORK AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

5.1 Social Work

The policy context

Social work now takes place in multiple settings across the three countries. In the statutory sector in England, child care social work is frequently located in Children's Services Departments alongside education and youth services. Adult social work with older and disabled people is organised within separate adult social services, sometimes co-located with other departments such as housing or environmental health. Increasingly multi-disciplinary teams involving a range of social and health professionals work collaboratively with people with mental health issues and people with learning difficulties. Social work activities also take place in the voluntary sector, particularly in large childcare organisations but also in a range of smaller projects.

Social work is framed by a wide range of legislation. Public and private law relating to children was brought together in England and Wales in the Children Act 1989 and similarly in the Children (Scotland) Act 1995. In 2000, the Government in England introduced a holistic framework for the assessment of children in need and their families that incorporates the child's developmental needs, parenting capacity, and wider family and environmental factors in an 'assessment triangle' (Department of Health (DH), 2000). Although there has been criticism of the limited attention to structural and environmental factors in this framework and the accompanying guidance (Gill & Jack, 2003), in theory it should enable social workers to include the significant social disadvantages experienced by many Gypsy and Traveller families.

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) underpins some aspects of the Children Act 1989 for example, articles 3 and 12 of the UNCRC concerning the centrality of the child's interests and the child's right to have their views taken into account. The provision of culturally appropriate services for Gypsy and Traveller children is also mandated by article 30 of the UNCRC concerning a child's right to enjoy his or her own culture. There are also specific provisions within the Children Act 1989 in relation to promoting racial, religious and cultural equality. Section 22(5) provides that decisions concerning children being looked after by a local authority shall 'take into account the child's religion, racial origin and their cultural and linguistic background'. This is significant in view of the finding, discussed below, that very limited development of fostering services has been undertaken within Gypsy and Traveller communities.

The Victoria Climbie inquiry (Laming, 2003) led to a reorganisation of children's services and child protection in England and Wales under the Children Act 2004, with the establishment of multi-agency Children's Trusts. Child Protection Committees have been replaced by multi-agency Local Safeguarding Children Boards. An Information Sharing (IS) Index has been developed on which all children will be registered in England (Every Child Matters, 2005). In parallel, a Common Assessment Framework has been established as a standardised approach to assessing a child's additional needs and strengths across services, and 'a key part of delivering frontline services that are integrated and focused around the needs of children and young people' (Every Child Matters, 2006). Nonetheless, there has been considerable disquiet about both the civil liberties implications of the index and its effectiveness in preventing future child deaths. It is argued that risk to children has become redefined in terms of risk of criminality, school failure or social exclusion, rather than child protection (Action on Rights for Children (ARCH), 2008).

Key legislation in social care and social work with adults in England is the National Health Service and Community Care Act (NHSCCA) 1990, and the Mental Health Act 1983. There is a duty under the NHSCCA to assess adults who might need services and to provide services in accordance with Fair Access to Care criteria. However, resource constraints mean that many local authorities are only providing services for those with 'substantial' or 'critical' needs. Carers are also entitled to assessments under the Carers (Recognition and Services) Act 1995, with the duty to make provision for carers' needs included in the Carers and Disabled Children Act 2000, further extended by the Carers (Equal Opportunities) Act 2004. Since the Community Care (Direct Payments) Act 1996 and Health and Social Care Act 2001, there has been provision for service users to manage their own budgets and arrangements for care services, although numerous difficulties remain in implementation (Priestley et al, 2006).

Social workers have to conform to Codes of Practice and National Occupations Standards that require them to respect rights and diversity and not discriminate, but that also acknowledge the balance of care and control intrinsic to statutory social work (General Social Care Council (GSCC), 2008; TOPPS UK Partnership, 2002). Most social work training, places considerable emphasis on anti-oppressive practice and reflective practice (Fook, 2002; Thompson, 2006). Human rights practice is also beginning to be more clearly articulated (Ife, 2001). However, the organisational and managerial context of social work can restrict social workers' professional autonomy in favour of meeting specific targets and budget requirements (Lymbery & Butler, 2004). Social work therefore, has to manage a number of conflicting perspectives.

Social work provision

This discussion will consider social services policy towards: Gypsies and Travellers; the relationships between Gypsies and Travellers and social work services; barriers to access and the need for culturally appropriate service provision; and evidence about discriminatory responses. It will also consider the interaction with the broader policy context in terms of enforcement relating to unauthorised camping or developments, and the relationship between service provision and surveillance.

Social work is specifically geared towards those who are having difficulties managing their lives. Although family support systems are highly significant for Gypsies and Travellers (Cemlyn, 2000a), Gypsies and Travellers and their families who are having difficulties may be even more vulnerable than some other groups because of the wide-ranging inequalities they face. In addition, social work seeks to support people to interact more effectively within their environment: the social, economic, cultural and political character of that environment and the power relationships involved are, or it can be argued should be, also a focus of social work.

There are limited quantitative data about the extent of social work service provision for Gypsies and Travellers. This partly derives from the absence of ethnic monitoring in relation to Gypsies and Travellers (Cemlyn, 2000a). Writing in a Scottish context, Morran (2002, pp. 341-2) reported practitioners' experience that Gypsy / Travellers living on sites were under-represented as service users, whereas those living in houses were 'definitely over-represented'.

Some findings relate to organisational policy responses and service provision. In an English study of social services' policy and provision for Traveller children and families undertaken in the late 1990s, Cemlyn (2000a, 2000b) found that only three of the social services departments that responded to a questionnaire, or four per cent of the sample, had specific policies relating to Gypsies and Travellers. Of these, two related to implementation of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act, which introduced increased powers of eviction but with mitigating guidance to assess the needs of children and families under welfare and education legislation. In a later survey of social services' work with Irish people in England and Wales, Garrett (2004a) specifically asked if services were provided for Irish Travellers: 27 departments, or 42 per cent of the sample, replied affirmatively, although there was no detail of the type of services provided. A subsequent question about provision of innovative projects relating to Irish Travellers only attracted three positive responses, from four per cent of the sample. Moreover, Garrett (2004a) found, as had Cemlyn (2000a) previously, that assessment of need was generally linked to corporate enforcement policies in relation to eviction.

There is evidence of considerable lack of contact and trust between social services and Gypsies and Travellers in relation to Irish, Romany and New Travellers (Cemlyn, 2000a, 2000b, 2006a), New Travellers (Greenfields, 2002, 2006, 2008a) and Irish Travellers (Power, 2004). Suspicion of social services by families is based on the fear of children being removed. This has historical roots in relation to the removal of children in Britain and other European countries to 'educate' them away from their culture (Cemlyn & Briskman, 2002; Vanderbeck, 2005). Such practices were not only deeply damaging for individuals and families but a threat to the cultural survival of the group. Because of the lack of non-crisis engagement between social services and Gypsy and Traveller communities, the more recent removal of children in child protection cases (though infrequent), can also cause further damage to relationships between children's social services and the communities (Cemlyn, 2000b). Communities' distrust was matched by social workers' fears about engaging with Gypsies and Travellers, based on stereotypical misunderstandings and ignorance of cultural issues.

The barriers to access posed by mainstream systems in relation to a nomadic or semi-nomadic population, and the severe problems caused by repeated evictions, apply to social work as to other services. Referral processes and bureaucratic obstacles can mean that families have moved on before a response is instituted (Cemlyn, 2000b; Power, 2004). A lack of understanding of literacy issues also leads to inaccessible information and a lack of understanding of social work services: when families do not attend appointments as a result of literacy problems, they are sometimes seen as uncooperative (Greenfields, 2006).

One study noted the damage caused to already vulnerable young people by a lack of culturally appropriate responses and services (Cemlyn, 2000b). It found minimal evidence that any culturally appropriate fostering services had been developed through active partnership work with Gypsy and Traveller communities. As a result, those Gypsy and Traveller children who did need care outside their families were generally placed outside their culture and cut off from both community networks and support in relation to their cultural identity. Father Barry's consultation response in relation to Traveller women in prison noted, similarly, that 'there is evidence that if a decision is made to have a Traveller child adopted if the parents are in prison, then no effort is made to find a Traveller family to adopt them - quite contrary to the normal practice of trying to find a family best suited to a child's cultural background'.

Social workers in Cemlyn's (2000a) study identified the issue of cultural differences about age-appropriate activities as one that potentially caused conflict and difficulty in relationships between Gypsies and Travellers and social services, as young people's

involvement in valued cultural learning and responsibilities may clash with mainstream understandings of risk. Gypsy and Traveller young people develop economic and caring capacities and responsibilities at a younger age than many of their sedentary counterparts, but non-Traveller professionals or members of the public may view such activities as potentially dangerous or insufficiently supervised by adults. Although there is no direct evidence for this review, this difference may contribute to some of the hostile responses that Gypsies and Travellers, especially those in housing, can experience from the public in relation to child care. Different theoretical perspectives can conflict, for instance: if an emphasis on children's rights is individualised and taken out of cultural context; if feminism contributes to cultural oppression by primarily linking Traveller cultures with gender oppression (Crickley, 1992); and if an anthropological perspective prioritises particular aspects of culture (Cemlyn, 2000a). Threading through these debates is the relationship between a majority dominant culture and an undervalued minority one.

There is also evidence of more direct discrimination within social work services, based on perceptions of nomadism. Greenfields (2002) explored engagement with family law processes by New Travellers who were separated from a child's other parent. She found a disproportionate level of 'prohibited steps' orders, which specified that the child should reside with the parent in a house, leading to enforced settlement. In subsequent work involving supporting families from Gypsy and Traveller groups involved in court proceedings, she found evidence of discriminatory social services attitudes towards Gypsy and Traveller culture, resulting in some damaging decisions. In one case, a child was placed with sedentary relatives as a result of misunderstandings and concerns by social workers that residence on an authorised private site would lead to instability of accommodation. In this case the children were subsequently removed from the maternal (non-Gypsy) relatives following neglect and the death of the youngest child in circumstances which may have been related to substance use by the mother. In another case, social services refused to provide support when a 14 year-old girl, whose mother had recently died, began to stay away from home overnight with unknown people. Her father and older sister sought advice from social services after being advised to do so by her school, and assistance was refused on the grounds that 'X is a Traveller, of course they will get up and go - she'll come back some time' (Greenfields, 2006, pp. 147-8).

A case study of young homeless Irish Travellers found that social services' response to a child protection referral from a voluntary agency took no account of the young people's situation and only offered engagement on the department's own terms: what the author referred to as 'institutional blindness' (Power, 2004, p. 52). Garrett (2004a, 2005a) found strong evidence of racism towards Irish Travellers, which

'appears to combine a culturally embedded anti-Irish racism with a more pervasive antipathy towards the unsettled, strangers and migrant populations' (Garrett, 2000a, p. 138). Instances were cited where social workers explicitly advocated the 'breaking' of Traveller culture.

A lack of understanding and validation of Gypsy and Traveller culture and experience can lead to inadequate responses and to the pathologisation of families, seeing their problems as related to cultural and lifestyle issues rather than providing appropriate services that promote racial equality (Cemlyn, 2000b). This is based on a lack of recognition of ethnic minority and cultural status, and ignorance of cultural strengths as well as of the difficulties families have encountered. Moreover, when assessments are undertaken in relation to potential eviction, there was a tendency for social services to consider child protection issues only in relation to the adequacy of parenting, rather than the trauma faced by a child because of the violence arising from evictions, harassment and the danger of temporary stopping-places.

Fisher (2003) reviewed studies that might assist the assessment of Traveller children's needs and the risks they face, focusing on five areas of the Assessment Framework (DH, 2000a): emotional and behavioural development; family and social relationships; identity; health; and education. Fisher framed her review within social constructions of need and the subjectivity of assessments that are influenced by historical, geographical and historical factors. In doing so, she sought to increase the tools available to social workers by alerting readers to the range of issues involved in assessing Traveller children's needs, and emphasising the discriminatory conditions they experience. She concluded that Traveller children face more risks than children in the sedentary community. In addition to travelling, she highlighted cultural insensitivity by service providers, hostility and discriminatory conditions as key factors. She stressed the importance of taking cultural and structural factors into account in assessments of children.

Cemlyn (2000a) raised concerns about work with Gypsies and Travellers living in housing, especially where this is not by choice, and the danger that their culture will not be recognised. Further anecdotal evidence indicates that, in child protection cases where housed Gypsy and Traveller children enter the care system, there may be particular disregard of their culture. The evidence relating to stresses experienced in housing, isolation from family networks, and pervasive racism and scrutiny from neighbours, is discussed elsewhere in this report. Power (2004) referred to the experience of a specialist Traveller team working with housed Irish Travellers where malicious referrals by neighbours constituted part of a pattern of harassment.

At the other end of the spectrum from over-controlling intervention was evidence of neglect of Gypsies' and Travellers' needs. Greenfields (2006, p. 145) suggested that institutional racism was evident, when services assumed that Gypsies and Travellers would 'look after their own', rather than actively working with communities to provide appropriate support. While Greenfields (2006) referred to most engagement being in relation to eviction or child protection, Cemlyn (2000b) discussed evidence that uncertainty on the part of social workers and managers about appropriate intervention, could lead to a failure even of crisis response.

Overall therefore, as with other minority groups (Penketh, 2000), intervention is more often at the controlling end of social work, with a lower level of provision of appropriate supportive and preventive services. However, for Gypsies and Travellers, the broader social and political context, based on hostility to their lifestyle and stereotypical views of their culture, adds a specific dimension to social work responses. Although social work generally can be engaged in some controlling activities when people may be a danger to themselves or others, involvement in the corporate enforcement agenda in relation to unauthorised camping has brought it into new areas of social control of Gypsies and Travellers (Cemlyn, 2000a). Moreover, the surveillance embedded in welfare systems is particularly problematic for social work with Gypsies and Travellers. In this context, Cemlyn (2006) draws on Garrett's work (Garrett, 2003, 2004b) that explores how assessment frameworks and information-sharing systems in social work with children embody conditionality in relation to welfare provision and Government requirements for behavioural compliance. There are potentially negative implications for social work with Gypsies and Travellers in terms of normative behavioural expectations and regulations that reflect sedentary lifestyles and opportunities, for example, expectations around engagement in the mainstream education system and job market, and the inclusion of missed medical appointments and frequently moving house as 'reasons for concern' in youth justice (Garrett, 2005b). These raise concerns that Gypsies and Travellers may be further labelled and experience further punitive intervention because their culture is ignored or pathologised.

There is little research evidence directly relating to social care services for older and disabled people although studies by Jesper, Griffiths and Smith (2008) and McQuillan and Van Doorslaer (2007), explore some of the cultural issues and barriers facing Romany Gypsies and Irish Travellers in relation to end of life care. Cemlyn (2006) discusses the likelihood that Gypsies and Travellers with health problems may find that their cultural needs, such as for the involvement of multiple family members in their care, are not easily accommodated. There is also minimal likelihood of care provision, often through the private sector, being adapted to the

cultural needs of Gypsies and Travellers. Save the Children reported casework evidence of such difficulties in accessing care in Scotland (Lloyd & Carrick, 2005).

Addressing inequality

The literature includes some examples of policy and practice that endeavour to promote greater equality and access to more culturally sensitive services. For instance, Morran (2002) showed social workers being aware of the continuation of Traveller culture in housing, including elements of ambivalence and reasons for hiding identity, appreciating the importance of family ties, understanding why Travellers would mistrust them and the importance of building trust and being sensitive to cultural differences.

A project in Ireland developed fostering or 'shared rearing' with Traveller families (Pemberton, 1999). This was set up carefully in partnership with Traveller communities, and the report outlined the greatly enhanced experiences and outcomes for Traveller children placed with Traveller rather than sedentary families. Most of the shared rearing families lived in houses but had plentiful contact with family members living in trailers. The placements were more flexible because extended families could accommodate large groups of siblings. There were improved access arrangements with parents, continued contact with Traveller communities and life in trailers, much greater understanding of the children's behaviour patterns and, probably most important, great value in having role models who could help them learn how to handle the discrimination they experienced from wider society.

Individual social workers can develop specific experience and understanding through engagement with Gypsies and Travellers, and by making individual efforts to reach out and support their rights. Cemlyn (2000b) explored some examples of more accessible provision of family support through family centres and pre-school provision, and the role of specialist workers and projects in other departments in creating links with social work services. She discussed the positive developments possible through rare specialist posts. While specialism needs to avoid exacerbating problems by ghettoising services, workers in dedicated posts can spend the time needed to reach out to, engage with and learn about communities, building trust and exchanging information. The value of practical support is also discussed by Morran (2002) and Power (2004). Work can build on these foundations to support cultural strengths and Gypsies' and Travellers' own approaches to problem-solving, and promote the integration of child protection and family support.

An example of this is the positive use of family group conferences to solve child protection issues within the family network (Ashley et al, 2006). A consultation

response from a specialist social work team emphasised the value of this approach to child protection conferences. Specialist workers or teams can also support mutual access between the communities and other workers, both within social work and in wider spheres, such as Connexions. Their work is not just at field level but addresses inter-agency dimensions, policy, strategy and training. They can be key actors in facilitating effective inter-agency forums, as also discussed in the Welsh context by Roberts (2005). The marginalisation of Gypsies and Travellers from sedentary agendas and systems can be more effectively counteracted by specialists acting as catalysts, as demonstrated in many areas by Traveller Education Services. This can: enhance the discussion and development of policy; play a key role in the provision of training for local agencies and workers; and facilitate the involvement of Gypsies and Travellers so that their voice is heard directly.

A community orientation to work with Gypsies and Travellers is a theme through the studies, although there is recognition that statutory social work has moved away from this approach in recent years. The consultation response from the specialist team emphasised the importance of a community work approach that supports community members in identifying and tackling inequalities and discrimination and promoting improved service delivery. The team also takes on a public education and advocacy role on behalf of the community for example, in relation to malicious child protection referrals. However, the control elements of social work, particularly child protection, are not handled directly by this team, as this is seen as potentially undermining the relationship with the community.

Advocacy and promotion of rights were explicitly discussed by Cemlyn (2000a, 2006a). She contrasted approaches by departments and by individuals which advocate for Travellers' rights with approaches which endorsed or did not challenge legal enforcement in relation to unauthorised sites. She also discussed variations between these extremes, which work towards more humane outcomes while not challenging the control parameters in terms of corporate policies on unauthorised camping. A later study explored in more detail the application of a human rights approach, and how a reconceptualisation of issues in human rights terms could provide 'strengthened ethical momentum [to] unsettle sedentarist assumptions [and] interrogate structures and policies that limit and distort Travellers' cultural rights' (Cemlyn, 2006, p. 15).

Morran (2002) and Garrett (2004a, 2005a) discussed the complexities involved in Gypsy and Traveller identities and associated racism. Garrett argued for more research into the racism experience of Irish Travellers and contested the dominance of the black-white binary approach to racism. He stressed the importance of social

work and social work education evolving 'a complex and dynamic approach to understanding the fluidity of cultural identity' (Garrett, 2005a, p. 1369). In his view, the experiences of different groups of Gypsies and Travellers needed clearer differentiation. Morran (2002) discussed the clear continuation of Traveller cultural identity in housing, as well as some of the confusion that can arise because of differing approaches by different community members to the presentation of their identity to outsiders. He also discussed the dilemma of promoting inclusion and equality of opportunity without reinforcing assimilation and conformity, and respecting the value of separateness and difference for Travellers. The social workers in his sample also discussed the pressures on young people as they balanced minority and mainstream cultures, including very different approaches to gender roles.

In the studies there was limited evidence of partnership with Gypsy and Traveller communities or the promotion of opportunities for the communities to engage with providers in steering ways forward. However, most studies emphasised the central importance of the communities' voice being heard. Gypsy and Traveller-led organisations and coalitions, and voluntary agencies and specialist projects working closely with the communities, are demonstrating that such channels of communication can be developed. This area is explored further in Chapter 7.

Recommendations

i. Gypsies and Travellers need to be welcomed into policy forums in order to assist in tackling some of the dilemmas inherent in social work with the communities.

ii. Recognition of minority ethnic and cultural status and inclusion in racial equality strategies and training are essential.

iii. The situation of Gypsy and Traveller children in contact with social work services should be assessed holistically, making full use of all dimensions of the 'Assessment Triangle', including structural, discriminatory and cultural factors.

iv. Culturally appropriate services for example, in relation to fostering and carer support, need to be developed in consultation with communities.

v. The safeguarding of children from short-term and long-term harm during evictions should be the responsibility of local Safeguarding Children Boards.

vi. Research is needed into the damage caused to children emotionally and psychologically by repeated and brutal evictions.

vii. Further research is needed into the experiences of Gypsy and Traveller children and families in relation to social work services. This should seek to explore the experiences of different Gypsy and Traveller communities.

viii. Research is needed into the needs and experiences of, and service provision for, disabled children in Gypsy, Traveller and Showpeople communities.

ix. Further research is needed into the experiences of older and disabled Gypsies and Travellers in relation to social work services, and the experiences of carers who are Gypsies and Travellers.

x. Contradictory Government policies that promote inclusion while also requiring monitoring, surveillance and exclusion should be further analysed. The humanitarian and egalitarian basis of social work should be more clearly articulated at practice and policy levels in this process.

xi. Social work should add its voice much more clearly at organisational and leadership levels to calls for basic accommodation and other rights for Gypsies and Travellers.

xii. Anti-racist training for social work staff needs to recognise Gypsies' and Travellers' minority ethnic and cultural status and requirements, with involvement from members of the communities.

xiii. Social work services should be aware of, and distance themselves from, the oppression associated with enforcement actions relating to accommodation, and from more hidden forms of control involved in surveillance.

xiv. A human rights approach needs to be further developed in social work theory and practice alongside existing approaches that promote equality practice.

5.2   Domestic violence

The policy context

Policy and practice relating to domestic violence are central to gender equality and human rights, and recognised at both national and international level as critically important in terms of ensuring safety, dignity and equality for all members of society (Home Office, 2008a; Council of Europe, 2002; United Nations Population (UNFPA), 2005). Although domestic violence occurs in families of all ethnicities, socio-economic backgrounds, levels of education, age and in same-sex relationships, international evidence indicates that it is most commonly experienced within relationships or communities where there is support for strongly hierarchical or male-dominated relationships and where male authority over women and children is culturally expected and condoned (United Nations, 2006).

In 2006/7, 77 per cent of all reported crimes of domestic violence in the UK were perpetrated against women (Women and Equality Unit, 2008a), equating to one-third of all crimes committed against females and 16 per cent of all reported violent crime (Nicholas et al, 2007). One in four women experience domestic violence during their lifetimes and between six and ten per cent of women suffer domestic violence in any given year (Council of Europe, 2002). In 2006/7, 104 people were murdered in domestic violence incidents in the UK, 83 of whom were female and 21 male (Western European Union (WEU), 2008b). Overall, 40 per cent of female murder victims in the UK are killed in incidents associated with domestic violence. Despite the preponderance of female victims, and the fact that the most violent incidents are experienced by women and children (Walby & Allen, 2004), it has been calculated that 19 per cent of the victims of domestic violence are male, with approximately half of all such incidents being perpetrated by a female partner (Simmons et al, 2002).

Incidents of domestic violence can also be associated with a decrease in traditional male roles (such as loss of employment or social exclusion related to poverty or a lack of education) or conversely, with changing female roles, such as obtaining further education or earning more money than a man (Jewkes, 2002; Horrocks, 1996; Hanmer, 2000). In over half of all cases, domestic violence does not occur until a couple have been together for over a year (Walby & Allen, 2004). Pregnancy appears to act as a trigger for first incidents of violence, possibly linked to increased physical, financial or emotional dependency on a partner through ill-health or giving up employment. Thirty per cent of women first experience domestic violence during pregnancy (McWilliams & McKiernan, 1993). In such circumstances, a victim of violence is often shocked, particularly vulnerable both emotionally and financially,

and may be reluctant to leave a relationship with the father of her child, believing that the incident will not recur, particularly if the partner apologises (Humphreys & Thiara, 2002). However, repeat victimisation is common, with 44 per cent of victims of domestic violence experiencing more than one occurrence: no other type of crime has as high a rate of repeat victimisation (Dodd et al, 2004). On average, a woman in the UK will experience 35 incidents of violence before seeking help, and an average duration of seven years of domestic abuse before she leaves the relationship (Yearnshire, 1997).

Violence against women has serious consequences for their physical and mental health. Abused women are more likely to suffer from depression, anxiety, psychosomatic disorders, eating problems and sexual dysfunction. Violence may also affect their reproductive health (World Health Organisation (WHO), 2000). Male victims of domestic violence are less likely to suffer severe physical injury or repeated incidents of violence, and experience less fear of their abuser than women (Gadd, 2002). However, they report similar feelings of shame, anxiety, emotional distress, and difficulties in seeking assistance, which are often linked to notions of masculinity and a fear of disbelief or mockery for being assaulted by an intimate partner (Stitt & Macklin, 1995). The impact of domestic violence on children's well-being and future emotional and psychological development is highlighted in 'Safeguarding Children directives and guidance' (HM Government, 2006a), while the 'Every Child Matters' initiatives for 0-19 year-olds, reiterate the centrality of safeguarding children from domestic and family violence to enable them to achieve their full potential.

Policy responses to domestic and family violence are embedded in the work of a range of Government departments and agencies, including the Department of Health, Government Equalities Office, Home Office, Department for Constitutional Affairs and the police. Local agencies are expected to ensure that domestic and family violence policy is central to their work and that frontline workers receive regular training and updates on both its prevalence and local sources of assistance and information. Combating domestic violence remains high on the political agenda and is recognised as a cross-governmental priority (Home Office, 2008).

Experiences within Gypsy and Traveller communities

Branigan (2004) refers to Gypsy and Roma women activists reporting that, in the light of the harsh realities facing many Gypsies and Travellers, 'gender equality and women's rights are considered to be a frivolous issue for middle-class Romany women without any other problems'. In contrast, one Gypsy / Traveller woman has

stated that: 'we should be able to tell the truth not only about what people do to us, but about what we do to ourselves'.

Gypsies and Travellers who are victims of domestic violence are predominantly female (but see Chapter 10 for anecdotal information on homophobic domestic violence). However, no reliable statistics are available. A 2007 presentation by Roberts and colleagues on the health of Gypsies and Travellers in Wrexham reported that 61 per cent of married English Gypsy women and 81 per cent of married Irish Traveller women interviewed for the study had experienced direct domestic abuse. Nevertheless, no further information is available on whether the methods of identifying or recruiting women may have influenced these figures. Lord Avebury's (2003) review of local authority homelessness strategies noted that three local authorities referred to high levels of domestic violence, based on information provided at homelessness application interviews, but no further information or statistics were provided. Scottish evidence on accommodation refers to domestic violence and inter-family feuding as responsible for pitch vacancies on public sites (Scottish Government, 2006, p. 7). While these sources attest to the presence of domestic violence, none of them provide conclusive evidence about its extent.

Some Gypsy and Traveller respondents to the consultation have suggested that domestic violence may first commence when a family moves into a house and arguments start as they experience isolation, discrimination, financial hardship and depression. Anecdotal evidence suggests that alcohol and drug abuse (see Chapter 3) features in many incidents of domestic violence, with drug use becoming more prevalent amongst younger generations of Travellers and Gypsies. In addition, Irish research on domestic violence (McKeown, 2001) indicated that in one-third of cases 'mutual violence' had taken place. Although women are far more likely to experience significant harm through violence than are men, and it may be that mutual violence occurred in self-defence, we consider that prevalence studies should be undertaken to explore the circumstances of domestic violence incidents, including the role of drugs or alcohol.

Although we are not aware of any specific research into Gypsy and Traveller men's experience of inter-personal or domestic violence, anecdotally we have been advised of cases where young men in their mid or late teens have sought assistance to move home or leave a site to escape family violence from relatives. While it likely that significant gender barriers will exist which militate against male Gypsies, Showmen and Travellers reporting assaults by their partners, we believe that gender-neutral investigation would assist in identifying patterns and types of family violence (such as sibling / cousin assaults, parental or spousal abuse). Evidence from research with

New Travellers (Greenfields, 2002) and personal communication from service providers, indicates that a relatively high percentage of incidents of interpersonal violence may be associated with perpetrators' untreated mental health problems (in some cases as a result of lack of registration with GPs or resulting from repeated eviction and inability to access health services) or use of addictive substances (specifically heroin).

While there is no evidence to suggest that domestic violence is any more prevalent in Gypsy, Traveller and Showpeople communities than in any other ethnic group, some anecdotal evidence suggests that cultural barriers to leaving a violent partner (loss of community, fear of racism, isolation, concerns about possible accommodation alternatives, beliefs that it is impossible to escape violence as the partner will find out where the women and children have gone, expectations that marriage is for life, the belief that many men are violent and a woman has to accept such behaviour) are particularly strong within Gypsy and Traveller families. Some reports indicate that strong taboos exist against interfering between spouses where violence occurs. One article in Travellers Times suggested that 'women of the Gypsy and Traveller community often suffer in silence' (McRae, 2007, p. 4).

As with other issues considered in this review, insecure or inappropriate accommodation intersects with other indices of disadvantage to exacerbate gendered and ethnic inequalities for Gypsy, Traveller or Showpeople victims of domestic violence. For insecurely accommodated families, or where literacy issues exist, the impact of frequent movement and limited information about local domestic violence services are likely to have a negative impact on victims' ability to seek help, whether such assistance involves remaining with a violent partner and seeking to minimise the abuse, or leaving the perpetrator. Anecdotal information from specialist women's refuge and legal advice staff (and community members who have spoken on this subject) provide strong indicators that insecurely accommodated or nomadic women experiencing violence will put the requirements of their family first and prioritise the immediate basic needs of their children, placing the requirement to maintain a home over their own health and well-being.

Where families are travelling together or the perpetrator is at home for the majority of the time (whether in housing or on a site), opportunities to seek advice on dealing with the violence or to find alternative accommodation are minimised still further. The close-knit nature of Gypsy, Traveller and Showpeople communities, while in many ways acting as a support, may also militate against victims of violence seeking advice or leaving a violent partner if they feel unable to find privacy to make enquiries or are concerned that a close relative or neighbour may accidentally or intentionally

tell the perpetrator that they are considering leaving home, or are seeking to involve an external agency.

Lack of access to mainstream services may result from Gypsy, Traveller or Showpeople's belief that provision is not appropriate or welcoming, or that services are unavailable to them. Other barriers to accessing information or support may result from eviction, frequent movement or lack of knowledge of available provision. Thus, for some victims of domestic violence, contact with core agencies which should identify risk factors or provide assistance in dealing with violence, does not occur. A number of Gypsy and Traveller victims of domestic violence are significantly disadvantaged even in access to primary stage information, whether because of institutional racism or for other reasons: anecdotal information suggests that some women enquiring about accommodation or support to leave a violent partner, have been provided with incomplete information on their legal rights, asked to return at a later date, or are advised to obtain documentation which may be impossible to supply. The problems are worse if the family is merely passing through an area.

Agency staff with experience of working with victims of domestic violence report (in personal communications) that, because of reluctance to leave a marriage and practical difficulties associated with typically having larger numbers of children, or concerns over racism in refuges or if rehoused away from family and friends, a Gypsy or Traveller woman who reports domestic violence will often have experienced more severe violence than is seen amongst the majority of refuge users, and the violence will often have occurred over a considerably longer period of time. By contrast, New Travellers are more likely to leave a violent relationship after a relatively short period of time, even if they are pregnant when the violence occurs (Greenfields, 2002). They are also more likely to have retained their own vehicle while resident on an unauthorised site, thus facilitating separation through access to alternative accommodation. New Travellers generally have fewer resident children, which also minimises some of the practical difficulties over escaping violence. New Travellers are not subject to the same cultural and social expectations as Gypsies and other Travellers in relation to marriage and relationship duration. Greenfields (2002) also found that community interventions over domestic violence may occur, with around half of interviewees (from a relatively small qualitative sample) reporting receiving assistance from other New Travellers to move to another site, encouragement for a violent partner to leave a site, or removing themselves from shared living accommodation. In Greenfields' research, violent men were sometimes subject to violence or threats from other New Travellers as a result of assaulting their partner or were forced to leave a shared home. Interviewees in this study were clear

that police involvement would only occur in extremely serious cases and that community members would generally seek to sort problems out themselves. Anecdotal evidence from service providers and community members from Gypsy and other Traveller communities supports this finding, suggesting that clear cultural and social taboos exist amongst all Travelling groups against involving the police when violence occurs. It has been suggested (personal communication) that this may on occasion lead to an increased tendency for intra-communal violence or feuding where the family of a victim of domestic violence seeks revenge for injuries inflicted.

Guidance from the Greenwich Multi-Agency Domestic Violence Forum (2003, p. 5) refers to the particular problems faced by Gypsies and Travellers leaving a violent relationship. These include literacy issues, taboos on contacting police, problematic access to telephones to call for help or advice, or difficulties in receiving or reading letters if an injunction or other legal advice is sought. A woman who does decide to leave home faces a form of 'double jeopardy' if her family does not support her decision to end her marriage, as 'strong community connections and communication means that a woman leaving her husband virtually has to leave the whole community. However, this means losing contact with her culture and her way of life, and facing the prejudice of the settled population alone'. At a Shelter Conference in 2008, a female survivor of domestic violence spoke of her experiences of seeking to be rehoused away from a violent partner. Not only was she subject to repeated victimisation by her husband while living in a house ('he came, he used to smash the house up and I'd be left to foot the bill … I felt that the police got fed up with me and had no understanding of my situation … away from my own community … and facing racist attitudes'), but she and her children were subjected to racism, prejudice and discrimination from their neighbours. The impact of having to adjust to living in a house for the first time in her life, financial difficulties associated with the cost of housing, and social isolation resulting from being rehoused away from her family, led to her suffering from depression and anxiety.

For women who are initially accommodated in women's refuges, difficulties may exist because of prejudice from other residents, the lack of room for all their children, and difficulties in maintaining traditional ritual standards of hygiene and cleanliness (Greenwich Multi-Agency Domestic Violence Forum, 2003, p. 5). Staff working at the UKs only specialist Refuge for Irish Travellers (Solas Anois) report that they receive women from all over the country and sometimes from Ireland as information on the service has spread by word of mouth. Solas Anois can only provide beds for 10 women and their children at any one time and sometimes women will arrive with six or seven children, leading to severe overcrowding or an inability to accommodate them. Nationally, refuge rooms are typically only licensed to hold one woman and two

or three children and many refuges are therefore unable to accept Gypsy or Traveller women, even where they overcome their concerns about racism or hygiene and behavioural codes enough to enter into a refuge with non-Gypsy or Traveller women resident. Solas Anois turns away numerous women due to lack of space or even on occasion because of inter-family feuds which might place a woman and her children in danger if they were accommodated. In 2007, 50 women were accommodated at the refuge and a further 20 sent elsewhere. In common with findings on patterns of refuge use in Ireland (NCC / Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI), 2005), UK refuge staff reported that Traveller women are strongly resistant to speaking to the police or social workers about domestic violence. Anecdotal evidence suggests that significantly more than 50 per cent of Gypsy and Traveller women who enter refuges in Britain return to their spouse within a few weeks or months.

Addressing inequality

We were unable to find much evidence of specific Gypsy and Traveller targeted programmes in the UK, or of coherent policy approaches to protecting families from violence. Although the Crown Prosecution Service (2005) does refer to Gypsy and Traveller victims of domestic violence within the list of resources provided at the back of their policy document on prosecuting domestic violence cases, no specific mention of the needs of these communities is made within the overall document: this is a lost opportunity to alert the legal system to special factors which impact on Gypsy and Traveller women's access to protection. Individual small-scale projects are providing excellent services and information to women who access them, but the topic of domestic violence is still predominantly invisible in policy and practice, which appears to reflect the overall institutional failure to mainstream the needs of Gypsies and Travellers across all areas.

Given the essentially opportunistic approach to engaging with issues of family violence experienced by Gypsies and Travellers, we consider that the introduction of discussions on domestic violence into screening for depression and cardiac health (Roberts et al, 2007) presents a good opportunity to engage women with knowledge of support mechanisms and available services. It has been standard midwifery / health service practice for some years to screen all pregnant women for domestic violence: the introduction of hospital ethnic monitoring categories which include Gypsies and Travellers as discrete categories may assist in enhancing the understanding of its prevalence within these communities.

The publication of articles on domestic violence in specialist journals (for example, McRae, 2007) and Irish initiatives aimed at raising the profile of domestic violence

amongst Traveller women (Pavee Point, undated), are to be commended for encouraging more open dialogue on the subject of domestic violence. However, further information should be provided on Traveller-friendly resources available to women experiencing abuse. Pavee Point's domestic violence strategy and information leaflet provides a model which can be amended and developed to suit the needs of Gypsies and Travellers in the UK through actively engaging with community groups to encourage women to train as domestic violence advocates. The report of the Irish Working Party and Judicial Process for Victims of Sexual and Other Crimes of Violence against Women and Children (1996), recommended that refuges should be set up and staffed by trained Irish Traveller women, while the Irish Task Force on Violence against Women (1997) stated that Traveller women should be employed in crisis and emergency services to carry out research into specialist services within their own communities (both cited in Pavee Point, undated).

Specialist refuges such as Solas Anois and Southend Women's Aid, which also provides refuge places and cultural training for staff and other residents when Travellers enter the accommodation, are examples of good practice, as are domestic violence advice services provided by Traveller projects such as 'One Voice in the East of England'. However, evidence on the limited number of women who can be supported by specialist refuges, together with concerns over budget cuts, mean that many more Traveller women may be left exposed to violence through concerns over the cultural suitability of available provision. Solas Anois are now providing services to the daughters of some former clients who send their young married children to the refuge when violence first occurs, although often feeling unable to leave a violent marriage themselves. Changing patterns of use, and mothers' willingness to assist their daughters in leaving violent relationships, indicates that empowerment techniques used within refuges and specialist support groups are beginning to have an impact on women's human and civil rights within the Gypsy and Traveller communities.

Despite having identified services which work specifically with Irish Traveller women (in some cases partially supported financially by the Irish Government), we are unaware of any specifically tailored services for Romany Gypsies or Showpeople experiencing violence other than One Voice, which provides support and advice rather than refuge facilities. We would suggest that entry into mainstream refuges to access domestic violence services where staff have no specialist knowledge of Gypsy, Traveller or Showpeople cultures is likely to lead to a breakdown of the placement and the increased likelihood of a return to the violent partner. A more systematic review of the prevalence of domestic violence and knowledge of services available to victims of abuse, as well as partners' knowledge of the impacts on

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children of witnessing domestic violence, is required to assess the extent of the problem and identify ways of engaging with community members around domestic violence in culturally appropriate ways.

Other equality and human rights issues

Women who enter mainstream refuges or apply for rehousing may be unable to sustain a placement as a result of racism, discrimination, lack of understanding of their circumstances and culture and / or limited refuge space, which means that they and their children are unable to find a place to stay. Even where no direct racism or discrimination occurs, fear and concern over contact with mainstream services may act as a barrier, which disempowers individuals seeking to escape from violence. As noted above, concerns about exposing a spouse to institutional racism or fears over police attitudes towards Gypsy and Traveller men may also discourage a woman from seeking advice or help.

Domestic violence occurs across all age ranges and refuge staff report speaking with women who have experienced over 30 years of abuse. The 'Short Stories, Long Lives' DVD resource (2006) discusses domestic violence experienced by women of all ages. Domestic responsibilities and the cultural expectations with which they were raised (for example, that marriage is for life) may make it more difficult for older women to leave an abusive relationship, as may their more limited education or knowledge of available services. Disabled women and men also experience domestic violence, although the close-knit nature of Gypsy and Traveller communities (and thus, the ability to intervene when violence is perceived as unacceptable) and level of respect for older or disabled community members are likely to act as protective factors against abuse.

No information has been published on domestic violence between or directed towards gay and lesbian Gypsies and Travellers. As is considered in Chapter 9, very little is known about the issues of sexual orientation within the Gypsy, Traveller or Showpeople communities. However, we have been advised that young people who do not wish to marry and who report that they are lesbian or gay may experience disbelief, ostracism or violence from family members. In one instance, we were informed of an 'out' lesbian couple who were periodically subjected to violence by drunken men of their community who came to their home.

Recommendations

i.   Inequalities related to the provision of specialist refuges (similar to those available to other ethnic minority women) need to be addressed.

ii. Further research needs to be undertaken to explore the prevalence and aetiology of domestic abuse amongst Gypsy, Irish Traveller, Showpeople and other Traveller communities. We are aware of the need for cultural sensitivity when discussing this topic with victims of violence and the need for care to be taken to consider other options than simply leaving the perpetrator.

iii. Provision of culturally sensitive and appropriate screening tools for Gypsies, Travellers and Showpeople for example, consideration of methods developed in Ireland, or the development of tools used in the Wrexham study (Roberts et al, 2007).

iv. Inclusion of Gypsy / Traveller as a category in all health records to assist in the mapping of domestic violence.

v. Research to explore the extent of mutual violence and violence towards males within the Gypsy, Traveller and Showpeople communities. Where possible, homophobic violence towards individuals as a result of their sexual orientation should be recorded.

vi. Provision of suitable materials (perhaps involving policy transfer from Ireland) for use with Gypsies, Travellers and Showpeople experiencing domestic violence, and to underline the impacts of domestic violence on children present in the home.

vii. Specific targeted research into the health needs and circumstances of New Travellers and young Gypsies and Travellers (particularly those resident in housing) who may have underlying mental health or substance abuse issues which impact on the likelihood of domestic violence occurring.

viii. Lack of suitable accommodation must be addressed to minimise the likelihood of victims of violence returning to perpetrators because of housing problems rather than having made a choice to return, perhaps with suitable support in place.

ix. Research into protective factors associated with Gypsy, Traveller or Showpeople culture, for example, positive relationships and respect for disabled or older people, should be undertaken to assist in devising appropriate policy approaches to family violence, mapping life-time patterns of exposure to violence, and planning suitable interventions.

x. Training on Gypsy, Traveller and Showpeople culture to be provided to all frontline and policy staff (in domestic violence, health or refuge settings, police and homelessness teams) who are likely to have contact with Gypsies and Travellers experiencing violence.

xi. Work to be undertaken with the Showmen's Guild to consider the prevalence and circumstances of Showpeople experiencing abuse from partners, and extent of violence towards vulnerable adults. It is possible that protective factors associated with increased rates of female employment (and access to finance), the public nature of female roles, increased stability of accommodation and employment, and frequent co-residence with a female spouse's family after marriage may minimise the likelihood of domestic violence occurring within this community, but no information is currently available.

xii. The recommendations of the Irish Working Party and Judicial Process for Victims of Sexual and Other Crimes of Violence against Women and Children (1996) and the Task Force on Violence against Women (1997) should be adapted for mainland British use and adopted in the UK. Specifically, refuges and drop-in services should be set up and staffed by trained Gypsy and Traveller women, and that Gypsies, Travellers and Showwomen should be employed in crisis and emergency services to carry out research into the need for specialist services within their own communities and provide advice and services for women and children seeking protection from violence.

xiii. Although perhaps more controversial and likely to experience low take-up, at least initially, consideration should be given to specialist Gypsy and Traveller perpetrator programmes working with male facilitators from the appropriate communities.

6.   CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND LEGAL SERVICES

6.1   Criminal justice and policing

The policy context

Four aspects of policy are particularly relevant in relation to criminal justice and policing:

- Unauthorised camping and developments
- Racial equality and diversity policies
- Legislation relating to racial discrimination and race hate crime
- Criminal law.

The first of these: unauthorised camping and developments, was discussed in Chapter 2.

The second concerns racial equality and diversity policies as they affect the police and criminal justice systems. The seminal Macpherson report (1999), which followed the murder of black teenager Stephen Lawrence, set out the concept of institutional racism and was influential in the introduction of the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 (RRAA, 2000). Macpherson examined institutional racism in relation to the police, but the concept is potentially applicable to all public services. The RRAA 2000 imposed a positive general duty on public bodies to promote racial equality and required that race equality strategies are established, implemented and monitored.

However, an inspection of race and diversity training by Her Majesty's Inspector of Constabulary (HMIC) in 2003, found wide-ranging failings (HMIC, 2003). Areas for improvement, identified in five similar thematic inspections since 1992, had not been fully addressed within the police service. While the inspection acknowledged the contribution of committed individuals, they often operated in hostile external and internal environments without adequate organisational support. The identified failings included the following points:

- Learning outcomes through setting common standards had not been fully implemented or linked to workplace performance and service delivery
- Commitment and leadership was required at all levels throughout the service
- Standards had not been set or quality assured for the delivery of training
- Assessment and management of staff in the workplace was ineffective and

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line managers had systematically failed to address inappropriate behaviour or attitudes on the part of their staff, and in some instances managers had themselves demonstrated such behaviour

- Despite previous guidance, no evidence was found of race and diversity being systematically mainstreamed into all training, and there were significant weaknesses in the selection, training, assessment and support of trainers, some of whom were not competent for the task

- There was little evidence of the involvement of communities in identifying learning requirements, or the design or evaluation of training programmes. (HMIC, 2003)

In 2004, a strategy for improving performance in race and diversity was introduced, which sought to implement the recommendations of this inspection, including: embedding diversity within workplace performance appraisal; appointing a chief officer within each force as a champion of race and diversity learning and development; developing confidence and trust in relationships with communities, and consulting them about the learning needs of the police; and the design, delivery and evaluation of training. Two sections of the police National Occupational Standards refer to fostering and promoting equality, diversity and rights. Everyone in the police force needs to be assessed as competent against these standards, and these are used as part of performance appraisal and taken into account in career development (Home Office / Centrex, 2004). Aspects of the development and implementation of this approach in relation to Gypsy and Traveller communities are considered below.

The third area to be considered is legislation relating to racial discrimination and in particular, race hate crime. Romany Gypsies and Irish Travellers are recognised as ethnic minority groups under the Race Relations Act 1976, as confirmed in case law (Commission for Racial Equality versus Dutton 1989; and O'Leary and others versus Punch Retail, 2000). Scottish Gypsy / Travellers were acknowledged as an ethnic minority group by the Scottish Executive: recommendation 2 of an Inquiry by the Scottish Equal Opportunities Committee states that they 'should therefore be regarded as an ethnic group, until such time as a court decision is made on recognition as a racial group under the Race Relations Act 1976' (Scottish Parliament, 2001). Clark (2006a, pp. 11-2) argued that 'there are compelling reasons for including Scottish Gypsy / Travellers among other ethnic minority groups who are protected by the Race Relations Act 1976 (as amended 2000)'. In October 2008, an employment appeal tribunal overturned the finding of an earlier tribunal and ruled that Scottish Gypsy / Travellers are a distinct ethnic group, thus bringing them within the protection of the Race Relations Act. Other Traveller groups such as New Travellers

and Occupational Travellers are not considered ethnic minority groups and therefore not protected by Race Relations legislation. In Wales though, the Welsh Assembly Government has a general duty to ensure equality of opportunity for all people.

Incitement to racial hatred is outlawed by the Public Order Act 1986. Under sections 18 to 22 it is a criminal offence to use threatening, insulting or abusive words or behaviour, or to publish or distribute material or engage in performances, recordings or broadcasts with the intention of stirring up racial hatred. However, prosecution requires the assent of the Attorney General and few prosecutions are brought in relation to any ethnic minority group and we are not aware of any in relation to Gypsies and Travellers. Sections 28-32 of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998, introduced into law the notion of racially aggravated offences, for which increased penalties were applicable. These include assault, grievous bodily harm, damage to property, provocation and harassment. However, in the case of the murder of 15 year-old Irish Traveller Johnny Delaney in Liverpool in 2003, the court did not find that it was a racially aggravated offence despite the evidence of a number of witnesses about the racist comments shouted during the fatal attack. The then chair of the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) commented that 'it is extremely hard to see how this particular killing wasn't motivated in some way by racial prejudice' (cited in Greenfields, 2006, p. 158). In relation to less serious but nonetheless hurtful offences, Gypsies and Travellers rarely report racially-based offences against them (James, 2007; National Assembly of Wales (NAW), 2003; Power, 2004).

Finally, Gypsies and Travellers are subject to the full range of criminal law, as are all citizens. Evidence relating to the differential impact of the criminal justice system on Gypsies and Travellers is discussed below. Young Gypsies and Travellers charged with, or found guilty of offences encounter Youth Offending Teams in England and Wales, set up under the Crime and Disorder Act 1998. These are multi-disciplinary teams in each area, with staff from police, probation services, social services, health, education, drug and alcohol misuse services and housing. Adult offenders are supervised by the National Probation Service for England and Wales, which was separated from social work services in the mid-1990s. In Scotland by contrast, the probation service was merged with other welfare services in 1968, and criminal justice social workers are located within local authorities. There are national standards for justice and probation work in all three countries.

Experiences of Gypsy and Traveller communities

This discussion will be divided into three sections, although there are links between them:

- The relationship between Gypsy and Traveller communities and the police in the context of their nomadic lifestyle, and broader aspects of policing and surveillance by police and other agencies

- Other routes into the criminal justice system and experiences of the non-custodial aspects of that system

- Experiences of prison.

Denial of the right to culturally appropriate accommodation for Gypsies and Travellers and the resulting acute difficulties they experience have been considered in Chapter 2. The conflict between Gypsies and Travellers and sedentary society is enacted in many ways, including in relation to their attempts to live in trailers or caravans. The policing of Gypsies and Travellers is not just about engagement with the criminal justice system but also with the sphere of public order, as typified by the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (CJPOA) 1994. Moreover, policing in this context operates within a broader framework than relationships solely with the police. Richardson (2007a) discussed the surveillance of Gypsies and Travellers by the majority society, which is manifest in numerous ways. For example, Cowan and Lomax (2003) considered the institutionalised involvement of both the public and other agencies in providing information about unauthorised encampments in order for assessments to be made relating to eviction or toleration, depending on whether the occupants were conforming to normative notions of acceptable behaviour. In the context of community involvement in policing, they argued that 'the shift to community implies anti-communities and marginalised others' (Cowan & Lomax, 2003, p. 287). In this analysis, welfare is linked with divisive practices and therefore, exclusion.

Richardson (2006) discussed how surveillance is not just about controlling groups seen to be deviant, it is also about labelling those groups in the first place. This involves gathering intelligence about them and interpreting that intelligence in a way that portrays them as 'other'. More direct forms of surveillance were also described by Richardson (2005) in relation to an inter-agency model of site management involving the police that was developed in Oxford and Milton Keynes. Activity on the sites was monitored by CCTV cameras. The residents of all the Oxford sites protested at the police role in accommodation management, a model that is not practised in relation to housed tenancies. The arrangement was discontinued in Oxford, and the police role in the Milton Keynes multi-agency group was reduced. This high-profile example highlighted for Gypsies and Travellers the continuing, if not always so, clearly direct policing of their lifestyle.

James (2005) discussed the police management of New Travellers in Devon after the CJPOA was introduced, and how this forced them to camp in even more marginal locations. She described a range of ways in which Travellers were harassed by the police, including the use of helicopters. Because of the power to remove and destroy vehicles (living accommodation) if directions to leave are not followed, Travellers generally do move on before being evicted. However, this means that they do not have access to legal processes to challenge the direction and instead of due process, techniques of disruption, de-stabilisation and restricted access (through obstructions or ditches) are used to ensure Travellers move out of an area. She argued that by these methods, 'whole groups of people are controlled in society by methods that are not visible and therefore unaccountable' (James, 2005, p. 163).

Subsequently, James (2007) explored the use of surveillance, information-gathering and sharing, threats, disruption, eviction and spatial exclusion by the police in conjunction with other agencies. This has implications for the requirement for the police to engage with diverse communities. Although some Gypsies and Travellers in her study did seek to engage with the police and other agencies to provide public education about the communities, these efforts were rarely linked with community policing initiatives. Instead, the police primarily engaged with the communities through enforcement practices. At the same time, Gypsies and Travellers rarely felt able to report crimes against themselves to the police, so they experienced a high rate of surveillance but under-protection.

Gypsies' and Travellers' experiences of the non-custodial criminal justice system can be classified into: the stereotyping of communities; communities' experiences of the police; the use of Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs); routes into engagement with the criminal justice system; experiences of youth justice and probation services; and sentencing.

There is widespread stereotyping of the communities as being engaged in criminal activity (Greenfields, 2006; James, 2005; Power, 2004). This is expressed through public and media allegations of rises in crime when Travellers enter a neighbourhood, despite evidence to the contrary, both locally and nationally. For example, as Morris and Clements (1999, p. 3) state: 'ACPO [the Association of Chief Police Officers] continues to assert that they have no disproportionate problems with criminality in the Travelling population'. Dawson (2000) found similar levels of criminal activity in the Traveller and non-Traveller populations. However, the suspicion with which Travellers are regarded means they are likely to be reported by neighbours or targeted unfairly by the police.

There is considerable evidence from a range of studies, mainly in England, about problematic relationships with the police generally, although there are also exceptions. Pizani Williams (1996, p. 16), in a rare criminal justice study in Kent in 1994, reported that 'the Gypsy Traveller issue … arouses extreme prejudice and hostility' within the police. A former police officer described how this was carried through into active harassment, leading to a response that could be criminalised: '[he] described how officers were encouraged, if a Traveller was stopped and questioned and no offence appeared to have been committed, to verbally harass them to provoke a Section 4 assault' (Pizani Williams, 1996, p. 23). (Under section 4 of the Public Order Act 1986, a constable may arrest a person without a warrant if '(a) he engages in offensive conduct which [a] constable warns him to stop, and (b) he engages in further offensive conduct immediately or shortly after the warning'.)

Some years later, Dawson (2000, p. 9) found that it was 'very common for unfounded allegations to be made against Travellers' and described massive police operations against encampments. Blanket raids on groups of Travellers are frequently reported (Coxhead, 2007; Greenfields, 2006), attracting a high level of publicity, while subsequent lack of charges is hidden in the corner of a newspaper. Pizani Williams had also found that the police obtained search warrants for entire sites. She referred to 'intensive and provocative policing which frequently leads to confrontation' (Pizani Williams, 1996, p. 25).

Nearly a decade after Pizani Williams' study, Power (2004, p. 80) reported similar findings from a police interview in his study of Irish Travellers' experiences: 'Society almost condones you to do whatever with a transient group: 'Whatever you do that gets rid of them, it's OK by us'. One measure of the experience of police harassment is the use of stop and search powers, which is an issue for many ethnic minority communities (Delsol & Shiner, 2006). In Pizani Williams' (1996) sample of Gypsy Travellers, 15 out of 21 said they had been stopped or searched more than five times in the last year. Power (2004) also found disproportionate experience of stop and search in his interviews with Irish Travellers. However, because Travellers are not identifiable from police statistics, other research using such data has not been possible. Derbyshire Gypsy Liaison Group conducted their own survey of a sample of Travellers, accessed through contacts and networking with organisations (Dawson, 2005). Out of 525 questionnaires that were distributed, 370 were completed and returned, representing a response rate of 71 per cent. All those who responded had been stopped and searched in the last few months, some more than once, while a third of the sample had been stopped more than once on a single day.

More recently, John Coxhead, a police officer himself, discussed the discriminatory attitudes in the police towards Gypsies and Travellers and referred to this as 'the last bastion of racism' (Coxhead, 2007). He discussed the culture of prejudice within the police in detail, at management as well as frontline level, while explaining an approach to move beyond this (see below). The pervasive and aggressively proactive nature of this prejudice is summed up in the words of one officer: 'prejudice towards Travellers in the police is not only accepted, it's expected' (Coxhead, 2007, p. 47). One of Power's interviewees outlined how this started in the training college: 'It was flagged up by our trainers that there was an acceptance that it was ok to be prejudiced against Travellers' (Power, 2004, p. 83).

Significant problems have been identified in relation to training on Gypsy and Traveller issues. Coxhead (2005, 2007) noted: a lack of acceptance of Gypsies' and Travellers' ethnicity, and hence of the existence of racism towards them; the overt resistance of students on the courses; the lack of clear direction in training; the lack of competence and sometimes commitment of the trainers; the ineffectiveness of one day's training to counter a pervasive culture and expectations; and the lack of ownership and leadership of diversity issues within the organisation as a whole. Power (2004) reported a reluctance among some police officers to take on the post of trainer, with its associated stresses. Coxhead (2005) revealed that 65 per cent of diversity trainers in a survey felt professionally ill-equipped to challenge racism towards Gypsies and Travellers within the police, which all of them had experienced in sessions. Without sufficient knowledge themselves of the communities, and specifically without having had contact with community members, they felt unable to respond adequately to the racism expressed during training. This will be considered further below.

It is important to draw attention to somewhat different experiences of policing that have been reported in North-East Scotland. Ian Taggart, a former police officer himself, interviewed Scottish Gypsy / Travellers about their views of sites, housing and travelling, advice services, and prejudice and discrimination (Taggart, 2007). He had previously produced a detailed policing strategy in relation to Gypsy / Travellers for Grampian police and the Home Office (Taggart, 2003). In the study, 65 of the 82 interviewees (79 per cent) had experienced prejudice and harassment in the preceding 12 months, an increase of 17 per cent over a previous survey in 1999. Of the 65 incidents, 63 involved the local community. Twenty interviewees (31 per cent) reported prejudice and harassment from the police, but this was down from 41 per cent in the previous survey. Several of the incidents occurred in England, and some in other areas of Scotland, with only three incidents in Grampian. A substantial

number of Gypsy / Traveller interviewees commented positively on the police service in Scotland.

Police harassment is one route into engagement with criminal justice. Much harassment focuses on the monitoring of vehicles: this includes the highly sensitive context of funerals (Coxhead, 2007; Power, 2004). Minor motoring charges can provide a basis for further attention from criminal justice agencies. There is evidence that motoring offences can be a frequent trigger for initial engagement with the system, leading to rapid criminalisation. Power (2003) referred to a 1994 study by Stanton in Newark, which found that the police targeted Travellers for vehicle-related offences, often minor in nature. They could be held overnight, and then bail conditions were imposed that were hard for them to meet, leading to remand in custody. Assumptions that Travellers are more likely to skip bail, and therefore face a much greater likelihood of being remanded in custody, were echoed by the consultation response from Father Barry, the Roman Catholic Chaplain at Full Sutton Prison.

The route into criminal justice through minor motoring offences also featured in a consultation response from a specialist local authority social worker: 'We feel that one of the key pathways into offending for Travellers may stem from driving without a licence ... and that many Travellers may drive without a licence because educational exclusions may prevent them from passing the theory test'. This is another example of how exclusion in one area (education) may lead to further disadvantage in other areas. However, Pizani Williams' (1996) study in Kent did not find any disproportionate involvement of Gypsies and Travellers in vehicle-related offences.

Power (2004, p. 100) concluded from his interviews with Irish Travellers and agencies working with them, that the pressure on Travellers to move into housing following the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (CJPOA), and the associated reduction or loss of their social and family support structures, had led 'to the social alienation and criminalisation of young Travellers'. The subsequent introduction of Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) under the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 has also had a particular impact on Gypsy and Traveller families. Although designed to support local people who are experiencing problems with other residents, they have often been used for minor behavioural misdemeanours. They are applied under civil law, where the standard of proof is lower than that required in a criminal case, but any breach of this civil order becomes a criminal offence and sentences include fines or imprisonment. ASBOs have been criticised by many for accelerating criminalisation and reinforcing intolerance (Garrett, 2006; Squires & Stephen, 2006). The kind of triggers for introduction of an ASBO, include behavioural factors that are

linked to sedentary norms. The different cultural behaviour patterns of Traveller families, particularly on crowded housing estates, are likely to lead to neighbour reports and the institution of ASBOs.

Greenfields (2006, p. 164) reported anecdotal evidence that the first two ASBOs in one northern city were against Irish Traveller families, objections including visits from extended families, children being out of school, noise and the behaviour of young people and their relatives and friends. The consultation response from Father Barry commented: 'The ASBO has been particularly used against Traveller families who have had to settle on estates where their naturally exuberant behaviour can become problematic'.

Another council (Wakefield) subsequently sought, unsuccessfully, to apply blanket ASBOs to five well-known Gypsy and Traveller stopping-places (Greenfields, 2006). More recently (April 2008), the MP for Stockport led demands for ASBOs to be used against Gypsies and Travellers in her area (Williams, 2008). In practice, therefore, as anticipated by critics, this measure generates discrimination. Because of the role of neighbour surveillance, it draws heavily on the prejudice of both public and local authorities towards Gypsies and Travellers, and is therefore oppressive to these minority communities, as well as towards other stigmatised groups such as young people. It also paves the way for a criminal record by the back door.

Media reports, typically based on conjecture rather than evidence, suggest that Gypsies are becoming involved in 'distraction burglary', whereby a member of the public, often an older person, is kept talking while burglary takes place. A Home Office report noted that 'a sizeable percentage of distraction burglary offenders are itinerants (often shunned by the travelling community for their behaviour), or people who are dependent on illegal drugs' (Home Office, 2008, p. 22). No research study has been found that addresses this area, but it would seem to be necessary in order to investigate these problematic claims that can further label and damage Gypsy and Traveller communities.

Gypsies and Travellers are themselves also victims of crime, an experience that does not accord with stereotypical images held by the public. In marginal unauthorised sites they can be particularly vulnerable to theft or harassment (James, 2007). However, high barriers stand in the way of them expecting redress for these crimes or reporting them. Their experiences with police and other agencies whose main role has been to control and limit their lifestyle, and which frequently perpetuate racist responses, do not encourage them to trust that they will be taken seriously. In the Devon needs assessment involving New Travellers, Romany Gypsies, Irish Travellers and Showpeople, James (2007) found that, while 23 per cent had been

victims of crime, which equates with national averages, only 17 per cent of these had reported them to the police. The rate was especially low for racist offences. In the West of England needs assessment, Greenfields et al (2007) also found significant under-reporting of racism offences, and the Cambridgeshire assessment found, similarly, that 'almost nobody would consider reporting such an incident unless it was extremely serious' (Greenfields, 2006, p. 160).

There is also a consistent strand of evidence through different studies that some Gypsies and Travellers have adopted a resigned approach towards such experiences, downplaying them and seeing them as an intrinsic part of their cultural experiences, and not expecting assistance from the authorities. Meek (2007, p. 141) reported a young Gypsy's experience of police harassment before his prison sentence: 'there was a bit of harassment before I came in. Just after Christmas we was raided four times like. Nothing you can do about that I suppose'. Greenfields (2006, p. 160) commented, in relation to the Cambridgeshire study, that 'it was taken as a hazard of Travelling life' and 'considered a waste of time to report such events'. Taggart's (2007) study in Grampian concluded that very few incidents were reported, that there was a lack of confidence in the progress of any complaint, and an acceptance of the inevitability of prejudice and harassment for Gypsies and Travellers: 'I have had it all my life' (Taggart, 2007, p. 114). However, there is perhaps a slightly different emphasis in this region, in that Taggart found that 56 per cent thought they would make a formal complaint, although again only in relation to serious incidents such as physical attack, and 27 per cent had made complaints about incidents of prejudice and harassment. The majority of these were to the police, although this amounted to only 14 complaints, while seven were to the local racial equality council, and one to the local authority. Overall however, Taggart found similar results to his original study in 1999 in relation to the reporting of racism.

The available evidence about Gypsies' and Travellers' experiences of probation and youth offending teams again indicates extensive discrimination. Power (2003) re-examined studies on pre-sentence reports (PSRs) on Irish people, including Irish Travellers. He also undertook a series of interviews with criminal justice professionals working with Irish Travellers and with offenders themselves. PSRs have a great impact on sentencing and therefore capture significant elements in the decision-making process. Subsequent to the Race Relations (Amendment) Act, there are formalised 'gatekeeping' arrangements within the probation service and youth offending teams, whereby all PSRs are monitored to ensure they do not carry discriminatory assumptions or information. However, the lack of awareness of the racism experienced by white minorities (Garrett, 2004a), and the generalised lack of

awareness of Gypsy and Traveller ethnicity and invisibility in terms of ethnic monitoring, means that this scrutiny often does not include them. According to Power (2003, p. 258), the systematic lack of recognition of ethnicity leads to Irish Travellers being constructed as a criminal community rather than an ethnic minority. The lack of ethnic monitoring means that research in this area can itself be problematic. Pizani Williams' (1996) study was only possible because she negotiated for the ethnic monitoring of 'Travellers' to be undertaken by the probation service for the period of her research as an addition to normal processes, and for parallel measures to be undertaken by the police.

Power found that information about nomadism or even a suspicion about nomadism or transience was treated negatively in some PSRs. This could involve inclusion of extraneous information about previous moves as well as phrasing that might raise doubts about the person to be sentenced. Power's interviews confirmed these findings and indicated that reports could contain coded messages implying untrustworthiness to magistrates, who could also be expected to be prejudiced. A probation officer he interviewed commented: 'If you read the report you would know the hidden message that this person is a Traveller and that they're a bit dodgy'. There are direct implications for higher tariff sentencing for Irish Travellers. Although anti-oppressive practice within probation should lead to PSRs acknowledging the importance of structural factors such as poverty, poor housing and racism for offending behaviour, Power (2003, p. 261) argues that 'nomadism … and the criminalisation of nomadism are barely recognised structural factors, though they underpin much of the negative stereotyping applied to Travellers'. Some years earlier, Pizani Williams (1996) had also found clear evidence of differential sentencing. Power concluded that 'given that attitude to the young [Irish Traveller] people - it's obvious that they are going to accumulate really hefty criminal records within a very short space of time' (Power, 2003, p. 260).

The accelerated criminalisation can occur at all stages. For example, Pizani Williams (1996) found that 52 per cent of Gypsies and Travellers had never been cautioned for a prior offence before they were prosecuted. A study in 1994 by the then National Association of Chief Officers of Probation and the National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders found that 38 per cent of admissions to Feltham Young Offenders Institution of all young people classified as white were Travellers (Action Group for Irish Youth (AGIY), 1997). The Action Group for Irish Youth (1997, p. 7) commented that 'this abnormally high figure reflects prejudice at court about the mobility and therefore risk of absconsion of Travellers'. Clearly, Gypsies and Travellers may find themselves on a fast track to custody. Anecdotally, we are also aware that Gypsies and Travellers may be denied the option of release from custody

on an electronic tag because of official concerns about insecure accommodation making monitoring difficult.

There is also evidence of seriously damaging experiences in prison. Bhui (2005) reported on the second part of the CRE investigation into racial equality in prisons following the racist murder of Zahid Mubarek in Feltham Young Offenders Institution. This investigation highlighted Irish Travellers as a group particularly affected by prejudice and discrimination, and noted that they often had a low level of literacy skills and difficulty adapting to prison life. Imprisonment of Irish Travellers was further considered through interviews with professionals and offenders by Power (2003, 2004). He referred to their difficulties understanding the system and prison regulations, exacerbated by lack of literacy, but which could lead to further trouble involving disciplinary charges and extended sentences. In the light of previous events in Northern Ireland, the employment of former military personnel within the prison service added to the potential difficulties faced by Irish prisoners (Power, 2004).

Father Barry's consultation response drew attention to the barrier of a lack of literacy for attending offending behaviour courses, which adversely affects prisoners' progress in their sentences, and can cause them to be assessed as having a higher risk of re-offending on release. Father Barry stated that this can lead to the imposition of an Indeterminate Public Protection Order, characterised as 'in effect a Life Licence for not being able to attend a course due to lack of literacy skills'. Low levels of literacy and non-affirming educational experiences are not conducive to adapting to the prison educational environment. Meek's (2007) case study of a young male Gypsy's experience of prison and release, found that he was excluded from basic skills classes for 'disruptive' behaviour; he himself compared the classes to his negative experiences at school.

Father Barry also referred to the great importance of family religious events for Travellers, including baptisms, confirmation, first holy communion, marriages and funerals. Having to miss these events can be extremely stressful for Travellers, especially missing funerals of a loved one that can assist with managing grief. He linked this to incidents of self-harm and suicide attempts (as discussed in Chapter 3). Power (2004) also discussed Traveller prisoners' increased difficulties of maintaining contact with nomadic families. Anecdotal evidence indicates that young Travellers in young offender institutions can become very isolated from their families. The prison environment itself can be culturally much more difficult for Travellers to cope with, for example in relation to the enclosed setting, and to cultural hygiene rules when the toilet is located a few feet from where the prisoner has to eat, as highlighted by Father Barry. Most of the discussion of prison refers to men, but Father Barry also

referred to the additional stress experienced by Traveller women separated from their families, when caring for those families is their primary cultural role, and particularly when their children are then adopted outside the Traveller community (see Chapter 5).

Finally, Power (2004) discussed the further difficulties for Travellers when they leave prison, and how after-care systems are designed for a sedentary population, not the needs of Gypsies and Travellers. If they have no local connection, local services will often not support them. This may result in them not receiving the assistance they need with accommodation, training or employment, and not being supported to avoid further offending.

Addressing inequality

While this discussion has highlighted a range of problems, the negative findings point to the need for ethnic monitoring, rigorous racial equality policies and strategies that include Gypsies and Travellers, close monitoring of outcomes, extensive training of staff, and widespread development of culturally appropriate responses in partnership with community members.

There are some good practice initiatives. The first concerns developments in partnership between the police and communities in some areas. As discussed above, key problems in policing relating to Gypsies and Travellers have been identified as including the level of prejudice and stereotyping combined with a lack of acknowledgement that Gypsies and Travellers experience racism, the need to change hearts and minds, to have committed organisational leadership, to engage with the communities, and to move beyond training to workplace performance development and monitoring (Coxhead, 2005). Jones and Newburn (2001) identified Gypsies and Travellers as a 'hard to reach' group in the context of the police seeking to improve community relations. Coxhead (2005) challenged this concept and considered issues from the communities' perspective in which the criminal justice system is 'hard to talk to'.

Coxhead (2005, 2007) discussed the processes of engaging with Gypsy and Traveller communities, initially in Derbyshire through the Derbyshire Gypsy Liaison Group (DGLG). A partnership developed in which DGLG, and other Gypsy activists (such as Patrick Delaney, the father of murdered teenager Johnny Delaney) firstly developed training programmes for the police and then, in recognition of the limits of training as discussed earlier, moved beyond this to a process of partnership working to solve problems and truly engage in dialogue. A series of meetings and conferences led to the establishment of a national joint conference led by community

members, 'Pride not Prejudice' (see DGLG, 2007), to take these developments forward. Coxhead (2006) described this form of action learning as being 'extremely useful in working with communities to address problems and relationships'. One specific outcome was the production of a highly successful DVD, 'Del Gavvers Pukker-Cheerus' (Give the police a chance), by the Gypsy Media Company with the police (Greenfields, 2006). Coxhead (2005, 2007) also advocated the use of the community partnership problem-solving model for other parts of the justice sector and for multi-agency learning. He stressed the importance of engaging in long-term work and adequately acknowledging and recompensing the contribution of community members. However, such initiatives also need to recognise the barriers created for many Gypsies and Travellers by insecure accommodation and educational disadvantage.

Power (2003, 2004) discussed a good practice example in a youth offending team (YOT) when a young woman in a nomadic family was enabled to continue with her community sentence through flexibility in relation to the national standards for twice-weekly reporting (once-weekly was accepted instead), a clear and honest contract with the young woman about staying out of trouble, and active engagement with her family. This 'thinking and acting outside the box' prevented a custodial sentence, and enhanced understanding and cooperation between the young woman and her family and the YOT.

Morran's (2001, 2002) studies in Scotland highlighted the need for social workers to be aware of complex cultural issues, particularly for Gypsy / Travellers living in housing, the importance of being realistic and clear about what probation or community service involves, some reflection on difficulties in relation to national standards, and the importance of flexibility for Travellers who are moving around. Although this is based on social workers' reflections rather than an evaluation of practice, it demonstrates a willingness to think through appropriate approaches.

Some race equality organisations that provide support in relation to racist incidents are reaching out to Gypsy and Traveller communities in order to encourage access to their support. The police have also negotiated contact points in the community where such crimes can be reported rather than directly to the police. Several respondents to the consultation referred to delivering training on Gypsy and Traveller issues to the police and other sections of the criminal justice system, including magistrates, prison staff and governors, probation officers and psychologists. As mentioned earlier, a specialist Traveller team runs driving theory support groups to assist Travellers to gain a licence and avoid the motoring offences that can be the start of engagement with criminal justice.

Within the prison system, there are models of support groups for Irish or Irish Traveller prisoners, both women and men, offering social and educational support (Father Barry's consultation response; Power, 2004). Although limited detail is available on how they work, they aim to: assist Gypsies and Travellers in prison to maintain cultural links; develop materials to share information about their culture with other prisoners; share and develop skills and strategies for managing the prison environment and rules; provide mutual support in relation to racist incidents; provide a foundation of knowledge and skills for making complaints about such incidents; and provide a safe environment for developing basic educational skills. The groups have organised Travellers Awareness Days for both prison and external criminal justice staff. According to Father Barry, 'the Travellers have spoken eloquently about their needs (including experiences of eviction, offending behaviour, problems with incarceration and separation from their way of life), a first for many of them when you consider the traditional antipathy the Travellers feel towards speaking at public events'. Such groups could be evaluated, built on and extended throughout the prison system. A consultation response from a member of the Prison Service referred to Travellers successfully participating in a restorative justice course run by the Prison Fellowship in the Chapel.

Other equality and human rights Issues

The cumulative evidence makes clear that racism is a very strong factor throughout the criminal justice system for Gypsies and Travellers, resulting in over-representation and severe inequality. Racism is closely connected with anti-nomadic, sedentarist attitudes and practices. In the wider area of lifestyle control and surveillance, sedentarism is a key element in the over-policing and under-protection of Gypsies and Travellers. Some key human rights are also in jeopardy, for example the right to a fair trial and the right to respect for family life (as when funerals cannot be attended by prisoners).

Most of the criminal justice studies are about men's experiences. Partly this reflects the predominance of men in criminal justice, and overwhelmingly the findings relate to men. However, the gender dimension of their experiences, particularly in prison, and how the construction of masculinities interweaves with cultural and discriminatory factors, are not generally explored, as they are for example in relation to young Gypsy males and school (Levinson & Sparkes, 2003): nevertheless, Meek (2007) does draw on their analysis in relation to the experiences of a young Gypsy in prison. Alongside systematic research into Gypsies' and Travellers' criminal justice experiences, exploration of the negotiation of masculinities in different settings and the further difficulties this may create could usefully be explored.

There also needs to be sustained attention given to ascertaining the numbers of Traveller women of different ethnicities in prison, their treatment within prisons, and the specific difficulties they may experience in relation to cultural and childcare issues.

Pizani Williams (1996) did not find disproportionate representation of younger Gypsies and Travellers in the criminal justice system. However, the more recent studies and consultation evidence indicate that this may have changed, particularly perhaps for young Irish Travellers who have been forced into different forms of settled accommodation in cities and may experience rapid criminalisation processes. This needs further investigation.

The studies have yielded no direct findings in relation to disability and sexual orientation. However, the low level of literacy of many Irish Traveller prisoners creates many additional problems for them within the prison system.

Recommendations

i. Adequate, culturally appropriate and flexible accommodation needs to be provided for Gypsies and Travellers to assist in reducing the deleterious impact of over-policing and surveillance, and the culturally damaging effect of having to move into housing.

ii. All services involved in the criminal justice system should have clear race equality strategies that specifically include Gypsies and Travellers.

iii. There needs to be clear organisational leadership in relation to these strategies.

iv. Training should be provided at all levels involving members of the communities.

v. Strenuous efforts need to be made by the police and race equality organisations to work in partnership with the communities to enhance confidence in reporting racist incidents, and to give serious attention to such incidents.

vi. The model of partnership-working with the communities that is represented by 'Pride not Prejudice' should be extended throughout the police service and adapted for other services.

vii. Training on cultural issues needs to be developed within services and also embedded in performance appraisal. Workshops and discussion groups can

be more effective training forums than one-off training events (as discussed by Coxhead, 2007).

viii. Ethnic monitoring that is designed in consultation with Gypsy and Traveller communities should be introduced and undertaken consistently throughout the system.

ix. Support systems need to be established for Gypsies and Travellers within the prison system.

x. After-care support for Gypsies and Travellers needs to be put in place, with particular attention to those who have lost contact with family, and those whose lifestyle is nomadic or semi-nomadic.

xi. Systematic research is needed to investigate the experiences of different groups of Gypsies and Travellers in the criminal justice system, in relation to initial contact with the police, preventive work with young people, pre-sentence report-writing by youth offending teams or probation, the impact of national standards on the availability of culturally appropriate methods of working, access to legal services, court processes, sentencing decisions and their impact, community sentences, and experience of prison.

xii. Research should investigate the numbers and experiences of women Gypsies and Travellers in the criminal justice system.

6.2   Legal services

The policy context

Much of the legal discourse around Gypsies and Travellers is concerned with issues of definition, provision of sites within the framework of planning legislation, eviction processes and what might be defined as equalities, discrimination and human rights issues.

The question of definition has given rise to much debate, and statutes relating to Gypsies and Travellers employ differing definitions of 'Gypsy'. For the purposes of the Race Relations Act 1976, for example, the definition is based on ethnicity, with Gypsies and Irish Travellers defined as belonging to particular ethnic minority groups. On the other hand, planning legislation, which is central to the life outcomes for those Gypsies and Travellers who currently have no legal site on which to reside, defines Gypsies by reference to a chosen lifestyle rather than by birth heritage. Paradoxically, this has led to the inclusion of a wider range of Gypsies and Travellers within the planning definition, but also to the exclusion of those Gypsies and Travellers who, for whatever reason, no longer lead a nomadic life. Understandably, this has given rise to tensions between more traditional communities such as English Romany Gypsies and Irish Travellers, and New Travellers who are not a distinct ethnic group but who follow a lifestyle that defines their status (Ofsted, 1996).

Given the complexity of the law insofar as it relates to Gypsies and Travellers, access to legal advice and help is essential in ensuring that members of the travelling community are able to access justice and fair outcomes to the challenges that they face. However, there is very limited information about the extent to which Gypsies and Travellers are able to access legal services, and a need for further research within this area. There are a number of organisations that provide legal or quasi-legal casework, including the Traveller Advice Team in Birmingham, Friends, Families and Travellers in Brighton, the London Gypsy and Traveller Unit, and the Derbyshire Gypsy Liaison Group, but there is no aggregated data about the numbers of cases undertaken by each agency within each category, nor any systemic recording of outcomes across the various agencies. Each organisation delivering casework reports a high and continuing caseload and this may indicate that these agencies are only meeting the tip of the iceberg of the need for casework help. By the same token, there is no aggregated data about the outcomes of specific types of cases undertaken for example, complaints against the police.

The legal framework

Details of the legislative framework (statutes, circulars and guidance) within which legal issues are addressed and determined are listed on the Communities and Local Government (CLG) website and considered in 'Gypsy and Traveller Law' (Johnson & Willers, 2007). The main relevant statutes are the:

- Caravan Sites Act 1968

- Mobile Homes Act 1983

- Town and County Planning Act 1990

- Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994

- Human Rights Act 1998

- Housing Act 2004.

These are supplemented by key circulars, guidance and research papers, many of which focus on the criteria which local authorities should take into account when considering eviction from unauthorised sites and the processes to be followed when managing unauthorised encampments. Circulars addressing this area include:

- Gypsy Sites Policy and Unauthorised Camping (DoE Circular, 18/94). This Circular issued by the then Department of Environment in 1994 offers guidance on the provisions in sections 77 to 80 of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994.

- Guidance on Managing Unauthorised Camping (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2004a). This guidance was issued jointly by the former Office of the Deputy Prime Minister and the Home Office in February 2004 and updates guidance previously issued jointly by the then Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions and the Home Office in 1998.

- Supplement to the Guidance on Managing Unauthorised Camping (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2005). This supplement takes account of the provisions in the Anti-social Behaviour Act 2003.

- Guide to Effective Use of Enforcement Powers – Part 1: Unauthorised Encampments (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2006a).

- Guide to Effective Use of Enforcement Powers – Part 2: Unauthorised development of Caravan Sites (CLG, 2007i).

To a certain extent, the more recent guidance merely expands on the guiding principles that were laid down in Circular 18/94, which made it clear that: local authorities should not use their powers to evict Gypsies needlessly; basic facilities should be provided on unauthorised sites; local authorities should have regard to the health, education and social care needs of the Gypsies; and that the availability of alternative sites should be taken into account when deciding whether or not to evict. In certain respects, the wording of the circular (rather than the way it has been applied in practice by local authorities) provides for a greater degree of tolerance of informal (but unauthorised) stopping-places than more recent official thinking. The latter tends to be based on the premise that by making provision to meet the shortfall in permanent pitches and also developing a number of transit sites, the needs of nomadic communities will be fully met. In that scenario, the tolerance of informal stopping-places (other than designated emergency stopping-places), even where they have little or no impact on the sedentary community, would no longer be necessary. Many campaigning groups see this development as threatening the concept of nomadism.

There are also a number of Government documents and research papers that address the need to analyse the extent of current site provision, the degree of unmet need and how to make provision to meet the need. They include:

- The provision and condition of local authority Gypsy / Traveller sites in England (Niner, 2002, for Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM)).

- Local authority Gypsy / Traveller sites in England (Niner, 2003, for ODPM)

- Counting Gypsies and Travellers: A Review of the Gypsy Caravan Count System (Niner, 2004, for ODPM).

- Planning for Gypsy and Traveller Caravan Sites - Circular 01/06 (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2006).

- Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Needs Assessments: Guidance (CLG, 2007a)

- Local Authorities and Gypsies and Travellers: a Guide to Responsibilities and Powers (CLG, 2007b)

- Definition of the term 'Gypsies and Travellers' for the purposes of the Housing Act 2004 - Final Regulatory Impact Assessment (CLG, 2007j).

- Gypsies and Travellers: Housing Act 2004 Factsheet (CLG, 2007k).

- The Road Ahead: Final Report of the Independent Task Group on Site

Provision for Gypsies and Travellers (CLG, 2007l).

- Gypsy and Traveller Sites Grant Guidance 2008-2011 (CLG, 2008a).

Gypsy Traveller Accommodation Assessments (GTAAs) are the means of analysing, quantifying and addressing unmet need. These are to be carried out by local housing authorities or groups of authorities. Findings are then fed into regional bodies and subjected to scrutiny. Each local planning authority is then given a specific pitch requirement, to be met through the planning process. There has been considerable criticism of some GTAAs from local Gypsy and Traveller communities who do not feel they have been adequately involved in the process, and on the basis that some of the assessments have taken the unreliable bi-annual Gypsy caravan counts as their starting-point. There is also however, some reluctance to challenge the figures on the basis that it is better to achieve some provision than to see the whole protracted process delayed any further. The Government has advised local authorities that where there is a clear unmet need, they do not have to wait for the outcome of the Local Development Framework allocations but can provide sites in advance of the process. However, few local authorities are showing willingness to do so, despite the Government announcement in December 2007 of £97 million grant aid for new sites or the refurbishment of existing ones.

In addition to the statutes, circulars, guidance and research papers referred to above, there is a considerable amount of case law, which has informed not only the outcomes of cases that come before the Courts, but also the policies, practices and attitudes of local authorities towards issues such as eviction and service-provision. Johnson and Willers (2007) provide the most up-to-date guide to relevant case law.

Issues raised in casework services

Around 80 per cent of the casework carried out by Friends, Families and Travellers is on behalf of traditional Travelling communities (English Romany Gypsies and Irish Travellers) and the remaining 20 per cent on behalf of New Travellers and other groups. The main themes emerging from the casework in the 12-month period up to March 2008 are:

- Racism and discrimination from neighbours and landlords towards housed Gypsies and Travellers, resulting in people being forced to move, sometimes repeatedly, in an effort to escape the harassment. This has sometimes led to intentionally homeless decisions, making it difficult or impossible for people to be rehoused. There is a general lack of awareness among Gypsies and Travellers about actions that can lead to intentional homelessness. There

appears to be an increasing pattern both into and out-of bricks and mortar housing amongst clients who find themselves caught between the traumas of life on the road, with its frequent enforced movement, and the social isolation, discrimination and harassment that can typify the bricks and mortar experience of a traditional Gypsy or Traveller.

- Lack of support for Gypsies and Travellers who are unable to finance the costs of challenging local authority planning decisions through the appeals system. This is a particularly important issue given the lack of progress of local authorities in identifying and bringing forward new publicly-owned sites to meet existing needs.

- Poor management of sites can include disagreements and feuds between site residents being ignored by the landlord or site manager, alleged trouble-makers not being dealt with, repairs and maintenance not being carried out, and site residents not being involved in or consulted upon future plans for the site. Private site managers may sometimes be seen as giving preference to one set of residents over others. This can be exacerbated by a lack of transparency in allocation policies, leading to suspicions of favouritism.

- Problems relating to financial exclusion include: difficulties in obtaining a bank account; Gypsies and Travellers on local authority sites being unable to obtain insurance for their caravans; 'fair trader' schemes introduced by trading standards services, which discriminate against people without a fixed business address; and policies in some local authorities of 'zero tolerance of cold-calling zones', making it more difficult to obtain employment in this way.

Gypsies, Travellers and the law

There is much anecdotal evidence which suggests that, for most Gypsies and Travellers, initial engagement with legal processes is likely to be as a defendant or recipient of legal process rather than as a plaintiff or complainant. Friends, Families and Travellers report that while their outreach service deals with many cases of alleged racism against Gypsies and Travellers, few of these had hitherto been reported as racist incidents. Brighton and Hove City Council, whose community safety service has carried out cutting-edge work in respect of hate crime, reported that within a recent 12 month period, no single case of a racist incident had been reported by a Gypsy or Traveller.

It has already been pointed out (cf. Greenfields & Home, 2005) that Gypsies and Travellers have always laboured under the burden of popular and unjust associations with criminality. This factor, coupled with the institutionalised racism towards Gypsies

and Travellers that can exist within official agencies and service-providers, has led to a high degree of mistrust of officialdom within the travelling communities and reluctance to seek remedies for complaints through legal or official processes. Such reluctance extends to New Travellers. Only a small minority of New Travellers engage with court processes in respect of family law (Greenfields, 2002), tending to rely on trust when, for instance, negotiating post-separation parenting arrangements and only resorting to legal action if all other routes fail.

There is however, a lack of research evidence about the extent to which Gypsies and Travellers proactively resort to legal remedies, compared with the sedentary community. The lack of ethnic monitoring of Gypsies and Travellers by official agencies (which should be remedied when English Romany Gypsies and Irish Travellers are included as separate ethnic groups in the 2011 Census) means that it is almost impossible to obtain quantitative data about the extent of Gypsy and Traveller engagement in legal processes, as compared with the sedentary community.

Recommendations

i. All agencies and service providers which carry out ethnic monitoring should amend their ethnic categories now to include Romany Gypsies and Irish Travellers.

ii. Local Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships should assess whether there is currently likely to be under-reporting of racist incidents against Gypsies and Travellers within their area and carry out targeted action to encourage reporting of such incidents by Gypsies and Travellers.

iii. There should be further research on the extent to which Gypsies and Travellers are currently succeeding in accessing legal or quasi-legal help through Community Legal Services or non-legal-aided services.

7. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION, COMMUNITY COHESION AND RELIGION

7.1 Political participation

There is a dearth of research specifically related to political participation by Gypsies and Travellers, though findings from a range of other studies including Gypsy Traveller Accommodation Assessments (GTAAs) shed light on some of the conditions affecting Gypsies' and Travellers' engagement with the representative political system. Firstly, the barriers to voter registration are multiple. They include physical difficulties related to lack of secure sites, enforced mobility, lack of a postal address, and restricted postal deliveries even if resident on some public sites. Focus groups during GTAAs revealed numerous examples of the unwillingness of the Post Office to deliver on sites, or dependence on periodic visits from a warden to release mail from an office (Greenfields et al, 2007; Niner 2003, 2006).

The pervasive racism, hostility and rejection Gypsies and Travellers experience from mainstream society, undermines any confidence they might have in engaging in voting or membership of political parties. Citizens expect that their political leaders will demonstrate commitment to developing solutions to political, social and economic problems. However, in relation to Gypsies and Travellers, the expression of overt racism extends to the top of the political hierarchy. Councillors and Members of Parliament (MPs) have contributed explicitly to the racism experienced by the communities (National Assembly of Wales (NAW), 2003; Turner, 2002). Whereas the votes of other minority groups are courted (Turner 2000), some councillors, MPs and a Secretary of State have engaged in vilifying and abusing Gypsies and Travellers. When Jack Straw was Home Secretary in 2000, he spoke on Radio West Midlands of his belief that many Travellers 'go burgling, thieving, breaking into vehicles, causing all kinds of trouble, including defecating in doorways of firms' and that they are 'masquerading as law-abiding Gypsies, when many are not' (Travellers Times, 2000, January, (8), p. 6; Turner, 2000, p. 68). As Turner comments, 'people … now have the official seal of approval' for discriminatory beliefs.

Father Barry's consultation response referred to a meeting at which the Minister for Prisons, Paul Goggins, was very concerned about supporting the Afro-Caribbean community but when asked about the portrayal of Travellers, 'felt able to make it clear that many of his colleagues complained to him about the activities of Travellers and that Traveller families have to take responsibility for their actions'. This was 'a very different response for this much maligned community which would never be considered acceptable if said of any other community'.

Turner (2002) analysed the language used in the House of Commons to describe Gypsies (and Travellers) between 1988/9 and 2001. Gypsies were rarely discussed but if they were, it was almost always in a negative light. Turner categorised the stereotypical images presented into types that are familiar from other sources, including the media (Morris, 2000). They involved presenting Gypsies as criminals, outsiders, a menace, dirty, dishonest, immoral and amoral. Nomadism was presented as problematic, and the long-standing mythical division into 'real' and 'fake' Gypsies was actively perpetuated. Gypsies were discussed as a 'problem' to be controlled, with virtually no mention of the discrimination and disadvantage they experience. Similar overt expressions of discrimination on the part of local councillors are well known anecdotally and through local media. Serious questions therefore arise for Gypsies and Travellers about any gains from exercising their democratic right to vote.

Even where elected politicians are not actively discriminatory, many will be swayed by other constituents' hostility towards Gypsies and Travellers into opposing sites and not showing any support for Travellers, so as not to lose votes. In Richardson's (2007, p. 64) study, councillors in one area believed they would be committing 'political suicide' if they backed site plans in the face of vociferous local hostility. Father Barry commented in his consultation response that 'with few notable exceptions, party politics offers little in the way of hope for the Traveller community. Any promises made to Travellers concerning sites or community support, are quickly forgotten in the heat of an upcoming election. It would seem that there are no votes to be gained from caring for Travellers, but quite a few from pandering to prejudice.'

Barriers also affect involvement in the broader arena of participatory democracy, rather than purely representative democracy. Public involvement and participation in planning and developing services is a major plank of Government policy (Postle & Beresford, 2007; Taylor, 2003) expressed most recently in the Local Government and Public Involvement in Health Act 2007. However, while service-user participation has increased for the mainstream in the last 20 years, it has decreased among ethnic minority groups (Social Care Institute for Excellence, 2006). Gypsies and Travellers face greater obstacles than most ethnic minority groups in relation to enforced mobility, lack of access to services, lack of trust in services, limited literacy, hostility and rejection from the sedentary population, as discussed in other sections of this report. They have also had less access to support for self-organisation and community development than other groups (see later section on community development).

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Addressing inequality

Despite these problems, community publications, newsletters and conferences provide evidence of vibrant political involvement and leadership by some Gypsy and Traveller individuals and groups.

For example, Bernadette Devlin, who represented a Northern Ireland constituency at Westminster in the 1970s, had a Traveller background (Turner, 2000). There have been no Gypsy or Traveller MPs since then although there are Roma MPs in Europe. The late Charlie Smith was elected a Labour district councillor in the 1990s and subsequently mayor of Castle Point in 2003, as well as being a political activist on behalf of Gypsies and chair of the Gypsy Council (The Hub, Newsletter of the Gypsy Council, Spring, 2003, p. 7). Candy Sheridan has been twice elected councillor in North Norfolk and is active in promoting sites and challenging public opposition (Travellers Times 2007, Summer, (32), p. 3).

Other Gypsies and Travellers are highly active politically in lobbying Government, engaging with parliamentary groups and speaking at conferences. Sylvia Dunn, who sadly died in September 2008, and was founder and president of the National Association of Gypsy Women, struggled for Gypsies' and Travellers' rights for education, health, accommodation, and fair treatment in the media for over 50 years (Travellers Times 2001, April, (11), p. 11). Political activity for many Gypsy and Traveller activists arises directly from their own and others' experiences of human rights abuses and, as in Sylvia Dunn's case, from her passionate support of her community. She once commented that at first 'I didn't know I was an activist' (Travellers Times 2005, Spring, (23), p. 4). Campaigners such as Sylvia Dunn and Peter Mercer have also been widely engaged in groups throughout Europe.

The growth of Gypsy and Traveller organisations, conferences and activities in the last decade has been remarkably strong. Some organisations, such as the Romani Rights Association, the Society for Traveller People and the Gypsy Council (The Hub, 2004; Newsletter of the Gypsy Council, Spring, p. 23) are of many years standing, while others have developed in the last two decades, such as the Derbyshire Gypsy Liaison Group, Friends, Families and Travellers and the Irish Traveller Movement. A very significant development was the coming together of different groups to form a solid political front, in the former Gypsy and Traveller Law Reform Coalition (which won the Liberty Human Rights Award in 2004), and subsequently the National Federation of Gypsy Liaison Groups. These developments have met a response among sympathetic politicians, for example the All Party Parliamentary Group on Gypsy and Traveller Law Reform, and public service

workers, such as sections of the Police in the annual Pride not Prejudice conferences (see Chapter 6).

Participation and speaking on behalf of the communities at national and international conferences is an important route for budding activists to develop political skills while gaining support, for example Scottish Gypsy / Travellers Clementine and Charlene Macdonald at a conference on Roma women and health in Vienna in 2003 (Travellers Times 2003, Spring, (15), p. 9) and another young Scottish Gypsy / Traveller, Nadia Foy, who addressed the United Nations in Geneva and said: 'For too long, we've allowed others to speak for us - or we've kept quiet' (Travellers Times 2000, December, (10), pp. 6-7).

Young Gypsies and Travellers are increasingly self-organising and engaging in community and political activity. Blue Jones, a 13 year-old Romany Irish Gypsy from Kent, is already an activist involved in a local Youth Council and the Kent Youth Parliament, and has addressed national conferences of the National Youth Agency (NYA, 2007, p. 15) and the Ormiston Children's Trust. Bridie Jones and a group of young Gypsies and Irish Travellers presented a protest letter to the Prime Minister on behalf of the Gypsy and Traveller Law Reform Coalition in 2005 (Travellers Times 2005, Winter, (22), p. 2). Young Scottish Gypsy / Travellers in North-East Scotland are meeting under the auspices of 'Article 12 in Scotland' (a reference to article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child). They referred to the difficulties of meeting because of travelling and challenged authorities to use broadcast or web media to consult them: 'Young Travellers want to influence decision-making – just ask us – you've got the technology!' (Article 12 in Scotland, undated).

Gypsy and Traveller groups are also putting political parties under the spotlight, especially at election times, in terms of how their policies relate to the communities. Both The Hub (the newsletter of the Gypsy Council) and Travellers Times carried features in the spring of 2005 before the general election. The Hub (2005, pp. 8-9), reminded readers that some MPs had small majorities and could be unseated, and encouraged people to register to vote. Some politicians and some party policies are demonstrating engagement with Gypsy and Traveller issues. As well as supportive parliamentary groups and MPs who take a lead, such as Julie Morgan, some councillors at local level are actively promoting an understanding of Gypsy and Traveller issues and the need for sites (Richardson, 2007).

Recommendations

i. Inequalities relating to accommodation need to be addressed in order to remove barriers to voter registration for Gypsies and Travellers.

ii. Normal postal deliveries to individual accommodation units need to be provided on all Gypsy and Traveller sites.

iii. Elected politicians of all parties and at all levels must not only commit themselves to avoiding direct expressions of racism and discrimination towards Gypsies and Travellers, but must adopt an approach in keeping with the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 and the Human Rights Act 1998 to promote inclusive non-discriminatory policies and solutions in relation to Gypsies and Travellers.

iv. Elected politicians should provide positive political leadership in tackling embedded issues of inequality and friction between communities.

v. Community members, including young people, who are taking political and community leadership in promoting solutions to the issues affecting their communities need active support and access to funding.

7.2   Community cohesion and community development

Community cohesion and community development need to be considered separately but are also integrally linked. The policy context and key findings will be presented separately, although recommendations will be combined.

The policy context of community cohesion

It is important to outline the background to the development of community cohesion definitions, policies and practice guidance in order to provide a context for subsequent discussion of the extent to which Gypsies and Travellers experience inequality and marginalisation in relation to both substantive indicators of community cohesion and in some respects the discourse of cohesion.

The term community cohesion emerged in the wake of disturbances in three Northern English towns in 2001. Alongside separate reports into the disturbances in Oldham, Burnley and Bradford, an Independent Community Cohesion Review Team reported more broadly on the national situation concerning community relations and made 67 recommendations (Cantle, 2001). A much quoted finding was that 'many communities operate on the basis of a series of parallel lives ... [that] often do not seem to touch at any point, let alone overlap and promote meaningful exchange'. The team was 'particularly struck by the depth of polarisation of our towns and cities' (Cantle, 2001, p. 9).

The report found that higher levels of poverty and unemployment were generally associated with lower levels of community cohesion, and expressed concern about the low quality of education, the 'parlous state' of youth services and 'lamentably poor' employment opportunities in some areas. The Cantle review also explored the development of the concept of community cohesion in public policy and its links with social exclusion, social capital, differentiation and community / neighbourhood. The concept was seen as incorporating the themes of social solidarity and inequality reduction, social networks and capital, alongside an emphasis on common values and civic culture, and social order and control, with strong connections to identity of place.

Another theme in the Cantle report was a lack of effective leadership in relation to cohesion: 'A significant component of the breakdown of community cohesion appears to be the extent to which a clear and consistent message has been evident from the principal political and community leaders at local level over a substantial period of years' (Cantle, 2001, p. 21). It also focused on problems arising from area-based regeneration programmes and found that community involvement was fragmented and focused on particular areas or schemes with local leaders not communicating

effectively the rationale behind a city-wide approach. This gave rise to damaging competition between communities for resources.

Subsequent debates about community cohesion have been characterised by these themes of public order, tackling fundamental inequalities, and creating opportunities for exchange and dialogue between different groups within a local area, in order to build social capital and connections and ease tensions and conflict. It can 'be seen as a development of the concept of multiculturalism in which the emphasis on separateness and differences is counterbalanced by the creation of interaction and commonalities' (iCoCo, 2008). Since 2001 there has been a considerable level of activity both on the ground and in local and national policy development as the parameters, opportunities and limitations of community cohesion have been explored.

The Government responded to the Cantle report and those on Bradford, Burnley and Oldham with its own report from a cross-departmental ministerial group on public order and community cohesion (the Denham report), that broadly accepted the general approach of the other reports (Home Office, 2001). While focusing initially on the seriousness of the disorders between mainly white and Asian young men in the three towns and to a lesser extent in other towns, the Denham report acknowledged the key influence of deprivation, including the neglect of facilities for young people, the pre-existing fracturing of areas along racial, generational, cultural and religious lines, weak political and community leadership, competitive regeneration funding regimes, and the activity of far-right organisations. It recognised the complexity of the interactions between economic, social and cultural issues and the need to understand these and tackle them coherently, as well as the importance of local people's involvement and perceptions in shaping policy development.

Beyond the immediate response of additional summer activities for young people and the deployment of community facilitators in areas of potential conflict, the report pledged to tackle the wide-ranging issues identified: 'We propose that community cohesion should be made an explicit aim of Government at national and local levels' (Home Office, 2001, p. 21). Lack of interaction between communities was seen as related to a lack of civic identity, which is 'important as a means to unite people and express common goals and aspirations of the whole community … Shared values are essential to give people a common sense of belonging' (Home Office, 2001, p. 19). A key element of weak leadership was 'the absence of an agreed vision of how things could be better … [and] an inability to communicate the vision and how it might be achieved to the wider community, and to counter false perceptions about resource distribution' (Home Office, 2001, p. 13). The notion of a shared vision of the future

became a strong theme of subsequent review, policy and guidance on community cohesion, including in the reports of the Commission on Integration and Cohesion some years later.

The Local Government Association (LGA) built on the Cantle and other reports to develop guidance on the definition, domains, roles and activities of community cohesion, and to outline a definition of a cohesive community as being one where:

- There is a common vision and a sense of belonging for all communities

- The diversity of people's backgrounds and circumstances are appreciated and positively valued

- Those from different backgrounds have similar life opportunities

- Strong and positive relationships are being developed between people from different backgrounds in the workplace, in schools and within neighbourhoods. (LGA, 2002, p. 6)

This definition was widely adopted in subsequent policy and analysis. The LGA also worked with the Government, the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) and the Inter-Faith Network to prepare guidance for building a local picture of community cohesion since 'all local agencies need a detailed understanding of the nature of the communities they serve in order to assess how well equipped they are to build community cohesion' (Communities and Local Government (CLG), 2003). This included 10 indicators, reflecting the themes in the 2002 definition, with a headline indicator of 'the proportion of people who feel that their local area is a place where people from different backgrounds can get on well together' (Local Government Authority (LGA) / Home Office, 2002, p. 6).

In order to examine the issues further, inform policy development and share good practice, an independent Community Cohesion Panel chaired by Ted Cantle was set up in 2002 to advise Ministers on the development of community cohesion, and a Community Cohesion Unit (CCU) was established in the Home Office. A Community Cohesion Pathfinder programme sponsored local programmes and projects for 18 months in England between 2003 and 2004 to promote community cohesion within local authority service planning and delivery, the community and voluntary sector, and communities themselves (CLG / Neighbourhood Renewal Unit (NRU), 2005). The programme's experience was reflected in publications providing guidance and case studies for local authorities (LGA, 2004) and a practitioners' toolkit (Home Office / Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM), 2005). This was followed by a guide for local authority leaders and chief executives (Improvement and Development

Agency for local government (IDeA) / LGA, 2005), and guidance for building community cohesion into the design, development and implementation of area-based initiatives (Home Office / ODPM, 2003, 2004), responding to themes raised by the Cantle report. Community Cohesion Education Standards for Schools were introduced (Home Office, 2004a), reflecting the emphasis in the Cantle report on the responsibility of schools to help create cohesive communities and its recommendation that 'all schools should be under a statutory duty to promote a respect for, and an understanding of, the cultures in the schools and the neighbouring areas, through a programme of cross-cultural contact' (Cantle, 2001, p. 36).

The Community Cohesion Panel (CCP) was centrally involved in several of the above publications and produced its final report in 2004 (CCP, 2004). While taking forward earlier themes, it also focused on the challenges posed by migration in terms of perceived competition for resources in communities. It emphasised the importance of 'the development of shared values to support a new sense of belonging for all groups in modern multi-cultural Britain' (CCP, 2004, p. 11) and the need for community cohesion to be mainstreamed and much more closely linked to the racial equality agenda, together with a range of practice recommendations (including citizenship ceremonies) and proposals from 12 associated practitioner groups involving 200 practitioners.

Alongside these various initiatives, the Government launched its own consultation paper on a community cohesion and race equality strategy (Home Office, 2004b), followed by the strategy itself. The latter foregrounded tackling racial inequality across multiple domains, as well as promoting cohesion by generating conditions for 'people from all backgrounds to come together and develop a sense of inclusion and shared British identity defined by common opportunities and mutual expectations on all citizens to contribute to society' (Home Office, 2005b, p. 11). Progress reports on the implementation of the strategy over the succeeding two years reviewed evidence of continuing inequalities and tensions, together with numerous case studies of work to promote racial equality and community cohesion, and restatements of policy responsibilities and aspirations throughout the different services (CLG, 2006a, 2007f). The limited findings related to Gypsies and Travellers in these reports will be considered below.

More recent pieces in the jigsaw of review and policy development commissioned by Government, were the establishment of the Commission on Integration and Cohesion (CIC) in 2006 and the Equalities Review in 2007 (Cabinet Office, 2007). While the remit of the CIC was cohesion, its Interim Statement made it clear that tackling

inequality was the bedrock: 'Integration and cohesion policies cannot be a substitute for national policies to reduce deprivation and provide people with more opportunities: tackling inequality is an absolute precondition for integration and cohesion' (CIC, 2007a, p. 21). The CIC took a broad view of the cohesion debate as part of wider social changes related to migration and changing population patterns. Although ethnic and religious diversity and racial equality were important themes, it also paid attention to the wider equalities agenda. Its acknowledgement of the centrality of inequality echoed earlier concerns of the Community Development Foundation (CDF), also an active player in the community cohesion debate, that the Denham report had over-emphasised identity rather than poverty and exclusion (CDF, 2005).

In the final report of the CIC there was a strong focus on local identity and action, and over 50 mainly practical recommendations (CIC, 2007b). The report stressed four key principles:

- A sense of shared futures which we believe is at the heart of our model

- An emphasis on a new model of rights and responsibilities ... that makes clear both a sense of citizenship at national and local level, and the obligations that go along with membership of a community both for individuals and groups

- An ethics of hospitality - a new emphasis on mutual respect and civility

- A commitment to equality that sits alongside the need to deliver visible social justice.
  (CIC, 2007b, p. 7)

It reiterated the Government's claim that integration is not about assimiliation (Home Office, 2004b). An important finding for the discussion later in this section was 'the critical importance of community development in supporting and building integration and cohesion' (CIC, 2007b, p. 89). This reflected input from its own commissioned research (CLG, 2007g) and from a number of organisations and practitioners, including the CDF (2007a).

The CIC also developed a new definition combining cohesion and integration. Although it acknowledged the value of some aspects of the prevailing definition as articulated by the Local Government Association (LGA) (2002), its view was that this did not sufficiently acknowledge a sense of local specificity, or how focusing on diversity could divide communities, nor did it capture the need for trust in institutions to act fairly as diversity becomes more complex in some areas, or the importance of

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mutual hospitality and respect both for those with strong local attachments and those that are strangers to the locality. While integration and cohesion are closely connected, 'cohesion is principally the process that must happen in all communities to ensure different groups of people get on well together; while integration is principally the process that ensures new residents and existing residents adapt to one another' (CIC, 2007b, p. 38). The CIC saw the two processes as going along side-by-side and interacting with one another.

The CICs proposed new definition was intended to lock the two concepts into an integrated whole, designed to be aspirational, recognise the geographical variability of the challenges involved, be clear, and recognise that integration and cohesion are 'everybody's business', not just for overtly diverse communities. The CIC definition ran as follows:

> *An integrated and cohesive community is one where:*
>
> - *There is a clearly defined and widely shared sense of the contribution of different individuals and different communities to a future vision for a neighbourhood, city, region or country*
>
> - *There is a strong sense of an individual's rights and responsibilities when living in a particular place – people know what everyone expects of them, and what they can expect in turn*
>
> - *Those from different backgrounds have similar life opportunities, access to services and treatment*
>
> - *There is a strong sense of trust in institutions locally to act fairly in arbitrating between different interests and for their role and justifications to be subject to public scrutiny*
>
> - *There is a strong recognition of the contribution of both those who have newly arrived and those who already have deep attachments to a particular place, with a focus on what they have in common*
>
> - *There are strong and positive relationships between people from different backgrounds in the workplace, in schools and other institutions within neighbourhoods.* (CIC, 2007b, p. 42)

This definition takes forward a number of the themes that have characterised the community cohesion debate since 2001, including equality, identity, and opportunities for exchange across difference, while developing the notion of rights and

responsibilities, and introducing a much stronger association with specific localities. The CIC emphasised the importance of local involvement in defining a local vision and understanding of community cohesion.

The CIC (2007b) argued that community development had a critical role in developing integration and cohesion. One critique of community cohesion policy approaches is that they are imposed on communities rather than being developed by those communities, as expressed at a conference on cohesion and conflict organised by the Community Development Foundation (CDF) (2006). The CIC found 'that active citizenship and community empowerment are also crucial to building integration and cohesion'. Referring to the Local Government White Paper, 'Strong and Prosperous Communities' (CLG, 2006b), and its emphasis on giving citizens and communities a bigger say, the CIC nonetheless stated its belief that, beyond this, 'a step change in community empowerment is necessary to achieve the multiple goals of better integration, greater involvement in decision-making and service improvement' (CIC, 2007b, p. 88).

At European level, Article 6 of the European Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities requires state parties to:

> *Encourage a spirit of tolerance and intercultural dialogue and take effective measures to promote mutual respect and understanding and co-operation among all persons living on their territory, irrespective of those persons' ethnic, cultural, linguistic or religious identity, in particular in the fields of education, culture and the media ... The Parties undertake to take appropriate measures to protect persons who may be subject to threats or acts of discrimination, hostility or violence as a result of their ethnic, cultural, linguistic or religious identity.*

Experiences of Gypsy and Traveller communities

The literature directly related to community cohesion and Gypsies and Travellers is sparse. The available findings show however, that whether the primary focus is on structural inequalities and racism or on identity issues, Gypsies and Travellers experience major inequalities in relation to issues underpinning the community cohesion agenda.

The various reports referred to above consider inequalities affecting minority groups across a range of domains. Housing, employment, education, health, access to leisure, sports and arts activities, and media representation all feature in the community cohesion studies and reports, while the Equalities Review included

criminal justice. The majority of these domains have been identified and explored in the relevant sections of this review and have revealed far-reaching inequalities affecting Gypsies and Travellers. The centrality of tackling inequalities and discrimination in order to promote the basis for cohesion clearly indicates the need for the inclusion of Gypsies and Travellers. Moreover, the level of conflict in relation to Gypsy and Traveller site proposals and encampments should be expected to feature as a trigger for cohesion concerns.

However, between 2001 and 2004 the main feature of Gypsies and Travellers in this literature is their invisibility. For example, the Community Cohesion Panel (CCP, 2004) discussed educational underachievement and accommodation policy and provision (especially in relation to refugees and asylum-seekers and segregated housing), but with no reference to Gypsies and Travellers. To some extent, particularly in relation to education, this serves to illustrate the key significance of ethnic monitoring and adequate data collection, as also argued by the CIC (2007b). Since Gypsy / Roma and Travellers of Irish Heritage were included in the educational Pupil Level Annual School Census (PLASC) data, the extent of Gypsy and Traveller exclusion and underachievement in education can be reported. The report by Parry and colleagues (2004) on health inequalities in England enabled the consolidation and development of existing knowledge about Gypsies' and Travellers' health experiences. Greater Government attention to accommodation issues, as expressed in 2004 legislation (see accommodation section in Chapter 2), also influenced a level of inclusion of these issues.

From 2004, the Government's strategy consultation, policy and subsequent progress reports on health, accommodation and education issues did include brief references to Gypsies and Travellers. Their invisibility in many other domains, however, means their continuing exclusion from the 'picture of community cohesion' (LGA / Home Office, 2002) that local authorities are encouraged to compile. Disappointingly, the final report of the CIC had only one brief reference to racism affecting Gypsies and Travellers and a reference to a possible good practice example in the Cheshire Partnership Development Unit. This is not contextualised in terms of any of the inequalities experienced by Gypsies and Travellers, but refers to the management of unauthorised camping that is, the control of Gypsy and Traveller nomadism (CIC, 2007b, p. 99).

The lack of adequate accommodation means that nomadic Gypsies and Travellers will continue to experience hostility and conflict from sedentary communities as they attempt to set up encampments in contested spaces, and will have difficulties accessing regular services and facilities. The CRE (2006a) found that 67 per cent of

local authorities reported tension between Gypsies and Travellers and other groups in their area, while 94 per cent of these identified unauthorised encampments as the cause of the tension. However, only one in 10 local authorities identified this as a race equality issue.

Those Gypsies and Travellers seeking to provide for themselves through owner-occupied sites, and in the process experiencing acute discrimination in the planning system will also be a focus for sedentary resistance and hostility to Gypsy or Traveller settlement. Those on poorly equipped and located public sites, often remote from public facilities will experience both geographical and attitudinal barriers to integration with the local sedentary community. The housing of Gypsies and Travellers on run-down housing estates means that they are exposed to the same levels of deprivation as their sedentary neighbours, while also being subject to hostile and racist attitudes and treatment from neighbours whose perceptions have been shaped by negative media coverage and political responses. The highly problematic accommodation situation of Gypsies and Travellers will therefore continue to fuel conflict and to undermine the development of cohesion.

The Cantle report saw education as a key arena for developing positive interaction and understanding between groups, and triggered the introduction of community cohesion standards for schools (Home Office, 2004a). As set out in the section on education, Gypsies and Travellers experience severe educational inequalities, with many implications for community cohesion. Lack of attention to Gypsy and Traveller culture in the school ethos and curriculum undermines Gypsy and Traveller pupils and sends a negative message to children from other cultures, for whom school should be a source of cross-cultural education. The racism experienced in school is a negative indicator for cohesion but, in the absence of effective conflict resolution and anti-bullying approaches, many children and parents do not have confidence that schools will address these experiences satisfactorily. This can lead to self-exclusion or to school-initiated exclusion when self-help responses to bullying are perceived as the most effective protection but meet disciplinary responses. Bullying and exclusion lead to greatly reduced opportunities for productive cross-cultural contact, as advocated by Cantle (2001). Reduced educational achievement affects opportunities for active participation in employment, political activity and community engagement, all of which are seen as key in developing cohesive communities.

Inequality in relation to criminal justice and policing for Gypsies and Travellers is largely absent from the cohesion literature, reflecting both their invisibility in monitoring within these systems and their broader exclusion from debates about ethnic minority issues. The cohesion literature, particularly the CIC (2007b), presents

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the generation of trust as crucial in developing a shared and cohesive vision for local areas. However, the control of nomadism, engagement of the broader sedentary public in monitoring and surveillance, and discriminatory experiences of stop and search, blanket raids, arrests and bail conditions, all contribute to Gypsies' and Travellers' lack of trust in authority. Problems in access to health and social care add to the deficit of trust and understanding, as well as reinforcing the unequal position of Gypsies and Travellers seeking to engage with other sections of the community.

The cohesion reports also highlight the importance of provision for young people and the desire of young people for positive involvement with each other (Cantle, 2001; CLG, 2007g). While youth provision was deemed 'parlous' by Cantle and others, subsequent policy has committed itself to the development of this provision (HM, Treasury 2007) and to engaging and empowering young people (Department for Education and Skills (DfES), 2006b, p. 3). As this report has shown however, the evidence indicates a general lack of access for Gypsies and Travellers to mainstream youth services, despite some positive initiatives. The racism experienced by young Gypsies and Travellers from adults and peers in the settled community also jeopardises this important opportunity for promoting community cohesion.

Involving and consulting communities is a major strand throughout the literature. However, consultation in relation to Gypsy and Traveller issues, especially site provision, does not have a positive history. The CRE report (2006a, pp. 65-66) noted that local authorities tended to take one of three approaches to consultation with the public on these issues, and each approach led to further problems and damaged race relations. Firstly, they avoided consultation altogether because the subject was so contentious. Secondly, they only consulted a small section of the community and Gypsies and Travellers were not included. Thirdly, often in response to intense public pressure, they called big public meetings that were dominated by the most vocal opponents, and were intimidating not only for Gypsies and Travellers themselves but for their supporters, and indeed for local councillors and officials (Richardson, 2007). Anecdotally, the research team is aware of many meetings of this kind where extreme racist sentiments have been expressed. At the same time, the CRE (2006a) study found that consultation with Gypsies and Travellers was generally over small issues such as site repairs, but they were not consulted on larger issues such as development plans for areas near their sites.

The importance of political leadership in promoting cohesion and facilitating the development of shared understanding runs through the cohesion policy literature. While there is positive practice, there are also serious fault-lines in political leadership on Gypsy and Traveller issues, as noted above. This can include overt

stereotyping and racism, and a failure to take a positive lead against the prejudices of local sedentary voters, examples of which were reported by Richardson (2007) in her study of the development of sites in six case study areas. Poor management of public consultation can fuel hostility: in one case in Richardson's study, councillors ended up voting against their own proposals for sites as a result. She found that a clear criterion-led policy on the selection of new sites was of crucial importance, as individual councillors were otherwise insufficiently equipped to address the issues.

Hostile political attitudes or weak political will is often reinforced by the damaging impact of media coverage. Sections of sedentary communities are frequently galvanised into forming action groups based on their opposition to Gypsies and Travellers, thus stoking community tensions (Richardson, 2007). Such groups can also be very skilful in generating media coverage. Gypsies and Travellers experience a reinforcing cycle of exclusion from communities politically, culturally and spatially. Richardson analysed the multiple interaction between negative media coverage, public hostility and political activity or inactivity in these processes. She stated that 'the cycle of marginalisation of Gypsies and Travellers means that there is continued hostility towards the travelling community, there is reluctance to back the provision of more sites, they continue to be moved on from place to place and are seen as outside the mainstream depictions of community and are 'other'' (Richardson, 2007, p. 30).

This situation is at the opposite pole from the kind of facilitated interaction between groups championed in the cohesion literature. The sense of belonging to a community is actively denied to Gypsies and Travellers regardless of their type of accommodation, although most strongly to those on unauthorised encampments. The policy literature also proclaims that integration is not about assimilation (Home Office, 2004b). For minority groups to interact on any basis of equality with dominant groups, they need to have confidence in affirming their own identity in order to engage across cultural boundaries. However, there is plentiful evidence elsewhere in this report of the extent to which Gypsies and Travellers find themselves under pressure to hide their cultural identity in order to safeguard themselves from prejudice, hostility, bullying or attack. Moreover, Gypsies and Travellers are frequently victims of crime, harassment or vigilante attack. Although the focus on community cohesion arose in the context of policy responses to violent disorder, attacks on Gypsies and Travellers may go unreported or even be viewed as justified because of anti-Traveller sentiment.

The lack of recognition of nomadism and denial of the right to be nomadic relates to exclusionary definitions of 'place'. Historically, both negative and positive stereotypes

of Gypsies and Travellers have been manipulated to present them as being out of place, both in urban settings, where they were labelled as deviant because of the benign stereotype of their supposed association with nature and a rural idyll (Sibley, 1981), and in rural settings, where alternative negative stereotypes were associated with nomadism, dirt and immorality (Sibley, 1995). The concept of sedentarism, or discrimination against nomadic people, is discussed further in Chapter 9. The CIC focused on the importance of the local context and the need for community cohesion to reflect both local complexity and local perceptions and involvement. In itself this is a significant issue and reflects the equally important emphasis on community empowerment and development. However, as is evident from other findings, Gypsies and Travellers are excluded from concepts of community and local space.

Addressing inequality

There is a strong theme in community cohesion policy and research about the importance of clear and effective leadership and communication strategies. This is highlighted by Richardson (2007), who discussed effective and ineffective approaches. A strong, proactive and committed political leader, illustrated by the mayor in one case study area, helped to generate a cross-party consensus on site provision, while a Gypsy and Traveller strategy, underpinned by political will and clear concepts, including reference to equality and anti-discrimination issues, was promoted by the portfolio holder for human rights and equalities. Proactive officer support to provide evidence for the strategy and to facilitate training of both officers and councillors on issues affecting Gypsies and Travellers was also essential.

The media context is a key element, requiring an effective and confident communications strategy and management of relationships with local media. This might involve arranging meetings between local Gypsies and Travellers and perhaps site visits (Richardson, 2007). (This strategy itself requires a level of engagement with Gypsy and Traveller communities that will be discussed further below and in the subsequent section on community development.) Moreover, wider attention needs to be paid to the issue of how stereotyped and misleading reporting of Gypsy and Traveller issues can be effectively challenged. As will be discussed in the section on racism in Chapter 9, current mechanisms are weak. The promotion of racial equality and community cohesion requires that they be considerably strengthened. Richardson suggested that the Press Complaints Commission should be able to take up cases on behalf of groups, not just individuals, that the CRE (whose functions now lie within the Equality and Human Rights Commission) should be empowered to take up specific examples of such reporting, and that funding should be given to assist community-based groups taking action in relation to the media: the Gypsy Traveller

Media Action Group, for instance, had to discontinue its work because of a lack of funding (Richardson, 2007, pp. 43,68).

A further need is to challenge stereotypes and prejudice amongst the public and people who work with Gypsies and Travellers. Several local authorities, voluntary agencies and community groups have engaged in 'myth-busting' work, which can involve the production of booklets, leaflets or visual media to challenge myths perpetuated by negative media reporting and other sources (CLG, 2007g; Richardson, 2007). It is essential that Gypsy and Traveller community members or groups are centrally involved in these projects if they are not to perpetuate further misconceptions. Moreover they can include material celebrating cultural strengths and community achievements, as well as revealing obscured facets of Gypsies' and Travellers' engagement as citizens, such as involvement in a range of voluntary and charitable projects (Cemlyn / BCC, 2006).

Although training programmes involving community members are essential, one-off training events and static guidance cannot fully support the dynamic development of appropriate skills and knowledge. The CIC (2007b) and Richardson (2007) reflected the arguments of Coxhead (2005, 2007) in the context of work with the police (see Chapter 6) for ongoing partnership work between agencies and communities through workshops and group discussions.

Richardson (2007) argued that the development of new site provision depends on the effective management of the context for debate, and of authorised sites and unauthorised encampments and developments: otherwise, vocal hostility may dominate subsequent consultation. As in other aspects of community cohesion (LGA, 2004; CLG, 2007g), however, mediation and conflict management are also relevant in some situations. In order to resolve conflicts, the parameters of the conflict need to be mapped. Richardson (2007, p. 36) provided examples of conflict-mapping and force-field analysis in an idealised case study area, which illustrated the lines of discord and of alliance, the relative power of different players, and the positive and negative forces. Such analysis provides the foundation for more focused and effective work in exploring differences and finding ways forward. The CDF (2006) noted three different types of conflict affecting communities: conflict between communities and authority, conflict between communities, and conflict within communities.

One idea put forward by the CIC (2007a) was for welcome packs to be provided for people arriving new to an area, to assist them in finding relevant services and understanding key issues about the local context and culture. While this was proposed primarily in the context of new migrant communities from outside the UK,

the Commission also recommended that their use could be explored in relation to all new residents in an area. There would seem to be considerable mileage in providing such packs for nomadic Gypsies and Travellers, which could counter to a small degree the usual imbalance towards control, surveillance and hostility which they experience (see Chapter 6).

The one published study that explicitly explored the responses of sedentary residents and local agencies to Gypsy and Traveller site provision, found that neighbours' fears proved largely groundless once the sites were well established, and that benefits were acknowledged (Duncan, 1996). This has been frequently confirmed through more peripheral findings in other studies (for example, Niner et al, 2005) and anecdotally. Another area where there are some more positive findings is in relation to Gypsy fairs. These illustrate that Gypsies and Travellers often have supporters in communities, although they can be among less powerful groups themselves. Indeed, quieter sedentary voices in support of Gypsies and Travellers may themselves be silenced in some situations.

Acton (2007) reported on action in relation to the closure of Horsmonden Fair in Kent in 2001, with local authorities' efforts to close it being backed by the Home Secretary making the village an exclusion zone and a force of up to 700 police enforcing the ban. However, when a small march was allowed through the cordon into the village, it found a surprisingly welcoming atmosphere and posters up saying 'Save our Fair'. The Gypsy Council subsequently conducted a survey and found that a majority of respondents supported the fair and that generally the village was 'a hospitable, moderate-minded place' (Acton, 2007, p. 14). Holloway (2004) explored arguments for and against Appleby Fair as expressed in the local press in the period 1945 to 1969 and found strong local voices in favour of the Fair as well as against it, involving a complex alliance of trade unions, left-wing activists who saw Gypsies and Travellers as fellow-members of the working class, business interests and members of the aristocracy who argued for the protection of Gypsy and Traveller traditions. In 2003, the burning of an effigy of Gypsies in a caravan at the Firle bonfire was itself immediately condemned within the village (Holloway, 2005).

More generally, the CIC report (2007b) identified 'the critical importance of community development [which was] already being used in local communities to turn alienation and cynicism into active and positive engagement. Community development workers are able to identify shared spaces and places for dialogue, and act as intermediaries between the citizen and local decision-making bodies' (CIC, 2007b, p. 89).

Furthermore, in order for communities to cohere, and for there to be a 'community of communities' (Parekh, 2000), there needs to be a measure of equality between groups as the basis for interaction, and adequate community infrastructure to support the bridge-building that links diverse communities (Gilchrist, 2004a). However, the Cantle report (2001) and subsequent Community Cohesion Panel report (CCP, 2004) proposed that there should be a presumption against single group funding on the basis that it could generate further division. As argued by the CDF (2007b) and Gilchrist (2004a), this does not take into account the time and resources needed by marginalised minority groups to develop effective self-organisation.

A significant court case in this respect in July 2008 concerned the organisation Southall Black Sisters, supported by the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC). This case confirmed the importance of single group funding for promoting equality. Southall Black Sisters had challenged the decision of Ealing Council to withdraw its funding for specialist domestic violence services for ethnic minority women. After two days the Council withdrew its case and Lord Justice Moses ruled that 'there is no dichotomy between funding specialist services and cohesion; equality is necessary for cohesion to be achieved'. The judgement included guidance to Ealing and other authorities that reaffirmed the following principles, according to the organisation's website: 'Local authorities must have proper regard to the Race Relations Act which also means undertaking proper equality impact assessments at the formative stage of the decision making process. Cohesion does not mean disregarding the need for equality. Local authorities cannot hide behind cohesion arguments to cut specialist service provision. Positive action is an essential part of the duty to promote racial equality. Special services run for and by minority ethnic groups (whatever their name) are not contrary to the Race Relations Act' (Southall Black Sisters, 2008). These issues will be discussed further in the following section on community development.

Community development

There are many different definitions of community development. One, by the Federation for Community Development Learning (FCDL) (2008) states:

> *Community Development is the process of developing active and sustainable communities based on social justice and mutual respect. It is about influencing power structures to remove the barriers that prevent people from participating in the issues that affect their lives. Community workers facilitate the participation of people in this process. They enable connections to be made between communities and with the development of wider policies and programmes. Community Development expresses*

> *values of fairness, equality, accountability, opportunity, choice, participation, mutuality, reciprocity and continuous learning. Educating, enabling and empowering are at the core of Community Development.* (FCDL, 2008)

A second, from the Community Development Exchange (CDE) (2008), sets out a more practical orientation while reflecting the same principles:

> *Community development is an occupation (both paid and unpaid) which aims to build active and influential communities based on justice, equality and mutual respect. Community development work is done in ways which challenge oppression and tackle inequalities. It involves changing the relationships between ordinary people and people in positions of power, so that everyone can take part in the issues that affect their lives. Community development work involves working with communities to: identify their strengths, needs, rights and responsibilities; plan, organise and take action; assess the effect of any actions taken. It also involves working with agencies to increase their capacity to understand and work with communities. Communities can be based on where people live (geographic communities), or on a shared concern, issue or identity (communities of interest).* (CDE, 2008)

It goes on to spell out the values or 'commitments' of community development.

Community workers or community development workers include both unpaid activists and paid workers. While local authorities employ community workers in regeneration and in community cohesion work, a variety of voluntary and community bodies also employ workers who may not always carry the title of community development worker but undertake many of the same functions. Much community development activity takes place on a voluntary basis among community members, particularly in marginalised and under-resourced communities such as Gypsies and Travellers.

Policy context

While community cohesion has been a clear strand of public policy since 2001, community development has a much longer history as a method of work by, and with, communities. Since 1997, there has been an increased emphasis on aspects of community development such as involving the public in developing policy, especially at the local level, and being active citizens within their communities, and on public

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sector organisations working in partnership with communities. Throughout the public services there are requirements to consult and involve service users in planning and evaluating services.

Taylor (2003) argued that community work to promote community participation in partnerships and regeneration has become a strategic tool of public policy to bring about change both in communities and in institutions. At a broader European level, the FCDL (2004) argued that 'the widening of intellectual horizons has reframed the often traditional debates about the role of community development in a nation state into a wider international concern with the nature of governance and civil engagement. What is now emerging, in quite diverse national contexts, is the key role of community development work in the process of building civil society in all of its manifestations'.

Programmes to tackle poverty through area-based initiatives, especially Neighbourhood Renewal (Social Exclusion Unit (SEU), 2001), have enshrined partnership-working through the establishment of Local Strategic Partnerships, which are responsible for consulting on, designing and implementing local neighbourhood renewal strategies. These bodies include statutory, private and voluntary agencies, and community involvement is a requirement in order for Government funding to be released (SEU, 2001). As discussed in Chapter 2, Government guidance requires the involvement of Gypsies and Travellers in Gypsy Traveller Accommodation Assessments (GTAAs), and some GTAAs have involved community members in designing and implementing surveys.

There has been considerable research into the extent and quality of community involvement in area-based partnerships. While commentators broadly welcome the policy aspirations, there has also been analysis of inherent policy contradictions and problems of implementation. These include: the imposition of 'top-down' Government targets, while simultaneously requiring community involvement in making decisions on issues and strategies; the short time-scales and short-term funding often involved, although community development processes to make community participation meaningful require a longer period and sustained funding ('bottom up'); the issue of representing the diversity of community interests and reaching more marginalised groups; the underpinning assumption that the complexity of different interests can be represented through reaching a consensus; the tendency for the most powerful voices to be heard most; the emergence of cliques within the community which dominate the agenda; the danger that exclusionary or reactionary decisions may be made by communities and their representatives; lack of clarity about the relationship between community representatives and those they are supposed to represent; and

community representatives' partial knowledge of both the community they are representing and the governance structures and issues in which they are engaged (Anastacio et al, 2000; Cemlyn et al, 2005; Robinson et al, 2005). The CIC stressed the importance of local debate, definition of issues and vision, and engagement in community cohesion initiatives.

The rest of this section will explore the community development resources available to Gypsy and Traveller communities to take part in those initiatives.

Experiences in Gypsy and Traveller communities

Again, little published evidence is available about community development in relation to Gypsy and Traveller communities. One small study concluded that Travellers are 'invisible in relation to community development' (O'Callaghan, 2002, p. 19). A lack of political support meant that minimal resources were provided for the communities, and the work that was undertaken was inadequately tailored to their needs. The application of age boundaries for instance, reflected what participants considered as a sedentary model of community development. One practitioner stated that 'if you want to work with the young Travellers you have to work with the whole family' (O'Callaghan, 2002, p. 23). The study reported a general lack of awareness of the cultural needs and strengths of the communities, and of their ethnic minority and cultural status. The lack of community development support for Gypsies and Travellers compounds the other inequalities they face in terms of engaging with the involvement, empowerment and cohesion agendas of local and central government. Limited educational opportunity and achievement, reduced confidence because of hostility and racism, and a lack of trust in institutions and members of the public, all create barriers against wider community engagement.

The concept of social capital, based on the exchanges, networks and norms operating within civil society, has been influential within community development and cohesion work. Putnam (2000, p. 19) described social capital as 'the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them'. These have been further analysed as bonding, bridging and linking social capital. Bonding capital consists of ties between close family and friends, and some Gypsies and Travellers may be well endowed with this form of social capital. Bridging capital consists of connections between dissimilar groups of people and is important in reducing conflict and developing cohesion, while linking social capital is important for connections between different levels of social organisation for example, community groups and local authorities. Informal networking is a key aspect of community development processes for community cohesion (Gilchrist, 2004a, 2004b). However, both bridging

and linking social capital is likely to be in extremely short supply for many Gypsies and Travellers. In their review of Children's Fund projects, Mason et al (2006) and Mason and Broughton (2007) emphasised the importance of developing networks within Gypsy and Traveller communities, and between them and local services, and thus generating bridging and linking social capital.

Projects are needed that can build on the existing bonding social capital of Gypsies and Travellers, respecting community strengths, in order to generate increased confidence and skills for community development processes that challenge injustice facing the communities, while engaging with wider sections of society and Government. If bridges are to be created between Gypsies and Travellers and other sections of the community, supports for the bridges are needed within their communities as well as outside them and a foundation of equality is required. Time and funding are needed to support community self-organisation. The Government's requirements for involvement and partnership-working with communities necessitate such support for building capacity and infrastructure within communities. The court case involving single group funding for Southall Black Sisters (2008) outlined at the end of the previous section on community cohesion is encouraging in this context.

Addressing inequality

Despite the apparent continuing deficit of official support for community development work with Gypsy and Traveller communities in many areas, there are a growing number of community initiatives. Most of those known to the research team involve a foundation of single-group work that may then lead to wider community engagement. In some examples this builds on the wider roles of Traveller Education Services, for example in Cambridgeshire where posts were set up for two Youth and Community Development Workers in 2003 (personal communication). There may well be other similar initiatives. The driving-theory classes set up by a statutory Gypsies and Travellers team that responded to the consultation have led to some members moving to other roles, including interviewing for the GTAA in the area, and joining inter-agency partnership meetings and the committee of a national Traveller-led organisation.

The Government's initiative of funding community workers in relation to ethnic minority mental health (Department of Health (DH), 2006) has led to at least two posts being created within existing Gypsy and Traveller organisations. In the broader sense of community practice (Banks et al, 2003; Butcher et al, 2007), many agencies are reaching out to Gypsy and Traveller communities and encouraging involvement. A number of Traveller Education Services (TESs) have employed Gypsies and Travellers as outreach workers and in-class support workers, and this can involve

elements of community development as well as other roles. The training and engagement of Gypsy and Traveller interviewers for local authority-sponsored GTAAs has contributed to building capacity and a developing cadre of community members who are taking forward further initiatives on behalf of their communities.

Some voluntary and non-governmental bodies have also taken significant initiatives in providing community development support, including the London Gypsy and Traveller Unit (Cemlyn, 1997), Ormiston Children's Trust, Devon Racial Equality Council and some of the larger children's charities such as the Children's Society and previously Save the Children. Devon Racial Equality Council reported in its consultation response that they had had a dedicated community development worker post for Gypsies and Travellers for three and half years, which had supported a range of projects by the community. These included a myth-busting leaflet written by Romany women, an information pack, a DVD and a project where Romany women gave talks in schools. This kind of community engagement and public education about their communities by activists is anecdotally known to be developing in many areas, and in some cases has been happening over many years. Such community development activities have a key role in building 'active and influential communities based on justice, equality and mutual respect' (Community Development Exchange, 2008). The work of religious groups, as discussed in the next section, can also have an important community development role.

The report of a CDF conference included a practice example of work with Gypsies and Travellers in the context of discussion of practice with a wide range of groups. The presenter was critical of the type of work undertaken which did not enable fundamental inequalities to be addressed: 'In work I've done with the Traveller community, it's always the stuff around arts and schools which comes up. It's safe and nice because it doesn't provide an opportunity to share experiences of inequalities' (CDF, 2006, p. 11). However, this comment neglects the powerful work which can be done through art, photography, drama and video / DVD by members of the communities, especially young people, which both builds on and celebrates their pride in their culture, and provides a vehicle for public education and challenging stereotypes (see Chapter 4 for further discussion). It also ignores the role of schools in relation to inclusion and exclusion and possibly indicates that insufficient use was being made of the opportunities that exist within community arts work. Nonetheless, it perhaps also suggests that the communities are beginning to be included in broader community development agendas in some areas.

There is clear evidence of the communities actively developing self-help solutions. This is demonstrated in a range of self-organised and voluntary groups (for example,

Friends Families and Travellers (FFT), Derbyshire Gypsy Liaison Group, Irish Traveller Movement, Leeds GATE, National Association of Gypsy Women). There is a close link with the discussion earlier in this chapter on the development of political participation. Sufficient informal evidence exists about excellent practice models being developed in these projects. At conferences such as that of the Irish Traveller Movement in 2008, activists argued that the experience of the growing number of such community-led initiatives needs to be more widely shared. Resources are needed for this sharing, evaluation and dissemination.

Young people are also organising their own groups, sometimes with support, sometimes independently. Examples of young people's activity have been given in the section on political participation and in Chapter 4. Save the Children Fund Scotland has supported a range of such projects. A meeting of the Travellers Aid Trust in April 2008 provided evidence of the level of engagement of both Scottish Gypsy / Travellers and Welsh Gypsies and Travellers, both groups being committed to engaging politically on behalf of their communities through forums, conferences, the creation of radio programmes and DVDs. However, funding support is necessary if the potential for community development and the generation of both bridging and linking social capital among young people is to be realised.

Recommendations related to community cohesion and community development

i.   Clear and committed political leadership is needed by local authorities to develop appropriate accommodation provision for Gypsies, Travellers and Showpeople and ensure their inclusion in all aspects of community services and civic life.

ii. Conflict-mapping and force-field analysis, as recommended by Richardson (2007), should underpin the development of policy, strategy and practice.

iii. A clear and evidence-based communications strategy is needed on these issues within local authorities in relation to the local media and the public.

iv. Direct work needs to be undertaken by local authorities and their partners to develop myth-busting materials to challenge stereotypes. These activities must involve Gypsies and Travellers.

v.   Training on cultural issues needs to be developed within services and also embedded in performance appraisal for staff working with Gypsies and

Travellers. Workshops and discussion groups can be more effective training forums than one-off training events.

vi. Information about inequalities experienced by Gypsies and Travellers needs to be collected within all services through effective monitoring, in consultation with the communities.

vii. Welcome packs should be developed for Gypsies, Travellers and Showpeople arriving in a locality, to assist them with access to local services.

viii. In line with the recommendations of the Commission on Integration and Cohesion, community development should be considered central to the development of community cohesion.

ix. Community development by and with Gypsies, Travellers and Showpeople and with young Gypsies and Travellers should be adequately resourced, recognising the frequent neglect of these communities within previous community development agendas, and building on communities' existing self-organisation activities.

x. Positive action needs to be taken to promote the training and employment of more Gypsies, Travellers and Showpeople as community development workers.

xi. Community development with the communities should operate from an understanding of the issues in and strengths of the communities, and develop appropriate models rather than imposing sedentary approaches.

xii. Research is needed to explore and evaluate community development initiatives that are currently undertaken by and with the communities, and to disseminate effective practice.

7.3   Religion

The policy context

There now exists a set of anti-discrimination, equality and human rights measures related to people's right to the free expression of religious belief, and measures designed to protect people from religious hatred. The Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act 2001 added the concept of 'religiously aggravated criminal offences' to the existing provision of 'racially aggravated criminal offences' in the Crime and Disorder Act 1998. These provisions did not create new offences but instead increased the possible sentence where certain existing criminal offences were committed in a racially or religiously aggravated way.

Article 9 of the Human Rights Act 1998 covers the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. The legislative process that outlaws discrimination against people on grounds of religion or belief began in 2003 with regulations prohibiting discrimination based on religion or belief in employment and training and in occupational pension schemes. The scope of equality legislation relating to religion was broadened in the Equality Act 2006, which outlawed discrimination in goods, facilities and services on the basis of religion or belief. However, religious organisations, charities and faith schools are exempt from these Equality Act provisions.

Although religion can be a significant part of their identity, the sources of discrimination against Gypsies and Travellers have multiple other bases. Moreover, the following discussion focuses in part on difficulties they have experienced in accessing faith groups because of their ethnic and cultural identity.

The experiences of Gypsies and Travellers

Many Romany Gypsies and Irish Travellers are Christians and members of Christian religious groups. Religion has become for many an important aspect of cultural identity alongside the family, language, hygiene, earning a living in flexible ways, and nomadism. This was reflected in a myth-busting booklet with a group of Gypsies and Travellers for Bristol City Council: 'Religion is of great importance to many Gypsies and Travellers, in terms of their daily lives and through rituals and gatherings. Irish Travellers are usually devout Roman Catholics and their children attend Catholic schools. Many go on pilgrimages to Lourdes or in Ireland. Large numbers of Romany Gypsies are now Born-again Christians. They find love and solidarity in the Church and in meeting up with others from across Europe at large Christian conventions' (Cemlyn / BCC, 2006, p. 7). New Travellers have a wider variety of faiths or none.

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Religion has had a mixed part to play in Gypsies' and Travellers' lives. When Romany Gypsies first arrived in Europe, they came as pilgrims and were able to gain some protection through adopting this role. By the sixteenth century, both the Catholic and Protestant churches were creating barriers to Gypsies' access to church services and sacraments. They were 'widely held to be irreligious' (Fraser, 1995, p. 184). In the 19th century, a new phase in the relationship saw churches undertaking missionary work with the assimilationist aim of persuading or pressuring them to settle and give up the Gypsy way of life (Fraser 1995, Mayall 1995). However, as will be considered below, the second half of the 20th century has seen the growth of a very different movement.

Irish Travellers have experienced exclusion from the Catholic church, as indicated in a Catholic newsletter (Browne, 2007): 'These communities are present all over the world and their common experience worldwide has been one of marginalisation and exclusion, social, economic, cultural and sadly all too often exclusion from the church community'. Similarly, research by the Church in Society section of the Anglican Church for a resource booklet for those ministering to Gypsy and Traveller communities, found that 'evidence of experience among clergy was varied, scant and not always positive' (Church in Society, 2008a). In an earlier study by the Churches Commission for Racial Justice, which gathered information on church and other projects working to support Gypsies and Travellers in Britain and Ireland, a church activist in the south of England commented: 'There is a great need to counter prejudice in church congregations: often a rural congregation may include farmers and landowners who have been complaining about the presence of Travellers in the parish' (Churches Commission for Racial Justice, 1998, p. 8).

Mends (1997, p. 161), writing in the context of the remarkable growth of Gypsy Pentecostalism, comments succinctly that 'the absence of Gypsies from organised religion was caused far more by the racist rejection of Gypsies by the organised religions than the rejection of organised religion by the Gypsies'. Mende's survey of 110 Gypsies also found that lack of literacy was a barrier to full engagement with a church. A fifth of respondents went to church weekly, but nearly a quarter of these preferred to attend at times when no service was in progress, because of a lack of literacy. Just over a quarter of respondents attended church occasionally, and approximately one in seven of these would go more often if they could read, and they referred to feeling humiliated. As was noted earlier, being unable to attend church services such as funerals, can be particularly stressful for Gypsies or Travellers in prison.

Addressing inequality

There have been a number of positive developments in Gypsies' and Travellers' relationship with organised religion, namely shifts towards a more welcoming approach, political advocacy by some established churches, and the growth of a non-established Church that is strongly self-organised by Gypsies.

Firstly, and very significantly, the rise of the Gypsy Evangelical Church, also referred to as Gypsy Pentacostalism or Born-again Christianity, which originated in Brittany in 1952, has been remarkable. In its first three decades, the Church reportedly converted and baptised around 70,000 Gypsies throughout Europe and the Americas, attracting many more to the meetings; 1,600 Gypsy men became preachers and 400 of them pastors (Fraser, 1995). The annual convention in Britain attracts thousands. The emphasis is on a new life after baptism. This process enables a stigmatised Gypsy identity to be left behind, and a new positive Christian, Gypsy identity to be constructed (Strand, 2001).

It has been suggested that the structure of the church and the content of worship contribute to its appeal to Gypsies. It operates more informally than established churches that require long periods of training for priests. Instead, lay preachers are provided with an induction. These preachers (all men from Gypsy families) are able to preach wherever they are, among members of extended families (Fraser, 1995). The spontaneous, participatory style of worship is also closer to some Gypsy cultures than formalised services. The Gypsy Church enables Gypsies to come together in celebratory worship in their own churches rather than on the margins of other denominations of the sedentary population. This utilises traditional oral means of communication but also extends to other means, for example newsletters and websites (Gypsies for Christ, 2005; London Gypsy Church, 2008). Although the Church has primarily attracted Romany Gypsies, other Travellers also attend and are welcomed (Strand, 2001). An entry in a wider churches' publication indicated that the Gypsy Church would like to see greater unity with other churches in promoting work with Gypsies and Travellers (Churches Council for Racial Justice, 1998).

The implications of the rise of the Gypsy Church extend beyond religious faith to community and political dimensions. As 'the first real example in Western Europe of a mass pan-Gypsy organisation, transcending tribal subdivisions' (Fraser, 1995, p. 316), the Gypsy Church is possibly the most important example of Gypsy self-organisation in recent decades. Links have been developed between the Gypsy Evangelical Church and the International Romani Union, demonstrating how the Church has contributed to the increased political use of and confidence in ethnic identity among Gypsies, or 'ethnic mobilisation' (Strand, 2001).

The success of the Gypsy Evangelical Church is perhaps one of the factors that have prompted other Christian churches to engage more actively with Gypsy and Traveller populations (Fraser, 1995). In the Catholic Church, the former Pope John Paul II referred to the need for 'effective and special spiritual care ... [and] suitable pastoral structures ... [for] refugees and exiles, migrants, nomads and circus workers' (Browne, 2007). This was followed with practical guidance in the form of 'Guidelines for the Pastoral Care of Gypsies' (Browne, 2007).

The Catholic Church's concern is also manifest at social and political levels. In 2005 Bishop Patrick O'Donoghue noted that Gypsies and Travellers 'experience a level of disadvantage greater than most other groups in our society' and referred to a submission to the Government on discrimination and difficulty relating to sites and planning issues from the Catholic Association for Racial Justice (Pilgrim Catholic, 2006b, p. 1). The Catholic Church has appointed a number of priests and nuns to support Gypsy and Traveller communities in both the community and prisons (Pilgrim Catholic, 2006a, p. 4; 2006b, p. 6; 2007a, p. 4). These workers have made significant contributions to the development of national bodies representing Gypsies and Travellers, such as the Traveller Law Reform Coalition (subsequently the Gypsy and Traveller Law Reform Coalition), and in local work with community groups to develop links with, inclusion and welcome for Travellers and provision of new sites (Niner et al, 2005). In 2007 a support network for such workers was established (Pilgrim Catholic, 2007a, p. 1). Cultural and religious activity is linked in events such as the annual pilgrimage to Walsingham (Pilgrim Catholic, 2007b, p. 1). In Ireland, such pilgrimages have had an explicitly political dimension around Travellers' rights.

There have been similar developments within the Anglican Church, working with other churches. The Churches Commission for Racial Justice (1998, p. 2) outlined the need for churches to support Gypsies and Travellers 'in their aspirations for justice', not just as worshippers. Research was undertaken by the Commission to ascertain the range of local work being undertaken, which revealed a number of small groups and activists providing support and advocacy, as well as larger Christian organisations providing direct services and an organisational framework for the development of new projects (Cemlyn, 1997). In one case, a bishop offered to help Travellers find church-owned lands for a site. This resulted in 'an unprecented number of abusive letters and phone calls from people who did not like Gypsies' (Churches Commission for Racial Justice, 1998, p. 15), but he continued with the quest. Other areas have attempted to fulfill more of a mediating role rather than such a direct challenge to inequality (Ely Diocesan Board for Church in Society, 2005).

There has been a half-time chaplain for Gypsies, Travellers and Showpeople in the Salisbury Diocese. These communities have included New Travellers and Occupational Travellers as well as traditional groups. The chaplain has engaged with Travellers, including camping with them at fairs and festivals in the region, advising, lobbying and campaigning on their behalf, undertaking education and training of clergy and members of congregations, and liaising with other professionals working with Gypsy and Traveller communities (Church in Society, 2008a). After a Metropolitan Police conference, the priest of St Mary Cray in Bromley, West Kent, where over 1,000 Gypsy families live in housing, was approached to become an adviser on Gypsy and Traveller communities for the Bishop of Rochester (Cooke, 2005). Research relating to the communities led to the publication of resource materials for clergy who served Gypsy and Traveller communities (Cooke, 2005). More recently, a national role of adviser for Gypsy and Traveller communities has been proposed (Church in Society, 2008a), and a Church Network for Gypsies and Travellers has been established (Church in Society, 2008b). This was attended by Methodists and Roman Catholics as well as Anglicans.

There may well be other Christian denominations which have engaged specifically with Gypsies and Travellers for example, some Quakers have been actively involved over many years. The discussion above about developments within major denominations should therefore be taken as indicative rather than comprehensive.

Recommendations

i. The work of Christian churches to develop inclusionary approaches needs to become more widespread, as a means of addressing the hostility and discrimination shown towards Gypsies and Travellers within many sedentary communities.

ii. Specialist advocacy and support by activists within Christian churches, including support for political developments, should be extended.

iii. Links between longer established churches and Gypsies for Christ should be developed further.

iv. Further links should be made between community groups, specialist projects and church groups to build up the infrastructure for community and political development in Gypsy and Traveller communities.

8.   WALES AND SCOTLAND

This report covers the experiences of Gypsies and Travellers in England, Scotland and Wales. All the chapters are relevant to all three countries, with specific material on individual countries highlighted where appropriate. However, this chapter presents material specific to Wales and Scotland.

8.1   Wales

The policy context

The Welsh Assembly Government (WAG) is a devolved administration. Until recently, it had no primary law-making powers but operated under primary legislation passed by the Westminster Parliament. However, devolved arrangements have been utilised by theWAG in reviewing issues related to Gypsies and Travellers and seeking to move forward policy and provision. The arrangements for the government of Wales have themselves been evolving, and this may have implications for future policy related to Gypsies and Travellers.

The National Assembly for Wales (NAW) was established by the Government of Wales Act 1998, following a referendum in 1997. The Act transferred to the Assembly the statutory powers and duties which the Secretary of State for Wales had previously exercised. The Assembly was not empowered to pass primary legislation, which remained the responsibility of the Westminster Parliament, although it had some powers to make statutory orders and amend primary legislation (Office of Public Sector Information (OPSI), 2006). It was a corporate body, exercising its functions on behalf of the Crown with no formal separation of the legislature from the executive, although its powers were mainly exercised by Assembly Ministers.

In 2002, the Assembly unanimously approved a motion calling for 'the clearest possible separation between the Government and the Assembly which is achievable under current legislation' (OPSI, 2006, p. 2). The Ministers and associated civil servants exercising executive powers adopted the title Welsh Assembly Government as a separate entity from the wider Assembly, and the support service was entitled Assembly Parliamentary Service. The Assembly appointed a commission to review devolved arrangements. The commission recommended that the Assembly should be able to make primary legislation for Wales, in order to be able to develop distinctive Welsh policies, and that the existing Assembly should be replaced by two separate bodies, an executive and a legislature (OPSI, 2006, p. 3).

Following an Assembly resolution in 2004, the Secretary of State for Wales published a White Paper 'Better Governance for Wales' in 2005 (Secretary of State for Wales, 2005). This proposed a formal separation between the executive and legislative branches of the Assembly, reforms to electoral arrangements, and enhanced legislative powers for the Assembly. The support staff would be known as the Assembly Commission. The executive would have enhanced powers in relation to secondary legislation, while the Assembly would also increase its law-making powers. However, because of the perceived lack of consensus for fully devolved legislative powers in Wales, the Westminster Government proposed a gradual approach towards such increased powers. The resulting Government of Wales Act was passed in 2006 and came into effect after the Welsh general election in 2007. Although change is incremental, the Act will have significant implications for the future governance of Wales, and changes the original devolution settlement.

The aspects of domestic policy and provision related to Gypsies and Travellers that are covered in the current report have been administered in Wales through the Welsh Assembly Government, under legislation that is applicable to both England and Wales, for example, section 225 of the Housing Act 2004 concerning Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Assessments and the Education Act 1996.

However, there is a broader legal requirement in relation to equality than in England. This states that: 'The Assembly shall make appropriate arrangements with a view to securing that its functions are exercised with due regard to the principle that there should be equality of opportunity for all people'. Chaney (2004) outlines the development of both devolution and equality agendas from the 1992 Labour Party Commission on Social Justice and traces the successful campaigning by the women's movement and Welsh language pressure-groups for the equality duty in the Government of Wales Act.

Chaney and Fevre (2002, p. xv) argue that 'the Welsh duty is unique because of its non-prescriptive phrasing and all-embracing scope', and is an absolute duty with no derogation clauses. Chaney (2004, p. 67) discusses its distributive as well as rights-based implications, which could be framed as covering social and economic rights, as well as the civil and political rights that dominate in the Human Rights Act. Their study of the post-devolution equality agenda in Wales led Chaney and Fevre (2002) to suggest that the Welsh model had the potential to address shortcomings in the existing UK framework: 'It does not privilege specific groups or apply to prescribed areas of government. It requires government to be proactive in all equality matters. It conveys legally enforceable rights in regard to the actions that might be expected from elected representatives. It has the potential to shift power back towards the

citizen, [and] it facilitates an holistic approach to the promotion of equality' (Chaney & Fevre, 2002).

Review of service provision

A Review of Service Provision for Gypsies and Travellers was undertaken by the Equality of Opportunity Committee of the National Assembly for Wales (NAW, 2003). It was set within the framework of the equality duty, which was seen as 'a powerful mechanism for improving their circumstances. Underlying all the analysis and recommendations in this report is an intention to give practical effect to the duty, which makes no distinction between the different groups who make up Gypsy and Traveller communities' (NAW, 2003, p. 7). This last point is significant in the context of this review, given that numerous research studies emphasise the importance of race equality duties, which do not cover groups like Occupational Travellers and New Travellers.

The Review consisted of: written submissions; a review of existing literature; site visits and discussions with Gypsies and Travellers; evidence sessions on education, health and accommodation, drawing on the work of specialist practitioners and researchers; surveys of local authorities; a survey of young people by Save the Children; an Equal Opportunity Committee seminar; and visits to Ireland. The Review findings overlapped with, reflected or amplified the findings related to accommodation, health, education, and experiences of prejudice and discrimination that are discussed elsewhere in this report, and the Review has informed those discussions.

Amongst that material, the Review noted anecdotal evidence of a high-level of racist incidents and hate crime, but extremely low levels of reporting of such crime and low levels of awareness of Racial Equality Councils, combined with over-policing of the communities. It reported the racist and negative coverage of Gypsies and Travellers in the media and, drawing on Morris (2000), highlighted their decreased power to challenge this because of limited literacy. It highlighted the direct negative implications for their way of life of evictions and exclusions. It also included discussion of the barriers to involvement of and effective consultation with Gypsies and Travellers, the role of advocates, the stresses and isolation associated with this role, and the benefits of supportive development work.

The Review was clear in its conclusions: 'The existing situation of prejudice and discrimination against Gypsies and Travellers, both on an individual and institutional level, is unacceptable. We have found that Gypsies and Travellers experience

discrimination on a scale, and of an intensity and openness which is no longer tolerated against other minority ethnic groups' (NAW, 2003, p. 104).

One difference to the situation in England was the greater lack of statistical information about the population, as the twice-yearly caravan count had been discontinued in 1997. The Review's survey of local authorities suggested there were 1,412 Gypsies and Travellers in Wales, of whom 770 were children. However, numbers in housing were either missing or almost certainly underestimates, except in Cardiff. Niner's subsequent accommodation study suggested a population of 2,000, of whom the majority lived along the key transport routes in North and South Wales (Niner, 2006).

Niner's (2006) report was a detailed study of the accommodation needs of Gypsies and Travellers in Wales that informed the discussion of accommodation earlier in this review. It found variability in the demand for sites, with some oversubscribed, several needing substantial repair, concern over conditions on transit pitches, a lack of play space on most sites, and the importance of consulting residents over improvement schemes. In one area, site residents experienced discrimination over electricity pricing with no choice but to pay through a card meter. She found a need for 150-200 additional local authority site pitches, 50 private site pitches, between 50-100 housing units and 100-150 transit site pitches. The Review had found that the lack of adequate accommodation was the major theme, and felt 'very strongly that the status quo is not acceptable' (NAW, 2003, p. 47).

Amongst the Review's recommendations were: the reinstatement of the Gypsy caravan count; concerted action with other organisations to tackle negative media reporting and discrimination within public bodies; attention to appropriate consultation with Gypsies and Travellers on policy issues; and increased resources for staff acting as contact points and advocates in order to undertake capacity-building and encourage self-advocacy. The Review emphasised the importance of multi-agency groups, the centrality of raising awareness of equality issues, the need for more culturally-appropriate provision of information and services, and the use of specialist services to facilitate access rather than replace the responsibility of mainstream providers. It argued for longer-term funding to promote improved service-provision, and for special attention to be given to the needs of specialist workers who could become isolated from support and career development. The importance of Gypsy and Traveller involvement in decisions about and the provision of services was stressed. The evidence for the Review mainly related to English and Welsh Romany Gypsies, Irish Travellers and Welsh Gypsies, and further research was recommended on the specific needs of New Travellers and Occupational Travellers.

Some limited evidence is available about the extent of progress on the recommendations of the Review and the accommodation needs assessment. In 2006, it was announced that a dedicated Gypsy and Traveller team would take forward issues identified in the accommodation assessment and contribute to policy development in other areas. The Gypsy caravan count was also reintroduced (WAG, 2006). The July 2007 count showed around 855 Gypsy and Traveller caravans in Wales, on 66 sites. More recently, Site Design Guidance and Site Management Guidance for existing and new sites has been drafted to facilitate upgrading the network of sites, and these were out for consultation at the time of writing (WAG, 2008b). It was reported that the Equality of Opportunity Committee continued to monitor progress in implementing recommendations from the review (WAG, 2007). In 2008, the Minister for Social Justice and Local Government agreed funding for the production of a DVD by Save the Children to provide a voice for young Gypsies and Travellers about the difficulties they encounter and their hopes for the future (WAG, 2008c).

Recommendations

The key recommendations are those that have already been included in the Assembly's own Review (NAW, 2004) and are not replicated here.

The Welsh legislative experience does nonetheless, have implications for the rest of Britain. It suggests that a single, all-embracing equality duty, as now set out in the proposed Single Equality Duty (Government Equalities Office (GEO), 2008), could be helpful for the situation of Gypsies and Travellers. However, a danger is that while there is still such widespread lack of recognition of the ethnic minority status of Romany Gypsies and Irish Travellers, and the practical impact of the recent legal judgement concerning the ethnic minority status of Scottish Gypsy / Travellers remains untested, a shift to a general equality focus could undermine work done so far in the name of racial equality.

8.2   Scotland

This section of the report considers the overall policy and legislative situation in Scotland. It refers to specific examples of inclusion and exclusion only where evidence indicates that issues are specifically related to Scottish legal and policy approaches, or where projects indicate variations from English or Welsh approaches to working with Gypsies and Travellers.

Scotland's Travelling people

A number of Travelling communities are found in Scotland, including English and Welsh Gypsies, Irish Travellers, and some New Travellers and Showpeople. However, the majority of the Traveller population are ethnic Scottish Gypsy / Travellers (the preferred term, although members of this community may also self-define as Scottish Travellers). The Scottish Parliament (2000) produced an in-depth briefing note which referred to: the ethnic characteristics of Scottish Gypsy / Travellers; local authority responsibilities to the various Travelling communities; and indices of discrimination and social exclusion experienced by the populations. A resource pack from the Commission for Racial Equality Scotland (CRES) (2006b) referred to the length of Scottish Gypsy / Traveller history and its possible origins in pre-Celtic times and subsequent intermarriage with Gypsies who migrated from India and were recorded in Scotland in the 15th century (see, too Kenrick & Clark, 1999). Scottish Gypsy / Travellers, in common with other Gypsies and Irish Travellers, have their own distinct language (Cant) comprising Gaelic, Sanskrit, Scots and Romany words (CRES, 2006b).

Scottish Gypsy / Travellers have not, until very recently, been recognised in law as an ethnic minority, and were thus in an anomalous position vis-a-vis Irish Travellers and Gypsies (who are subject to the protection of the Race Relations Acts under English case law, which is influential but not binding in Scotland). However, the Scottish Parliament and Executive, the Association of Chief Police Officers of Scotland (ACPOS) and the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA) all recommended that Scottish Gypsy / Travellers should be regarded as a 'minority ethnic' group in relation to public policy and legislation (CRESa, 2006, p. 8) prior to their official recognition as an ethnic minority group. As noted in Chapter 6 above, in October 2008 an employment appeal overturned the finding of an earlier tribunal and ruled that Scottish Gypsy / Travellers are a distinct ethnic group, thus belatedly bringing them under the protection of the Race Relations Act (The Herald, 2008).

The policy context

The Scottish Parliament and the Scottish Executive came into being in 1999, following the implementation of the Scotland Act 1998. While Scottish law and policy are in many ways distinct from that of the rest of Britain, the UK Parliament in Westminster has overall control of some elements of the legal system, reserving to itself certain core policy areas such as constitutional matters, fiscal and economic policy, equal opportunities, social security, defence and immigration. All subject matters that are not explicitly reserved to Westminster (for example, justice, rural affairs and transport) have implicitly devolved to the Scottish Parliament which has the power to enact primary legislation and policy affecting the functioning of a large number of executive agencies (for example, NHS Scotland, the Scottish Prison Service, the Scottish Court Service and Transport Scotland).

Since 1999, key legislation in Scotland has often been the subject of mirror enactment, with legislation in England and Wales simultaneously or subsequently passed in Edinburgh with only minor amendments reflecting the Scottish situation. However, Scotland did not enact the explicit legal duty to undertake GTAAs, which occurs under section 225 of the Housing Act 2004 and is applicable in England and Wales: it relied instead on the Housing (Scotland) Act 2001 for requirements for local authorities to prepare Local Housing Strategies (LHS), and on strong guidance from Communities Scotland (the equivalent of Communities and Local Government (CLG) in England and Wales) on the inclusion of Scottish Gypsy / Travellers' accommodation needs when preparing LHS (Scottish Executive, 2001a, 2004; Communities Scotland, 2006). The Housing (Scotland) Act 2001 placed a duty on local authorities to regularly review and update their LHS and ensure that Scottish Ministers are kept informed of the implementation of LHS policies. The responsibility to focus on meeting the accommodation needs of Scottish Gypsy / Traveller communities was reiterated by Communities Scotland's instruction to local authorities to report on the progress of assessing and meeting the needs of Scottish Gypsy / Travellers in annual LHS updates in 2006 and 2007.

The duty to provide local authority sites was abolished under the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (1994). Even prior to that, Scottish Gypsy / Travellers had been largely ignored in official policy and statistical analysis, with no comparable time-series of caravan counts to that found in England. Apart from a single national census in 1969, one further count in 1992 and sporadic counts in individual areas in subsequent years (Research Consultancy Services, 2005, p. 1), no national counts were undertaken in Scotland until the Scottish Executive's acceptance of

recommendations made by the Advisory Committee on Scotland's Travelling People in 1998.

Since 1998, the bi-annual caravan count familiar to England (and recently reinstated in Wales) has been undertaken in Scotland. While recognised as flawed (Save the Children Fund Scotland (SCFS), 2005; Niner, 2003; and Chapter 2), these counts offer an indication of trends in accommodation, travelling patterns and population size. As with other areas of the UK, the majority of Gypsy and Traveller populations are believed to be living in housing. A report by Scottish Executive Research Services (Scottish Government, 2006) found that approximately one-third of the Scottish Gypsy / Traveller population was resident on sites. It noted though, a steady decline in local authority provision in recent years, alongside high rates of turnover and vacant pitches in some localities. In the light of demand for sites, the juxtaposition of these findings suggested poor quality accommodation and community stresses. Further supporting this supposition, large numbers of local authorities reported unauthorised encampments in their areas, indicating considerable unmet need for accommodation.

Since the devolution of power, the Scottish Parliament has taken a renewed interest in the situation of Scottish Gypsy / Travellers. Following the influential 'Moving Targets' report (Morran et al, 1999), which detailed institutional racism and widespread inequalities experienced by Scottish Gypsy / Travellers, and the recommendations of the Advisory Committee on Scotland's Travelling People (1999), the Scottish Parliament published a briefing note (2000) which summarised the current state of knowledge about Travelling people and initiated a groundbreaking Equal Opportunities Committee (EOC) enquiry into 'Gypsy Travellers and Public Sector Policies'. The Inquiry was undertaken in 2000/1 and found widespread evidence of discrimination, racism and social exclusion across a range of domains (Equal Opportunities Committee, 2001). In its response to the Inquiry (summarised by the Scottish Parliament Information Group, 2001), the Scottish Executive made 37 recommendations, including requiring local authorities to actively include Scottish Gypsy / Travellers in accommodation strategies, and placing the remit for the inspection, management and provision of Scottish Gypsy / Traveller sites with Communities Scotland. Communities Scotland guidance on local housing strategies subsequently emphasised the importance of assessing and meeting the accommodation needs of Scottish Gypsy / Travellers.

The Scottish Executive has indicated that its interest in improving the situation of Scottish Gypsy / Travellers is not short-lived, and that it continues to monitor the situation in partnership with service providers and community members. An updated

response to the EOC inquiry, 'Delivering for Scotland's Gypsy / Travellers', was issued in 2004 (Scottish Executive, 2004), which, amongst other recommendations, noted that Scottish Gypsies / Travellers should be clearly identified as a specific community of interest, required consultation with and participation of Scottish Gypsy / Travellers in public service delivery and access to community development initiatives, and advocated the promotion of employment of Scottish Gypsies / Travellers in public services (2004, p. 1).

In April 2005, the EOC undertook a review of the progress made on equalities for Scottish Gypsy / Travellers since the 2001 report. In October 2005, it published its 'Preliminary findings on Gypsy / Travellers - Review of Progress'. This concluded that the majority of recommendations in the previous report had not been implemented and that very little progress had been made in the intervening four years. Save the Children Scotland's submission to the review included worrying findings from primary research with young Gypsies and Travellers, with the majority of young people noting that their situation had remained the same or had declined since 2001 (Save the Children Scotland, 2005a).

In response to the findings of the EOC (2005) report, the Scottish Executive established a short-life Strategic Group on Scottish Gypsies / Travellers, a body which included representatives from a range of agencies and organisations that worked closely with the Gypsy / Traveller communities, including Save the Children Scotland, CRE Scotland, the Scottish Traveller Education Programme (STEP), and the Association of Chief Police Constables of Scotland. The CRES strategy document (2006a, pp. 5-6) outlined the key issues identified by the strategic group as being of major concern in ensuring social inclusion and equality for Scottish Gypsies/Travellers. The group met between October 2005 and August 2006, with its findings due to be incorporated into a National Strategy and Action Plan on Race Equality. However, the latter has not yet been published, leaving a lacuna in policy and action in terms of Gypsy / Traveller issues.

Experiences in Scotland

The findings and recommendations of the present review overlap with the considerable amount of evidence set out in the two EOC reports, and are fully relevant to the Scottish situation.

The racism and discrimination experienced by Scottish Gypsy / Travellers are reflected in the response by Michelle Lloyd of Save the Children Scotland to the present consultation, in which she stated that 'it is socially acceptable to be racist towards Gypsies and Travellers - numerous examples in media, policies and

practices of public bodies'. One email correspondent noted that, during an end-of-day debate, the Westminster MP for Ayrshire Central, Brian Donohoe, expressed discriminatory views of Scottish Gypsy / Travellers, with no apparent challenge from his colleagues. He also issued a press release (undated) on Scottish Gypsy / Travellers in Ayr, stating that 'they are complete anarchists ... it is clear that they are not welcome'.

The CRES Gypsy / Traveller strategy (2006a) noted the fundamental importance of Scottish Gypsy / Travellers achieving recognition as an ethnic minority group under Scottish law. While policy statements accepted that, within public sector contexts, Scottish Gypsy / Travellers should be treated as a group with ethnic minority status, legal recognition was lacking until October 2008. As the CRE commented, the 'lack of legal precedent is both symbolic to the community and of real practical use when challenging discriminatory behaviours' (CRE, 2007, p. 11). Examples of racial discrimination experienced by Scottish Gypsy / Travellers include being barred from using holiday caravan parks (Save the Children Fund Scotland, 1998); access to health care (National Centre for Ethnic Minority Health (NRCEMH), 2006) and numerous anecdotal examples of discrimination in access to employment, including cases of Scottish Gypsy / Traveller graduates being discriminated against and dismissed from professional employment once they revealed that they lived on a caravan site.

At an employment tribunal in March 2008, a claim of racial discrimination against a Scottish Gypsy / Traveller was dismissed: the written judgment stated that 'while there may be a body of opinion that Scottish gypsy travellers [sic] should be treated as an ethnic group and should enjoy the protection of the 1976 act, there is no legislation, as yet, which affords them such protection although under the 1976 act, (as amended in 2000) English Romany gypsies [sic] and Irish travelers [sic] are protected as ethnic groups, Scottish gypsy travelers [sic] are not protected in the same way' (Davidson, 2008). As noted above, when this case was taken to an employment appeal tribunal in October 2008, the ruling was reversed and Scottish Gypsy / Travellers achieved legal recognition as an ethnic minority group. The 2001 EOC report recommended that capitalisation of Gypsy and Traveller should always be used, although unfortunately even the press comment in October 2008 did not follow this recommendation.

The vexed question of the ethnic minority status of Scottish Gypsy / Travellers had been the subject of considerable debate in Scotland (Clark, 2006a), with the Scottish CRE and the Scottish Gypsy and Traveller Law Reform Coalition both highlighting the need for equality of protection for Scottish Gypsies / Travellers in access to

goods, services, accommodation and employment as well as sending a policy message that members of these communities are valued members of society.

The findings from the latest Scottish Social Attitudes Survey (Bromley et al, 2007) supported Ms Lloyd's views on the preponderance of racist attitudes in Scotland, and the need for 'strong leadership and resourcing by Government and bodies like the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) as soon as possible'. Overtly discriminatory views were expressed by many respondents to the survey, with 37 per cent of respondents reporting that they would be unhappy if a relative married a Gypsy / Traveller. In the absence of clear leadership on inclusion issues and assertive policy approaches that emphasise the unacceptability of racism and discrimination towards Scottish Gypsy / Travellers, it is unlikely that the situation will improve in the near future.

Addressing inequality

The 2001 EOC report was groundbreaking in recognising the discrimination and racism faced by Scottish Gypsy / Travellers. The work of STEP and Save the Children Scotland (already referred to in relation to education and gender issues) were major steps towards promoting equality of practice and opportunity for Scottish Gypsy / Travellers and ensuring that the policy community does not ignore the inequalities they continue to experience. Numerous small projects (such as NRCEMH (2006) and Traveller and Gypsy Community Development Project Glasgow), as well as funding pools in response to the Scottish Executive emphasis on working with Scottish Gypsy / Travellers, focus particularly on accommodation, community development and health improvement. However, no central, sustainable policy focus has been developed, which weakens the drive towards greater inclusion. In the light of the announcement in 2008 that Save the Children Fund Scotland are closing their long established Gypsy / Traveller project, the loss of this major campaigning group in Scotland will have a potentially devastating impact on the ability of Gypsy / Traveller community members (and in particular young people) to have their voices heard in policy debate.

Recommendations

The majority of recommendations made elsewhere in this report are as applicable to Scotland as to other parts of Britain. Specific recommendations for Scotland, however, are as follows:

i. At the time of writing and until October 2008, the fundamental recommendation we made was to ensure that Scottish Gypsy / Travellers were granted urgent recognition as an ethnic minority group and were thus

subject to legal protection in common with some other Gypsies and Travellers in the UK. This has now been achieved in an employment tribunal ruling, though it is essential to ensure that this protection is reflected through all provision where Scottish Gypsy / Travellers experience discrimination.

ii.   Further work should be undertaken in Scotland as a matter of priority to ensure that the recommendations made by the Parliamentary Equal Opportunities Committee in 2001 and 2005 and restated by the Scottish Executive in 'Delivering for Scotland's Gypsies / Travellers' (2004) are implemented, and in particular that Scottish MSPs and Ministers take a lead in promoting positive behaviour and best practice in relation to Scottish Gypsy / Travellers and in condemning racist and discriminatory behaviour.

iii.   The National Strategy and Action Plan on Race Equality should be produced as a matter of urgency and include equality issues for Scottish Gypsy / Travellers as a priority.

iv.   Research is needed to ascertain the size of the Gypsy / Traveller population in Scotland, which is currently unknown.

9. RACISM, HUMAN RIGHTS, GENDER, AGE, DISABILITY AND SEXUAL ORIENTATION

9.1 Racism, sedentarism and discrimination

This report has provided overwhelming evidence of persistent racism experienced by Gypsies and Travellers from the public, from services and sometimes from politicians. This can involve violent and even fatal physical attack through to lower-level abuse and denigration on a daily basis. Gypsies and Travellers in particular situations can also be even more vulnerable. There are numerous examples in the literature of sedentary communities mobilising to oppose Gypsy and Traveller sites or housed residents and to vilify their occupants (Brent, 2004; Twelvetrees, 2002). Housed Gypsies and Travellers are particularly exposed to racism from neighbours, which can have deleterious effects on their health and well-being. Stonewall (2003) found that a third of the population admitted to prejudice against Gypsies and Travellers. Moreover, Gypsies and Travellers, along with asylum-seekers, were the only groups in a survey by Valentine and McDonald (2004) with whom the interviewees had no personal contact.

Evidence of racist attitudes and non-inclusive policies has been found in the public services reviewed in this report. The Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) report, 'Common Ground', stated that 'the services Gypsies and Travellers receive from their local authority are manifestly less favourable than those the wider public enjoy' (CRE, 2006b, p. 18). Sometimes this takes directly discriminatory forms, as in parts of the criminal justice system. Sometimes the problems arise from assimilatory rather than discriminatory policies, practices and institutional cultures, as in education. In other services, indirect racism through a lack of acknowledgement and pathologisation of cultural issues is influential, alongside direct discrimination, in denying appropriate access to services, as in aspects of health and social services. Some services, for example the police, have been identified as having particularly embedded racist cultures and practices (Coxhead, 2007), although sustained and creative efforts are being undertaken in partnership with communities in some areas to address these.

Children and young people are particularly vulnerable, from their peers in school, from adults in authority such as teachers, and from adults and children in the general public (Lloyd et al, 2005; National Assembly of Wales (NAW), 2003; Smith, 2004; Ureche & Franks, 2007; Warrington, 2006). The interaction of age and culture in this power dynamic exacerbates the impact. The safe environment for development that is Government policy for every child in England and Wales in Every Child Matters,

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and parallel Scottish policies, is systematically undermined for Gypsy and Traveller children.

The role of the media has not been separately examined in this report, but is a key area in the active perpetuation of racism and misunderstanding. Stereotypical images abound and sensational reporting frequently promotes fear and hatred in local populations (Cemlyn / BCC, 2006; Jempson, 2007; Morris, 2000; Morris, 2006). The CRE produced guidelines for journalists in 1998, but there is no sanction if they are breached (Morris, 2000). While prejudice is perpetuated on the basis of characterising whole groups of people as 'other' (Richardson, 2006), only individuals can make complaints to the Press Complaints Commission. However, Morris (2006, p. 251) reported that 'not one of the 600 or so complaints made to the Press Complaints Commission since 1991 about alleged racism in the Press [was] upheld'. This is in itself a huge barrier for Gypsies and Travellers who may be considering making complaints. Other barriers discussed in this report include enforced mobility, lack of literacy, and a general lack of confidence that redress will be provided.

The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) has also been accused of racism over allowing discriminatory language about Gypsies and Travellers to be used in programmes (Friends Families and Travellers (FFT), 2008b). Despite many complaints, at the time of writing, assurances that this would be discontinued were not forthcoming. A threat that the BBC would close the only Gypsy radio station, Rokker Radio, was quickly withdrawn in the face of a large electronic campaign by supporters during 2008, although the station did close down at the end of 2008.

Although Romany Gypsies and Irish Travellers are recognised as ethnic minority groups under the Race Relations Acts, wider recognition that they experience racism is inconsistent in the services examined in this report. Garrett (2002) and Power (2003) discuss the dangers of a black / white approach that obscures the racism experienced by minority white groups. In the increasingly diverse communities of the UK, it is important that thinking in Government, academic and service contexts moves on from this limited framework. Moreover, different groups of Gypsies and Travellers can have different experiences of racism. Power (2003, 2004) and Garrett (2004) explore both anti-Irish racism and anti-Traveller racism, and how the combination can lead to particularly damaging prejudices and treatment. It is important to be clearer about specific aspects of oppression facing particular groups of Gypsies and Travellers. At the same time, it is important that anti-racist approaches do not build hierarchies of oppression (McDonald & Coleman, 1999), but continue to develop the strong unity that has been shown by coalitions of Gypsy and Traveller organisations.

Recognition of identity is central to appropriate responses within services. In the context of social work, Garrett (2005a) explored four approaches, namely adverse or negative recognition that is based on negative stereotypes, non-recognition or denial, bureaucratic or 'tick box' recognition, and positive or complex recognition. Gypsies and Travellers have experienced many versions of the first two categories. Recognition of complex and dynamic identities is both necessary for social justice and equality, but equally is hard to achieve without a pre-existing foundation of social justice and equality that avoids pathologisation of groups that have been marginalised. Positive recognition of difference has been characterised by Piper and Garrett (2005), quoted in Lloyd and McCluskey (2007, p. 5), as 'a fine (and admittedly elusive) balancing point where differences can be considered in complex but more useful ways which recognise that romanticizing and / or hating (for example) are not that (if at all) far apart'.

The concept of sedentarism (McVeigh, 1997; Power, 2003; Vanderbeck, 2005) is also crucial in relation to Gypsies and Travellers. Discrimination and prejudice against people because of a nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyle, or even a past history of nomadism, underpins much of the discrimination experienced by all groups of Gypsies, Travellers and Showpeople. The mobility engaged in by Gypsies and Travellers is viewed as not conforming to dominant norms of good behaviour required of citizens, leading to 'the social exclusion of groups who are culturally excluded in sedentarist industrial capitalist western societies' (James, 2005, p. 166). The freedom to travel across different kinds of borders, while easily available to those with greater power and privilege, is seen as a threat in relation to more marginal groups like Gypsies and Travellers (Bauman, 2004). The discrimination and disadvantage experienced by 'non-ethnic' groups of Travellers (James, 2005), needs to be addressed equally with that experienced by those recognised under Race Relations legislation.

A further dimension to consider, therefore, is the limits of the framework of the Race Relations Acts. The campaign for rights based on ethnicity has been hard fought, involving lengthy processes of political, social and legal conflict to achieve recognition by some groups. The long period between the first Act in 1976 and the recognition through case law of Romany Gypsies in 1989, of Irish Travellers in 2000 and of Scottish Gypsy / Travellers in 2008, indicates the level of struggle needed to achieve even this affirmation and highlights the discrepancy between the reality of day-to-day experience and the achievement of legal protection.

A further problem is that a narrow focus on ethnicity can exclude groups who similarly experience prejudice and discrimination on the basis of their lifestyle and

culture, and yet do not receive the (limited) protection of the Race Relations Acts. Recognition of some groups can by default create non-recognised groups, although most Gypsy and Traveller coalitions and campaigning organisations have assiduously resisted these divisions. The Welsh model of a proactive and 'absolute' (Chaney, 2004) duty to promote equality of opportunity for all needs to be seriously considered in the other national contexts in Britain. However, it may also carry the danger of being too open and therefore subject to interpretation by those with more power to define, and also subject to changing political scenarios.

Struggles over ethnic and cultural recognition remain an important aspect of the struggle for equality and human rights for Gypsies and Travellers, but as a tool for delivering equality rather than a substitute for it. In Ireland for example, McVeigh has highlighted an 'ongoing process of ethnicity denial engaged in by the Irish State' (McVeigh, 2007, p. 95), epitomised in an Irish Government submission to the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimation that 'Travellers do not constitute a distinct group from the population as a whole in terms of race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin' (Irish Government Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) Report, 2005 – in McVeigh, 2007, p. 96). This has been paralleled by a resurgence of anti-Travellerism through the criminalisation of trespass, the ending of a Government-sponsored 'Citizen Traveller' campaign, and the removal of discrimination cases involving Travellers from the remit of Equality Tribunals. In Northern Ireland, by contrast, Irish Travellers were included as a named group in the Race Relations (Northern Ireland) Order 1997, but this measure has arguably produced few positive equality gains. For example, court cases have undermined the recognition of ethnicity, and the Government introduced measures to criminalise trespass through the policy of designation. This policy enabled councils to operate additional eviction powers against Travellers on unauthorised sites in their area, in a parallel with apartheid 'group areas', and effectively criminalised their identity (McVeigh, 2007).

A corollary of ethnic and cultural recognition is that the impact of policy or lack of policy on the groups needs to be monitored so that inequalities can be measured and then addressed. The issue of ethnic monitoring, or rather the widespread lack of such monitoring, is pervasive throughout the research reviewed. The CRE (2004, p. 6) noted that 'Gypsy and Traveller organisations have long pressed for the widespread inclusion of distinct and consistent ethnic categories for Gypsies and Travellers within national and local monitoring systems'. Without the ability to identify inequalities, strategies and actions to combat inequality do not have a sound foundation. The education system in England and Wales has been able (since 2003) to monitor the achievement of Gypsy and Traveller pupils. Although the results are shocking, the

scale of the challenge is clearer. However, Gypsies and Travellers can also be understandably suspicious about such monitoring, given the hostility and discrimination their identity arouses. They frequently hide their identity for these reasons, and indeed some professionals working with them have also found it strategic to hide this identity. A probation officer in Power's (2003, p. 264) study, referring to anti-Traveller prejudice within the criminal justice system, talked about 'things which you know just from your experience [that] the courts will react to badly … it's almost wrong to acknowledge things unless you've got a solution'.

As has been indicated, racism and discrimination can overlap with assimilation. Aggressively assimilatory policies have a long history (Fraser, 1995; Liegeois, 1986), and are not official currency in contemporary society, although attitudes of both public and service providers may perpetuate them. However, current policies face a new challenge, which is how to ensure that inclusion policies operate in a way that opens up opportunities and overcomes barriers without further undermining the cultural identity and way of life of Gypsies and Travellers. The delicate dynamic between policies of inclusion that promote equality, and measures taken by services reflecting the dominant culture that may serve to undermine cultural autonomy and promote assimilation, is discussed by a number of authors (for example, Hester, 2004; Lloyd & McCluskey, 2007; Morran, 2002).

Some of the issues discussed in this section require clear and resolute action to counter racism and sedentarism. Others require a more nuanced approach reflecting complex and dynamic situations and identities. In both respects, engagement with the communities is a key requirement to enhance the appropriate development of policy and practice. Although strong action is the responsibility of the state and public services, negotiating problems and sensitivities can only be done in partnership with the communities.

Recommendations

i.   All services should undertake rigorous examination of their provision for Gypsies and Travellers.

ii. Race equality strategies that actively include Gypsies and Travellers should be developed and monitored in partnership with community members.

iii. There should be a much tighter system of media regulation to combat racism and stereotypical and misleading reporting about Gypsies and Travellers.

iv. Monitoring of Gypsies and Travellers, including Showpeople and New Travellers, should be introduced throughout all services.

9.2   Human rights

The policy context

Just as there is an interaction between equality and human rights in lived experience, so this interaction has become more explicit in the policy context. The Human Rights Act 1998 incorporated the 1950 European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) into domestic law. The Convention primarily focuses on civil and political rights, sometimes termed negative rights because a key focus is that there should not be interference with an individual's liberty and rights in areas such as prohibition of torture, rights to a fair trial, and freedom of conscience, expression and assembly. Alongside the ECHR, a range of equality measures have been enacted by the British Government since the 1970s, with a stronger focus since the Race (Relations) Amendment Act 2000, the Disability Discrimination Act 2005 and the Equality Act 2006 on promoting equality rather than only counteracting discrimination. In Wales there is a general equality duty relating to all groups. These laws can be thought of as focusing more on social and economic rights in terms of prohibiting discrimination in relation to employment and access to goods, facilities and services.

The development of law in relation to social and economic rights is also seen at the international level, for example in the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. These rights require state parties, that is, governments, to provide various services for citizens and are sometimes referred to as positive rights (Ife, 2001; Klug, 2005). Subsequent generations of rights have been conceptualised as participatory rights (O'Connell, 2006), social development rights (Mishra, 2005) and minority group rights (Kymlicka, 2008). Cultural rights for minorities are expressed in the 1992 UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons belonging to National, Ethnic or Religious Minorities, and the 1995 European Framework Convention for Protection of Minorities.

The development of international conventions usually reflects decades of struggle by affected groups and debate among policy-makers (Basok et al, 2006; Cohen, 1999). New conventions that aim to ensure that marginalised groups have equal access to fundamental rights also create shifts in thinking about rights. For example, the 2006 Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities has been seen as promoting not only non-discrimination in relation to rights for disabled people, but also as extending the understanding of these rights and developing the idea of specific experiences of rights for particular groups (Megret, 2008). This has some relevance for the experience of Gypsies and Travellers, who are excluded from wider rights because of their specific experiences. Access to these rights has to take account of these experiences and cultural needs and aspirations.

Human rights and equality legislation and theory have therefore, seen a movement towards each other, which is reflected in the establishment of the Equality and Human Rights Commission. It is also reflected in European institutions. For example, the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia became the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights in 2007. There are many complexities within the development and implementation of human rights both nationally and internationally, and different interpretations can be obscured by common rhetoric. Nonetheless, in relation to the experience of Gypsies and Travellers, the interconnections between human rights, equality and anti-discrimination are central.

Many aspects of Gypsies' and Travellers' specific experiences highlight these connections. For example, for Gypsies and Travellers the key right to respect for home, expressed in article 8 of the EHRC and the Human Rights Act, and which they are frequently denied, can be seen as bridging between a civil and political right to non-interference, a social / economic right to equal access to a form of social provision (in this case the right to planning permission), and a cultural right to self-defined interpretations of home (Johnson & Willers, 2007).

Human rights in practice

The evidence in this review of discrimination and a lack of equality for Gypsies and Travellers also reflects a lack of access to human rights. Indeed, the review reveals the depth and extent of the denial of rights to Gypsies and Travellers throughout the domains explored and across civil / political, social / economic, participatory and cultural rights. Moreover, rights to social development and some of the basic aspirations of the UN Millenium Development Goals (2008), including the reduction of child mortality, the improvement of maternal health and combatting disease, are applicable to some Gypsies and Travellers, whose experience of having no access to water or sanitation and lacking access to health care, can reflect that of peoples in the world's poorest countries.

This lack of rights has been commented on internationally by human rights bodies. In 2002, the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child (2002) reported that it was 'concerned at the discrimination against children belonging to the Irish and Roma Travellers [in the UK]. The Committee is also concerned at the existing gap between policy and effective delivery of services'. In 2003, the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (2003) commented, again in relation to the UK, that 'the Committee expresses concern about the discrimination faced by Roma Gypsies and Travellers that is reflected, inter alia, in their higher child mortality rate, exclusion from schools, shorter life expectancy, poor housing conditions, lack of

available camping sites, high unemployment rate and limited access to health services'.

Grave concerns about the racism experienced by Gypsies and Travellers and the role of the media were expressed by the Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights, Alvaro Gil-Robles, in November 2004 (Commissioner for Human Rights, 2004):

> *Though a small part of the overall population of the United Kingdom, the difficulties faced by Gypsies and Travellers have attracted considerable, and largely negative, attention in recent years. Indeed, to judge by the levels of invective that can regularly be read in the national press, Gypsies would appear to be the last ethnic minority in respect of which openly racist views can still be acceptably expressed. I was truly amazed by some of the headlines, articles and editorials that were shown to me. Such reporting would appear to be symptomatic of a widespread and seemingly growing distrust of Gypsies resulting in their discrimination in a broad range of areas.* (Commissioner for Human Rights, 2004)

Gypsies and Travellers experience: acutely racist attitudes and behaviour; grave inequalities in access to core services; barriers to political participation and community involvement; and a lack of access even to basic civil / political rights such as voter registration, as discussed in Chapter 7, and due process before the law, as discussed in relation to evictions and forced moves in Chapter 6. This report has highlighted how the lack of rights is mutually reinforcing: lack of a home undermines the right to family life and to freedom from degrading or unfair treatment, and participation as citizens in economic, social and political life. It reinforces discriminatory access to employment, to health / health care and education in a deleterious cycle. Discriminatory conditions in relation to health care, prison experience and suicide prevention undermine the right to life itself.

As with other population groups, specific groups within the Gypsy and Traveller communities experience further discrimination and loss of rights on the basis of socially structured inequalities and their reflection within the communities. Women, children, gay and lesbian Gypsies and Travellers and disabled members of the communities experience the widely documented inequalities affecting all population groups, intersecting with the acute racism experienced by all members of their communities. For example, the discussion in this report on the specific experiences of young people and of women has revealed unacceptable situations.

There can be tensions between different aspects of rights. Individual interpretations of rights based on sedentary understandings, for example, a child's right to education, can clash with the child's right to 'maintain and develop their culture, and to preserve essential aspects of their identity', as stated in article 5 of the European Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (Council of Europe, 1995). While schools continue to condone racist bullying and fail to reflect and validate Gypsy and Traveller culture, the child remains caught between two worlds. He or she has to carry the impact of society's racism as well as the responsibility of negotiating between sedentary and community cultural expectations. The responsibility for rectifying this situation rests with sedentary institutions and policies, as does that for facilitating partnership and involvement with individual Gypsies and Travellers and their wider communities to address these tensions. No solution is possible without according Gypsies and Travellers full rights to participation, taking into account and overcoming the barriers to such involvement that have been discussed in this report.

There are also tensions in relation to gender roles and some of the specific barriers and hurtful experiences that women can experience within any cultural group. For example, article 5a of the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (UN General Assembly, 1979), requires state parties to 'modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women'. There are significant dangers that the dominance of the sedentary society and its institutions in relation to Gypsies and Travellers and the racism and discrimination experienced by the communities as a whole could be reinforced by inappropriate strategies in relation to gender issues. Again, the sedentary society carries the responsibility to ensure that services are provided in equal and culturally appropriate ways to ensure racial equality, and that dialogue and partnership are the key principles of related strategies.

Addressing inequality

Throughout this report, there has been an emphasis on the centrality of celebrating and supporting the involvement, training, employment and political voice of Gypsies and Travellers. The evidence of good practice within the report rests on the communities' and individuals' involvement in claiming their rights in the face of hostility, indifference or neglect.

Gypsies' and Travellers' daily experiences of human rights abuse is the foundation for political engagement as they assert individual and community rights. Examples include their accommodation struggles and children's negotiation of hostile environments. Gypsies and Travellers have demonstrated a wide range of approaches to using human rights tools in their struggle, in the legal system, in political negotiation and in direct action. Struggles over accommodation such as those at the Dale Farm site (for example, Earth First, 2005) illustrate these methods. The sustained work to promote legal reform by the Gypsy and Traveller Law Reform Coalition and the Irish Traveller Movement, led to the Liberty Human Rights Award in 2004. In relation to cultural rights, a struggle to save a horse fair at Horsmonden in Kent made explicit use of Human Rights Act provision for freedom of assembly (Acton, 2007). The inspiring work of women's groups and of young people has been referred to in various sections of this report.

Recommendations

Because of the embeddedness of human rights issues in all the areas of inequality addressed in this report, this section contains no new recommendations. Instead, it reinforces the urgency of addressing the inequalities facing Gypsies and Travellers in all the domains reviewed in the report.

9.3   Gender issues

The policy context

Many of the inequalities faced by Gypsies and Travellers (for example, in education, health, accommodation) are shared by both women and men. However, the qualitative experiences of men and women may vary substantially, and women may bear an especially heavy burden in some aspects of their lives. This section of the review provides merely an overview, as the majority of gendered impacts of inequality have been set out earlier.

Sex equality legislation guarantees males and females equality of treatment in access to goods and services, and forbids discrimination in employment or on the grounds of gender, maternal status or caring responsibilities. In practice however, as recognised internationally (European Commission, undated; European Commission, 2008; World Health Organisation, 2005), women are significantly disadvantaged in terms of lower earnings and employment prospects, as a result of family responsibilities, experiences of domestic and sexual violence, rates of poverty, and gendered expectations, which affect all aspects of their lives. Roma, Gypsy and Traveller women are likely to be particularly disadvantaged across a multitude of domains, a fact recognised by the Council of Europe when referring to the triple discrimination faced by women: 'as Roma, as women and as persons belonging to a socially disadvantaged group' (Council of Europe, 2002, cited by Branigan, 2004).

Oprea (2003) states that by 'treating race and gender as mutually exclusive categories, Romani non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and feminist organisations alike fail to tackle the multi-faceted discrimination from which Romani [and by extension Gypsy and Traveller] women suffer'. Peric (2003, p. 1), referring to the situation in Serbia, discusses how 'racial and gender discrimination often act intertwined. For example, the pressure of the community will force many young Romani women to leave school in their prepubescent years in order to get married ... Because of their lack of formal education and racial discrimination in hiring procedures, but also because of the pressure of families that do not always consider it proper for women to work outside the home, a vast majority of Romani women are unemployed'. Gendered attitudes and expectations pertaining to education, employment and female roles are broadly similar within many British Gypsy and Traveller communities.

Oprea (2003) notes that amongst Roma women, who historically and culturally tend to occupy the role of transmitters of culture, there is an increasing tendency towards political radicalisation, with women engaging with the forum of 'Traveller politics'.

Writing in 1997, Acton and colleagues also identified this phenomenon in Britain, referring to the growth of a Women's Movement amongst Gypsies and Travellers, initially focused on health issues and access to medical treatment and subsequently, as a result of engagement with mainstream agencies (including the legal system) and as a 'direct result of the inequalities experienced by their communities, leading to an upsurge in female militancy and an increased awareness of their power as protagonists in emerging social change' (Greenfields & Home, 2007, p. 147). Despite the increasing literature on the role of Romani women in public life in Eastern Europe (Horvath, undated), we identified little other British literature pertaining to Gypsy and Traveller women's political engagement. Branigan (2004) reported on the launch of the International Roma Women's Network, consisting of representatives from 18 countries, including two British activists: Janie Codona of the National Travellers Action Group (subsequently appointed as a CRE Commissioner) and Sylvie Dunn of the National Association of Gypsy Women. Janette Gronfers was the Finnish representative to the Network prior to moving to Britain.

Branigan (2004) noted that British activists discussed gender roles and expectations which could impact negatively on women: 'Even now, in the UK, some parents send their children to school until they are 11, and after that want girls to stay at home, cook, clean and learn to be a wife and mother ... The boys will go on, but they think the girls only need so much'. Other comments attributed to activists included discussion of hierarchical gender roles within Gypsy communities: 'Coming from a travelling family, the man is always considered the head of the family and you look to them for permission to do a lot of things … I was brought up like that, but I thought: this can't be right - to have to ask permission to do the things men take for granted'.

 To date, there has been no policy drive to challenge or discuss the changing position of women in Gypsy and Traveller communities in Britain. Any such discussion has tended to be locally based, driven by one or two core activists and often reactive in nature: for example, campaigning against large-scale or high-profile evictions. In contrast, in Ireland, the National Traveller Women's Forum (NTWF) has a membership consisting of representatives from 70 different Traveller groups as well as a significant number of individual women, reflecting the degree of organisation, financial security and political importance of Traveller groups in that country. The NTWF website reports on its role in engaging with local, national and international politics and policy formation, providing research and input into the position of Traveller women in a variety of arenas, including local government, health authority and national government task forces and monitoring groups which consider the status and equality needs of Travellers. NTWF employ staff and are active in assisting Traveller community groups and training providers in developing projects

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with both young and older women in relation to human rights, domestic violence and educational opportunities. The relatively high profile of Irish Traveller women's political and human rights and the ways in which explicit linkages are made between a range of equalities agendas in Ireland are reflected in some media coverage. For example, Reilly (2005) stated that there are 'no Travellers' rights without Traveller women's rights', and that Traveller women 'experience patriarchy in the ways that all women do ... they also experience particular forms of abuse as Traveller women, when they are brutalised by descriptions in the media.'

Traditional gender role expectations

English Romanies, Welsh Gypsies, Scottish and Irish Travellers tend to follow strongly differentiated gender roles and expect both men and women to adhere to a set of core behaviours which place the family and home at the centre of their value system. A couple do not regard themselves as being in competition, but part of a complementary relationship, with men primarily responsible for supporting their family financially and practically (for example, through making connections with other relatives about employment opportunities) and women taking overall responsibility for the home and children. Matters relating to pregnancy, personal care for elders, and teaching appropriate household and hygiene skills to daughters are very much the role of women, and it would be inappropriate and cause offence to both men and women if a man were to intervene in these matters (Spencer, 2003). Similarly, a man will take care of his sons' training in employment skills, negotiate over finances, deal with land purchases (although the land will usually be formally registered in the name of his wife) and other practical issues such as vehicle repairs and employment opportunities, as well as matters involving family reputation (Greenfields, 2006; Levinson & Sparkes, 2003). While a woman will generally take a lesser part in public discussions about these matters, in private the couple will usually be equally involved in decision-making. In public, women are expected, and are generally willing, to appear to be subservient to men, although much joking occurs about the opposite being the case. At social gatherings, such as weddings and funerals, men and women will always split into separate gender groups. Among traditional Travellers there is a strong adherence to strict moral codes governing the relationships between men and women (Spencer, 2003). Young women are not expected to engage in sexual relationships before marriage and families will watch out for and monitor behaviour, to prevent gossip about the young woman or her family (Greenfields & Home, 2007). Despite the intense protectiveness of Gypsy and Traveller families towards young people, Levinson and Sparke (2003) report that boys are frequently sexually active from a young age and use 'sex talk' to maximise their masculinity.

While in some Travelling cultures (for example, Roma), women and men are both expected to contribute to the family income through undertaking different, gender-appropriate work in Britain, Gypsy and Traveller women are, at least currently, more likely to remain home-based, caring for children and older people, while men occupy a more visible role, moving between the home and outside world and, where employment opportunities exist, engaging in physical work such as trading their skills or selling their labour. However, for those families who have a stable site, women are proving more adaptable to changing economic circumstances than are most Traveller men, and in some cases are returning to education, skills training or, unusually for Travellers, entering the formal labour market (Clark & Greenfields, 2006, findings from Gypsy Traveller Accommodation Assessments (GTAAs)). As discussed earlier, this shift in gendered behaviours and expectations is not unproblematic and anecdotally has been blamed for an increase in marital disharmony, domestic violence and relationship breakdown. Young women who participated in a focus group with a research team member during the course of this study noted that 'Gypsy and Traveller boys wouldn't want you working, you'd be better off with a gorge [non-Gypsy] boy if you wants to do that'.

In contrast to the often strictly gendered roles of more traditional Gypsy and Traveller communities, New Travellers have a distinct cultural pattern which is unique among nomadic groups and would appear to owe much to the recent nature of this group's travelling history, as well as their tendency to aspire to a non-hierarchical, 'green' and often feminist political belief system (Greenfields, 2002). Amongst New Travellers, 'gender-appropriate' roles are rare and it is not uncommon to see women mechanics and men involved in childcare. Men and women engage equally in a variety of work, often similar in nature to that practised by traditional Traveller men (Webster and Millar, 2001). In sharp contrast to traditional Travellers, marriage is not the norm and patterns of serial monogamy (perhaps interspersed with lone parenthood) are fairly common in this community. Where partnerships do break down, a strong ethic exists that fathers will be involved in childcare, often having children to live with them for blocks of several months at a time. Lone parenthood, among both men and women, is not uncommon and appears to be no barrier to re-partnering (Greenfields, 2002). Support with childcare is usually available (and often expected) from other Travellers (Webster & Millar, 2001), which frees women to work, as does the generally smaller number of children born to New Travellers (findings from GTAAs indicate a completed family rate similar to that of mainstream populations).

Although Showpeople have slightly more children than the national average (based upon GTAA evidence), women tend to have smaller families than Gypsy and Traveller women, are generally more literate (associated in part with stability of winter

quarters and close relationships with Traveller Education Services (TESs) while travelling) and, from the limited evidence to which we have access, are more economically independent than ethnic Gypsy and Traveller women. Many Showwomen operate their own businesses, inheriting rides from their parents (perhaps held in common with siblings), or operating stalls from a young age and sharing the profits with household members. There is no evidence available to us on inequalities facing Showwomen or data on expectations of gender roles. Despite strong expectations of lifelong marriage, often taking place at a young age, women appear to experience a considerable degree of economic and social freedom and are often actively involved in political and policy forums which impact on the accommodation and economic well-being of Showpeople. The National Association of Teachers and Travellers (NATT) response to the consultation noted that Showpeople are increasingly expecting or encouraging young people to access training for alternative employment, and this option would appear to exist for both males and females.

In contrast to the family structures of New Travellers and Showpeople, GTAA evidence indicates that ethnic Gypsy and Traveller women have an average of between 3.5 and 5.9 children (according to their ethnicity), with inevitable impacts on equality of opportunity while caring responsibilities exist. Gypsy and Traveller women are also likely to report caring responsibilities for older and disabled family members (based on GTAAs and anecdotal information). While this is a virtually universal gendered pattern of care (Lewis & Campbell, 2007; Daley & Rake, 2003), particularly in ethnic minority communities where strong cultural and familial expectations of care-giving exist (Adamson & Donovan, 2005), the generally young age at marriage, high birth rate and high rate of illness and disability amongst Gypsy and Traveller populations (Parry et al, 2004; Van Cleemput et al, 2007; and findings from GTAAs) mean that many women will be involved in caring responsibilities throughout their active life. Typically, girls will help their mothers with care and domestic assistance with children and elderly relatives from a young age, look after their own children, perhaps help care for the children of siblings as young women, become grandmothers at a young age (often in their 30s), and then become involved in caring for their own grandchildren, parents and grandparents until they themselves are in need of physical care and support. Very little time away from caring roles may exist to permit women access to education or employment, even if they should wish to take up these options. A number of respondents to this consultation and to GTAAs reported that older women in particular may be reluctant for their daughters or granddaughters to seek employment or education away from the home, fearing the

impact on traditional cultural behaviours and also the risks involved in a young woman being outside the domestic sphere and separate from her kin group.

Women's experiences

Little research has been carried out into the role of women in Gypsy and Traveller communities, other than a YWCA (2007) briefing which summarised health, education, accommodation and inequalities research through a gendered filter and included evidence from young women about their experiences of racism within the education system. The report referred to cultural taboos which may make it particularly hard to discuss internal home situations, for example, if young women witness or experience domestic violence, and if they have difficulties in accessing services because they fear racism, 'even from those who should be supporting them' (YWCA, 2007).

A young Irish Traveller who contributed to a DVD on domestic violence (Short Stories, Long Lives, 2006) spoke anonymously about her experiences of violence and abuse from her family because she had had a relationship with a non-Traveller boy while in her late teens. She was repeatedly called a whore by her mother and told she was both not marriageable and responsible for ruining her sisters' marriage opportunities. The young woman was effectively held a prisoner and not left on her own by her family while a wedding was arranged for her with a young man she had never met but who, she stated, was substance-addicted and therefore presumably also regarded as hard to match in marriage. The difficulties of seeking help in a tightly monitored, close-knit community, the role of women in enforcing gender codes, and the compounding problems of illiteracy and lack of experience of travel by public transport were all set out in the DVD. While this young woman's experiences may have been particularly severe, community and refuge workers have stated anecdotally that arranged marriages and pressures to conform are not uncommon in such circumstances. The young woman was eventually able to escape to a refuge with the help of a community worker, but her experiences of a forced marriage arising from a 'damaged reputation' are identical to the circumstances reported by many young South Asian women and subject to considerable political, policing and media attention as an example of gender violence (Revill & Asthana, 2008).

In relation to accommodation, Gypsy and Traveller women fulfil the role of mothers, home-makers and carers, frequently bearing the brunt of family unemployment and financial exclusion, poor living circumstances (whether on sites or in social housing on run-down estates), and often have to survive and care for their frequently large families without basic facilities such as running water and sanitation. Even for women resident in housing and with access to heating and water, the burden of supporting a

family emotionally and coping with racism, discrimination and isolation on a daily basis can be traumatic (Power, 2004; Shelter, 2007), leading to increased rates of anxiety, depression, mental health problems and sometimes substance abuse.

Women who move into housing from roadside sites (often as a last resort to ensure access to health care and education for their children) frequently report significant distress over loss of community and having to learn to deal with complex bureaucracies and financial issues without appropriate emotional or practical support. Commonly reported problems which exacerbate stress include: having to negotiate credit over bills which need to be met on a regular quarterly or monthly basis instead of paying for a gas bottle and filling up with fuel when required; coping with tenancy agreement regulations; and applying for council tax and housing benefits. Indeed, for families with limited literacy, the extent of the bureaucracy involved in obtaining, moving into and retaining a property can prove astonishing and alarming, with anecdotal reports of tenancies lost or given up because the maze of paperwork felt too daunting (Shelter, 2007). Although Supporting People teams are available to assist and support Gypsies and Travellers moving into housing, the problem of accessing advice with limited experience of local authority procedures or concerns about racism or discrimination if assistance is sought, means that women often struggle to cope alone while supporting their families to make transitions and with daily practical needs. A number of advice workers and community members have reported the breakdown of marriages shortly after moving into housing, linked to the stress of the transition. Where this occurs, an added dimension exists of female caring responsibilities and gendered poverty coupled with the grief of relationship loss. Richardson et al (2007, p. 111) report that, during a focus group with women participants, one respondent noted, to the general agreement of other participants, that 'It's alright for the men 'cos they can go off to the fairs and everything else ... Men aren't in the house 24 hours [a day], the men probably won't come in until 8pm and they've been out all day and they just go to bed but we've been there all day'.

In the same focus group, women discussed the ways in which they were particularly affected by the loss of family members as, with short generations and early death common in their community, they had fewer older women to turn to for support and advice. Two participants in their early 50s were the oldest females surviving in their families and this in turn limited their own access to support at times of need: 'I suppose with us, when you lose your mother you're head of the family, you've lost your mentor, so you're having to fill a pair of shoes as well as grieve a pair of shoes' (Richardson et al, 2007, p. 112).

Given the generally early rate of school-leaving and cultural expectations that young women will marry and have children at an early age, many women's education ends at the age of 13 or 14, regardless of whether they are academically inclined or wish to continue in education (YWCA, 2007). Levinson and Sparkes (2006) report that 'for many young Gypsy women, the different demands of home and school can lead to feelings of cultural dislocation and anxiety. At a group level, the widening of aspirations constitutes a challenge to structural patterns and traditional value systems that have underpinned both family and communal life'. In their response to this consultation, Save the Children (Scotland) reported that despite their success in engaging with women and training them to become active in political and educational arenas, 'many women activists (particularly younger women) have faced criticism / ridicule from their own communities'.

In research on male gendered roles and attitudes and how these may intersect with changing female expectations and behaviours, Levinson and Sparkes (2003, pp. 597-9) noted that gender relations amongst Gypsies and Travellers have changed in the context of an increasingly sedentary lifestyle, noting women's apparent adoption of hitherto male public roles. They suggested that 'changing economic circumstances in the past 50 years have augmented the male power base within the family'. They also noted that Gypsy men were defensive about their traditional masculinities in the face of outside pressures: teachers and fieldworkers commented on the sudden changes in behaviour of boys from charming to sullen or vicious when their masculine behaviour was threatened. These findings may shed light on the anecdotal information about domestic violence experienced by women, particularly if they are becoming more economically or politically active outside of the home while traditional male roles are less easy to sustain. Richardson et al (2007, p. 119) noted the exaggerated masculinities and preoccupation with status, gender, nostalgia for a past lifestyle and fighting, as described by boys in a focus group. Despite the reactionary viewpoints expressed by younger males in particular (referring to gendered roles of boys playing or relaxing while girls assisted their mother with housework and cooking), Levinson and Sparkes (2003, p. 598) also acknowledge that 'forces, both internal and external, are leading to gradual compromises and the growth of more radical ideas'. One middle-aged male interviewee spoke to Levinson and Sparkes, under guarantee of strict anonymity, suggesting that 'many men had been forced into adaptations while maintaining an unchanged public façade'.

There is also a gender dimension to Gypsies' and Travellers' experience of racism. An Irish report noted that 'many Traveller women are more easily identifiable than Traveller men, and are therefore more likely to experience discrimination. Sometimes evictions are carried out when Traveller men are away, leaving women to deal with

the brunt of male verbal and physical abuse' (National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI) 1998, p. 14). Expectations that women will support their families emotionally and domestically while the entire household is under stress, also mean that women experience a disproportionate gender penalty within Gypsy and Travelling communities.

Addressing inequality

There is some limited evidence that indicates that women are becoming more involved in political representation and gender politics (Branigan, 2004). As noted earlier, Candy Sheridan, an Irish Traveller woman resident on a local site is a local councillor in Norfolk (Travellers Times, 2007, Summer, (32), p. 3). Increasing numbers of women are active in Parliamentary lobbying, giving evidence at Parliamentary Committees on accommodation issues and speaking at conferences on Gypsy and Traveller issues. The fact that few young men are coming forward to engage in campaigning issues, conferences or policy debates (an exception is Blue Boy Jones from Canterbury) may result from lower confidence or literacy skills among young men and boys, or the feminisation of political activism, which may act to discourage male involvement within a highly gendered community.

Greenfields and Home (2007, p. 145) suggest that in many recent planning cases, women are key protagonists in site applications. This may reflect a cultural tradition that the home-space and land-ownership are controlled by females. Alternatively, it may be 'either a cautious approach to ensuring that essential assets such as tools, vehicles and land are owned by separate individuals (in case of such issues as debt) or a practical response to the problems posed by limited literacy' (Levinson & Sparkes, 2003). In any event, female ownership of land may potentially be seen as a proxy indicator for increased equality and access to assets for women and children and in addition, actively involves women in legal and social processes from which they may have been excluded in the past. The process of land ownership and involvement with business processes requires that lawyers and other professionals are responsible for informing women of their legal rights, thus developing a knowledge-base amongst potentially excluded women.

We have noted a number of initiatives which provide access to employment for women, such as health projects or working as Traveller Education Assistants. Research team members and respondents to the consultation noted that young Gypsy and Traveller women are increasingly becoming involved as voices of their communities, participating in community development projects, training as workers and advocates and moving into broader public domains. Some community groups

have noted the changing role of some older women (often housed and with young adult children), who are increasingly willing to consider involvement with management committees of Gypsy and Traveller-led organisations. Increasingly, albeit slowly,TES staff and others report that young Gypsies and Travellers (predominantly female) are entering further and higher education. The Travellers Times (2005, Autumn, (25), pp. 8-9) highlighted two positive female role models in one edition, reporting on women who had engaged with education some years after leaving school. One, as noted earlier, was a Traveller Education Teaching Assistant who had initially left school at 14 and returned to take NVQs; the other had also left formal education at 14 and commenced an Open University degree when her youngest child left school.

In Ireland, there has been a growth in access to training, education and community development for women of all ages. The opportunities to train as health and social care assistants working within their own communities have been particularly popular with Traveller women (see Greenfields, 2008a for a fuller discussion) and appear generally uncontroversial within their communities, contributing to family income and the general well-being of the community while remaining within a structured, monitored environment. The availability of a network of Traveller Training Centres and single-gendered training and educational opportunities has enhanced the opportunities available to women in Ireland.

Recommendations

i.   To develop and implement a national Gypsy, Traveller and Showpeople's Women Forum which raises the profile of women of all the above communities.

ii. To undertake further research into gender inequalities experienced by Gypsy, Traveller and Showwomen.

iii. To facilitate and support Gypsy, Traveller and Showwomen to come together to promote human rights for their communities and celebrate their cultures in a gender-positive manner.

iv. To facilitate and support women of all the above communities in culturally appropriate training, education and support to bring about greater educational, health, economic and social inclusion.

v.   To work towards developing health and social care assistantships and training programmes modelled on the Irish model (see health chapter) and the European Roma social training programmes (see employment and economic inclusion chapter), which have proved effective in supporting

women in accessing education and employment and aiding the public health of their communities.

vi. To support women of all communities in developing their public profile and confidence and taking up leadership roles for the benefit of their communities.

vii. To work with both men and women to address issues of gender violence, discrimination and oppression within Gypsy, Traveller and Showpeople communities.

viii. To address the accommodation, health and education inequalities which have a disproportionate impact on women and negative consequences for Gypsies, Travellers and Showpeople of both genders.

9.4 Ageism and older people

The policy context

Despite the appointment in 2000 of a 'Champion for Older People' (in the person of the then Secretary of State for Social Security – Prime Minister's Office, 2000), there is no single policy body or Government department that considers the needs of older people. This is in contrast to the focus on children and families, which has led to the formation of the Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF) and a plethora of policy approaches and legislative reform targeting the diverse needs of children and young people. Accordingly, the needs of older people have tended to be considered on a piecemeal basis, with strategies arising in a range of contexts, in particular through the work of the Department of Work and Pensions (DWP), the now disbanded Social Exclusion Unit and the Department of Health (DH). Recent years have seen a recognition of the potential vulnerability of older people to abuse and neglect, particularly older disabled people. The DH guidance on protecting vulnerable adults, 'No Secrets' (2000b), included a lengthy section on the needs and risks to older people, but this was placed within the context of a broad range of vulnerable adults. Similarly, important discussions on the ability of older people to live an independent, dignified life are often embedded within publications on disability (Office for Disability Issues (ODI), 2008), or on access to direct payments to enable people to purchase and manage their social care needs (DH, 2005).

Faced with the demographic timebomb of a rapidly ageing population and longer life-expectancy than at any time in the past, the DWP undertook a major review of the needs of older members of the population: 'Opportunity Age' (2005), a strategy aimed at tackling unemployment amongst the over-50s, reducing pensioner poverty and encouraging 'active ageing'. Key aspects of the strategy, which have since fed into a number of other consultations and policy approaches to working with older people, include an emphasis on independence in later life. The DWP stated that, although 'the primary responsibility for keeping active and participating in communities lies with older people themselves' (2005, p. xvi), it is the duty of Government to remove barriers to participation. The Government's responsibilities include delivering safer environments for older people, enabling older people to live in warmer, appropriate accommodation, delivering enhanced access to health and social care, and breaking down barriers to social inclusion. Many of the recommendations draw upon the pioneering English Longitudinal Study of Ageing, undertaken on behalf of the Social Exclusion Unit (Barnes et al, 2006), and the Social Exclusion Unit's (SEU) interim report on excluded adults (SEU, 2005), which highlighted barriers to inclusion caused by poverty, age discrimination, social isolation, disability and a lack of public

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transport. In 2006, a cross-departmental follow-up report to 'Opportunity Age' was published (HMG, 2006), which identified indicators of independence and well-being for older people. The five domains which were highlighted for review were: independence in supportive communities; healthy active living; fairness in work and later life; material well-being; and support and care. It is these baseline data which have underpinned the current reframing of policy approaches, driven by a recognition that in 2007, for the first time, the number of pensioners in Britain has overtaken the number of children (Times Online, 2007), with huge implications for the cost of long-term funding of care and financial support in older age (Mulholland, 2006). In addition, the rapidly rising cost of living, coupled with inadequate pension provision has driven increasing numbers of pensioners into debt (McKay et al, 2008), which they stand little chance of repaying and which adds to their spiral of social exclusion and financial crisis. One aspect of the Government policy review which is of particular note, given the key discussion in this report on accommodation issues, is a recently announced drive to create 'life-time homes' suitable for an ageing population, where care, support and social inclusion initiatives can be delivered in an individually-tailored form (Communities and Local Government (CLG), 2008b). If this approach is delivered within an equalities framework, it may assist in improving the situation of older and disabled Gypsies, Travellers and Showpeople, who remain at risk of multiple exclusion.

So far though, Gypsies and Travellers remain excluded in several of the domains highlighted above (HMG, 2006), and the barriers to be overcome to bring equality to older members of the Gypsy, Traveller and Showpeople communities appear overwhelming. Although many Gypsies, Travellers and Showpeople experience independence in supportive communities and receive support and care, their ability to do so is dependent on the presence of a close-knit community in immediate proximity, rather than any structures or support available through state mechanisms (see section on social work). For older Gypsies, Travellers and Showpeople who are for any reason isolated from their relatives, whether resulting from personal circumstances or from state accommodation policies (such as inequalities in the provision of appropriate accommodation which enable older people to remain living on sites if they so desire), the depth of social exclusion and vulnerability is profound and long-lasting.

Older people's experiences

Where information is available, the specific needs of older people have already been mentioned in other chapters. However, in the majority of the literature and research relating to Gypsies and Travellers, the voices of older people are not heard, and they

become an invisible population within a marginalised community. This situation may alter following the 2011 Census, when Gypsies and Travellers are identified as a specific ethnic category, as is already the case in Ireland.

We have already noted that the likelihood of becoming old enough to draw a state pension is considerably less for Gypsies and Travellers than for members of the wider population. In addition, for people who have been self-employed on a casual basis for most of their life, highly mobile or worked in relatively low-skilled manual trades, the likelihood of payment of enough national insurance contributions to warrant a full pension is low. Women are particularly unlikely to have made contributions towards retirement, as a result of caring responsibilities and casual employment throughout their lifetimes. Unlike the situation in Ireland, Travellers without a birth certificate cannot rely on baptismal certificates for identification and the lack of a birth certificate or adequate official documentation relating to period of residence in the UK, may militate against access to anything other than basic state pension benefits, and even these may be greatly delayed.

Given the low percentage of Gypsies and Travellers aged 50 and over who are in paid employment (see chapter on economic inclusion), access to disability or unemployment benefits is critical. Despite policy drivers to encourage older people to re-enter employment, it is likely that, with a low literacy base, the possibilities of other types of employment or access to training for older Gypsies and Travellers are bleak, particularly when coupled with barriers of discrimination and racism. The poverty experienced by older Gypsies and Travellers may be profound: without assistance, illiterate community members or those who are unaware of their legal rights may find it extremely hard to access benefits or to claim all that they are entitled to. During Gypsy Traveller Accommodation Assessments (GTAAs) in some locations, interviewees were asked if they wished to give permission for their names to be passed to agencies who could assist with making benefits claims: a number of older people requested that this took place, expressing surprise that additional financial help was available in some cases.

Scharf et al (2006, p. 27) noted that older Gypsies and Travellers had extremely modest expectations about their living requirements but that this was 'frequently linked to stories of acute poverty in their childhood and adulthood' and for some, 'the high cost of bottled gas was an anxiety … leading people to cut back on heating in their homes in winter'. The same report noted (2006, p. 27) that older respondents, even those in poverty, tended to compare their circumstances favourably with their experiences as young people, which may act as a barrier to accessing their full entitlements or lead to sharing their limited finances with those seen as being in

greater need. Problems with literacy and a lack of familiarity with state benefits systems can lead to dependence on others; however, support may not always be forthcoming for socially isolated older Gypsies and Travellers or if other relatives are equally unfamiliar with the benefits system. Power (2004, p. 27) reported on the difficulties facing older Irish Travellers with literacy problems and a lack of documentation, who wished to access housing from roadside encampments. One interviewee stated, 'Because of discriminatory factors the older community have remained an essentially oral community. It's just not acceptable for [the Council] to say they have got [to get] official documentation'. He noted further (2004, p. 33) that with the decline in casual employment and hawking, there was a gender dimension to poverty and financial independence, as 'older Traveller women tend to be more confined economically within the community than younger ones'.

For Gypsies and Travellers aged over 50 (in line with Government policy approaches) and who co-reside with family members, the support, care and financial sharing provided by relatives is likely to protect against social exclusion and extreme poverty (Scharf et al, 2006). However, a number of GTAA interviewees have referred to the impact of accommodation policies which may preclude older people having a carer to live with them on site through lack of space, or regulations on numbers of caravans at a location, forcing them to live alone, in contrast to their social and cultural expectations. Several older people who live on authorised public sites have reported to the research team that they were accommodated due to poor health or age, or when living with an older or disabled spouse. The provision of a pitch based on individual need meant that in some cases they had no other relatives on the same site, or family members had moved off to get married when no pitches were available. In several cases, older, frail and widowed Gypsies and Travellers reported that they wished to have a relative live with them to provide care, or to transfer to another site to live with adult children, but they were unable or did not know how to obtain a transfer or suitable accommodation (Home & Greenfields, 2006a). Nor could relatives with planning permission for private sites permit them to bring on a chalet or trailer without breaching that permission. Home and Greenfields (2006a) reported that the dilemma of how to care for ageing relatives causes considerable distress and worry to community members, in a culture where family care is the desired norm and taboos exist against older people being placed in residential care.

We are aware that some New Travellers in their 60s feel excluded from mainstream older people's services. This appears to arise from a sense of alienation from mainstream services as a result of retaining a Traveller identity, despite moving into housing to access suitable accommodation or health care as a result of age or

disability. Others have remained on unauthorised or insecure sites despite poor health or disability, in order to maintain contact with their community or substitute family which has developed on sites (a situation which may feel particularly pressing for ex-prisoners, formerly institutionalised people, single males, ex-forces personnel, or care-leavers with no relatives). We know of one terminally-ill New Traveller who refused to move into a hospice as he would have become isolated and feared that his friends would be unable to visit him if they were facing repeated eviction from unauthorised sites. He eventually died on an unauthorised woodland site (temporarily granted stay of eviction), while cared for by some of his friends and the local district nurse.

Addressing inequality

Mainly as a result of GTAAs, some local authorities and other public bodies now recognise their lack of knowledge about the needs of older Gypsies, Travellers and Showpeople. Some initial scoping and discussions, focusing on the needs of older Gypsies, Travellers and Showpeople, have involved multi-agency groups, for example, health, social care, fire services (to discuss site safety) and community members. Although community forums have developed in the West of England GTAA area, the Eastern Region and in partnership with Derbyshire Gypsy Liaison Group (amongst others), we were unable to identify many projects which have developed beyond the discussion and information-sharing stage. The small pockets of good practice which we have anecdotally identified consist of the inclusion of older Gypsies and Travellers in social events through the auspices of voluntary sector agencies (such as Friends Families and Travellers (FFT), Derbyshire Gypsy Liaison Group) or family members. One particularly commendable initiative undertaken in the Fenland Region consists of regular Traveller events where participants can access advice and assistance from local authority and voluntary sector staff as well as health care screening and information. We are advised by community members that the 'Benefits Ferret' advice stall which assists Gypsies and Travellers in accessing a range of benefits to which they may be entitled, is a particularly welcome innovation. However, despite these examples of good practice, the vast majority of such initiatives are only accessible to securely sited or housed older Gypsies and Travellers.

A project commissioned by Surrey County Council set out to encourage social inclusion and use of library services amongst local Gypsies and Travellers (Bowers, 2005). It involved the development of community interest in local and social history by demonstrating the role played historically and in the present by Gypsies and Travellers in Surrey. The report by Jake Bowers (one of a small number of British Romany journalists) included oral history gathered from older Gypsies and

Travellers. A subsequent DVD told the history of Surrey's Gypsy and Traveller community, including contributions from older Gypsies and Travellers).

The Gypsy Roma Traveller History Month which took place in June 2008 also provided opportunities for older Gypsies, Travellers and Showpeople to celebrate their heritage and history. Multi-generational learning was a core element within a number of projects, with traditional craft skills (for example, vardo (waggon) building and peg-making) being demonstrated by older people in some localities.

Recommendations

i.   That secondary analysis should be undertaken of demographic and social indicators in GTAAs in relation to older people in order to explore their key needs, using the five domains and indicators in the HMG (2006) report, to set out how age, ethnicity and gender inequalities may be best addressed.

ii. Further research is needed into the experiences of older Gypsies and Travellers, their access to services and the extent of their social inclusion or exclusion. Particular attention should be paid to the role of the DWP in supporting and engaging with older members of these communities in an appropriate manner. The DWP needs to be aware of barriers to access services which may impact on older people with poor documentation or literacy skills.

iii. That when Gypsies and Travellers become included as an ethnic monitoring category within Census data, regular monitoring and analysis of the circumstances of older members of these communities take place.

iv. That work is undertaken to explore the hitherto unexamined needs of older and disabled New Traveller populations and consider barriers to social inclusion, preferred accommodation types and access to health and social care provision as members of this community become older and are increasingly unable to sustain a nomadic lifestyle.

v.   The needs of older Gypsy, Traveller and Showpeople should be highlighted within Government reviews relating to ageing across all domains, including pension rights and employment.

vi. Local authorities should be encouraged to address best value issues (the social and economic costs and benefits) in supporting older Gypsies, Travellers and Showpeople who wish to reside on sites amongst their relatives. The provision of suitable adaptations to caravans or amendment of planning permission on sites, should take into the account the needs of older

Gypsies, Travellers and Showpeople to change their accommodation (for example, into residence in a static mobile home or chalet) if they become disabled or frail. It is inequitable that due to planning restrictions and site regulations, older people who have willing family carers (which minimises local authority expense) should be required to move into housing and lose their social support network as a result of their inability to have a relative move onto their pitch, or due to the lack of an internal site transfer market on socially provided sites.

vii. That active attempts are made to recruit Gypsy, Traveller and Showpeople into health and social care professions, to develop the workforce and assist in the culturally appropriate care of older members of their communities.

viii. That initiatives aimed at enhancing both inter-community and intra-generational communication and skills should be developed to assist in developing greater understanding, community cohesion and social justice, which benefits both older Gypsies and Travellers and the wider community (such as older Gypsies, Travellers and Showpeople demonstrating and discussing traditional skills with school-age children in educational settings).

9.5   Disability

The policy context

Various medical, social and political theories address the area of disability, and competing approaches can be seen in the development of national and international definitions. The Disability Discrimination Act (DDA) 1995 defines a disabled person as someone who 'has a physical or mental impairment which has a substantial and long-term adverse effect on his [sic] ability to carry out normal day-to-day activities'. 'Long-term' is defined as 12 months or more. The subsequent Disability Discrimination Act 2005 recognised some specific conditions from the point of diagnosis, including cancer and multiple sclerosis. There are also provisions relating to fluctuating and progressive conditions. Internationally, the World Health Organisation (2001) introduced a framework for measuring disability at individual and population levels: the International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health (ICF). This provides the notion of a continuum in which disability is 'a universal human experience'. It shifts the focus from cause to impact and 'takes into account the social aspects of disability and does not see disability only as 'medical' or 'biological' dysfunction'. By including contextual factors, in which environmental factors are listed, ICF allows a focus on the impact of the environment on a person's functioning (World Health Organisation, 2008).

The DDA marked the tentative beginning of an equality and civil rights approach to disability legislation in the UK. Under the impetus of the disability lobby, the momentum subsequently increased. The 2005 Act marked a further step-change, with a duty on public bodies to eliminate unlawful discrimination and harassment, promote equality for disabled people, positive attitudes towards disabled people and participation by disabled people in public life.

Much legislation relating to social and health care services for disabled people stems from earlier periods, for example, the National Assistance Act 1948 and the Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act 1970. The National Health Service and Community Care Act 1990, provides a framework for the assessment of need for social care services. The earlier social care legislation and the language within it to describe disabled people tend to be informed by medical models of disability rather than civil rights or social models (Campbell & Oliver, 1996). More recent legislation has promoted the right of disabled people to control their own services, starting with the Community Care (Direct Payments) Act 1996, and developing towards the wider concept of individualised budgets in the Health and Social Care Act 2001. However, various commentators (for example, Priestley et al, 2006; Ellis, 2007) have reviewed

the difficulties in implementing these programmes beyond a fairly narrow range of service users. It is likely that these difficulties will be compounded for Gypsies and Travellers.

The passing of the Human Rights Act 1998 and the Government's aim to create a human rights culture, led to some challenges and changes to social care and health practice (British Institute of Human Rights (BIHR), 2006; Macdonald, 2007). Although the domestic human rights legislation focuses primarily on civil and political rights rather than social and economic rights, there are some signs that the boundary is shifting. UK courts have protected some social and health rights against resource arguments (Clements & Read, 2003; Ellis, 2005). However, problems remain in achieving rights in health and social care, including resource constraints, an emphasis on risk management, and conditional views of rights. Moreover, the development of a British human rights culture is still limited (BIHR, 2006), with awareness and implementation of human rights principles lagging well behind expressed aspirations (Ministry of Justice, 2008). There have been arguments for new primary social care legislation carrying entitlements, implemented by local authority duties, rather than concessions implemented by powers (Macdonald, 2007; Ellis, 2004, 2005). Internationally, the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities was adopted by the United Nations in 2006 and came into effect in April 2008 after ratification by 20 countries. Although of moral, rather than legal force for most individuals, this Convention does include social rights to inclusive education, health, employment and social protection.

An important issue for some disabled people is the provision of adaptations to dwellings to improve safety, mobility and quality of life. Effective adaptations can lead to reduced pain and enhanced wellbeing, self-esteem and control (Heywood, 2004; Northern Housing Consortium, 2008). Adaptations have been resourced in part by the national ring-fenced Disabled Facilities Grant (DFG) programme introduced in 1990, which is administered by housing authorities and provides eligible disabled people, apart from council tenants, with a grant to alter their home. However, less than one-fifth of adaptations have been funded from this source (Heywood et al, 2005). Other sources are local authority housing departments, which fund adaptations to their own stock, social services departments and housing associations. Caravan-dwelling Gypsies and Travellers were excluded from receiving the grant until section 224 of the Housing Act 2004 amended the legislation to cover them, including those living on local authority sites (Johnson & Willers, 2007).

A review of the DFG programme for the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) in 2005, found some strengths in the programme but also a number of problems,

including: the operation of the means test; the grant limit of £25,000; insufficient overall funding; inequality between tenures; poor information for potential service users; limited coverage of children's needs; and the screening-out of some older people through inappropriate application of Fair Access to Care Services guidance (Heywood et al, 2005). This led to Government proposals for improvement (Communities and Local Government (CLG), 2007h). A number of changes were implemented in April 2008, including raising the ceiling to £30,000, relaxing the ring-fencing so that there is increased flexibility to bring together different funding sources, and simplifying the means test for those on some benefits (Northern Housing Consortium, 2008).

Children's social services are required by the Children Act 1989, to assist disabled children and their families in their area by providing a range and level of services appropriate to their needs. Many families with disabled children experience significant levels of poverty, discrimination and social exclusion (Russell, 2003). As discussed in earlier chapters, economic and social exclusion affects many Gypsy and Traveller families with or without disabled children. Given problematic access to health services and the lack of contact between many Gypsies and Travellers and social services discussed earlier, there are serious concerns that the exclusion of disabled Gypsy and Traveller children will be compounded.

Experiences of Gypsy and Traveller communities

There is little direct information about disability among Gypsies and Travellers, although the research about health and accommodation, cited earlier, provides a partial picture.

The West of England GTAA (Greenfields et al, 2007) found evidence of a significantly higher rate of disability than among the wider population. Although it included a question on caring rather than disability as such, and while non-response was a problem, 32 per cent of Romany families, 39 per cent of those who identified as 'others', 14 per cent of New Travellers, 10 per cent of Showpeople and 10 per cent of Irish Travellers were 'caring for someone with a disabling condition which impacts on their day-to-day activities' (Greenfields et al, 2007, p. 114). The same report noted that some families did not have adequately adapted homes even when they had moved into public housing to support a disabled family member. In some instances, a move into housing may occur because site utility blocks are inaccessible for some disabled people, such as wheelchair-users (Dumbleton, 2008).

Research studies related to education and health, cited earlier, also point to higher levels of disability among Gypsy and Traveller children, but the research base needs

development. Difficulties and inequalities affecting Gypsy and Traveller families, such as evictions, can impact particularly negatively on families with a disabled member. In one reported case, a family had moved 84 times in one year (Dumbleton, 2008).

Rosaleen McDonagh, of the Pavee Point Violence Against Women Project, noted the invisibility of disabled Traveller women in Ireland, and in particular disabled women's experiences of placement in residential care as children and their exposure to abuse or neglect. Ms McDonagh articulated the sense of de-personalisation of disabled women and the denial of their abilities, sexual natures, and right to articulate their experience of abuse as people who are discriminated against by virtue of disability, gender and in some cases, ethnicity (McDonagh, 2004).

Addressing inequality

Although published studies are lacking, this brief section illustrates the way that professionals and teams have addressed the needs of some disabled Gypsies and Travellers.

One example concerned a multi-agency team of health, social work, education and legal workers supporting a single New Traveller mother and her disabled child, whom the mother could not lift. It resulted in the adaptation of an Iveco lorry, costing £80,000. This was compared with an anticipated cost of £250,000 a year for residential care for this child. Heywood et al's (2005) review of the DFG for ODPM had previously compared the very high and recurring costs of residential care for disabled children with the much lower and one-off costs of adaptations. This example of adaptations to the New Traveller family's home illustrates the importance of flexibility, as highlighted in the ODPM review (Heywood et al, 2005) and subsequently included in Government proposals for improvement (Communities and Local Government, 2007h).

In another case requiring adaptations, a specialist health worker met a series of barriers, including resistance from the department managing the site. Advocacy on behalf of the family's rights involved the use of the Human Rights Act and political lobbying, including contacting the local mayor. Wider research has identified the importance of information about help for housing adaptations for families with a disabled child, alongside effective multi-agency working and the significant role of keyworkers or named individuals (Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF), 2002). For Gypsies and Travellers, the positive experience of specialist health workers in promoting access and inclusion (Van Cleemput et al, 2004) reinforces this point.

An email response from a housing occupational therapist in Scotland, noted that the social work service would be likely to fund adaptations to a family's self-owned

caravan, whereas the housing adaptations service would fund adaptations to a utility block on a public site.

These anecdotal examples do not take us very far in understanding the wider picture for families requiring adaptations to accommodation, but do illustrate that at least their inclusion within eligibility criteria marks a step forward from the situation prior to 2004. They also illustrate that, as in other areas of provision, a high level of commitment from individual workers and teams is required to overcome the exclusionary barriers facing Gypsies and Travellers.

Recommendations

i.   The recommendations throughout this report on facilitating more equal access to services for Gypsies and Travellers are especially pertinent for those who are disabled.

ii. The training and employment of Gypsies and Travellers, including disabled Gypsies and Travellers, to engage in outreach work with their communities, needs to be explored and developed.

iii. There is an urgent need for further research to explore the extent, experience and impact of disability among Gypsies and Travellers of all groups.

iv. Research is also needed to investigate good practice in education, health, accommodation and social work in facilitating access to services for disabled Gypsies and Travellers and promoting their participation in all aspects of policy and decision-making.

9.6   Sexual orientation

The policy context

Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) people have been frequently subjected to discrimination and hate crimes (Otterson, 2008) and in many parts of the world are still subject to the death penalty (Kennedy, 2007). However, in recent years the policy approach to equality for gay and lesbian people in Britain has developed considerably and a large degree of equality now exists in law between heterosexual and same-sex couples.

In 2000, the European Court of Human Rights indicated that the British Government would need to redraft the Sexual Offences Act to avoid unlawful discrimination against LGBT people. In 2001 the first same-sex partnerships were registered in the UK and the age of consent was lowered to 16 for same-sex relationships to bring it into line with the age of heterosexual consent to sexual intercourse. In 2003, the Employment Equality (Sexual Orientation) Regulations became law, making it illegal to discriminate against lesbians, gay men or bisexuals in the workplace, and the following year the Civil Partnership Act was passed, giving same-sex couples the same rights and responsibilities as married heterosexual couples. In 2005, in recognition of the extent of hate crimes committed against LGBT people, Section 146 of the Criminal Justice Act 2003 was enacted, empowering courts to impose tougher sentences for offences aggravated or motivated by the victim's sexual orientation. The Equality Act (Sexual Orientation) Regulations 2007 became law on 30 April 2007, making discrimination illegal against lesbians and gay men in the provision of goods and services (Stonewall, undated).

Experiences in Gypsy and Traveller communities

No research on the subject of sexual orientation within Gypsy and Traveller communities appears to have been carried out in the UK or Ireland, thus our information on this topic is based largely on responses to the consultation.

While mainstream attitudes towards LGBT people are generally becoming more positive, accepting and open-minded, for Gypsies and Travellers who are lesbian or gay, the situation may not be so simple as their communities are more likely to express the hostile attitudes towards LGBT people that are also found in some other ethnic minority communities (Cahill et al, 2003). Accordingly, a clash of opinions, rights and expectations may occur for members of those communities who are LGBT, leading to significant pain, loss and sometimes rejection by family members (Galop, 2001; Keogh et al, 2004).

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Some of the experiences of LGBT people have been considered in other sections of this report, such as the likelihood of increased risk of mental health problems, suicide and self-harm, substance abuse or domestic violence. Most Gypsies and Travellers regard discussion of sexuality as culturally offensive, and many parents withdraw their children from sex education classes at school. Discussion of sexuality of any sort is highly taboo in traditional ethnic Gypsy and Traveller communities (Spencer, 2003; Greenfields, 2006) although not amongst New Travellers, and merely raising the subject of sexual orientation is regarded as 'dirty' and 'shameful' by many community members.

Non-heterosexual orientation itself is generally hidden and several respondents have referred to the difficulty of coming out for young Gypsies or Travellers. We have been informed that gay men typically hide their sexuality from their family and friends because of the stigma associated with not being heterosexual and the pressure to conform to heterosexual stereotypes and behaviours. One respondent to the consultation noted that 'sexuality is a big taboo but not in the way that mainstream people understand … In traditional Gypsy, Traveller and Roma communities a girl's first mission is to find a husband and build up a family with him. Boys' roles are easier [because they can be more sexually active] and this is not seen as so shameful' - a comment supported by anecdotal evidence from community workers. The same person commented that 'in Roma culture homosexuality is seen like a bad disease and if the person who is known to be [lesbian or gay] is not able to follow the sexual codes [of heterosexual behaviours] ... it is possible that the person will be isolated from the community. Problems often start after the Roma, Gypsy or Traveller trying hard to be 'one of the normal ones', which means that she / he will have a family with children. S/he tries so hard to be accepted amongst Roma / Gypsy / Traveller and inside the community that s/he starts to get sick ... It is too hard to live two roles and two lives especially if you need to hide an important part of your identity'. It has been noted anecdotally that, if a Gypsy or Traveller wanted to go on their own away from friends or relatives, this would be regarded as suspicious behavior and indicating that they had something to hide.

Other respondents referred to knowing about unsafe sexual practices amongst some gay men who were unable to form open relationships as a result of community and cultural taboos, noting that not only were these men placing themselves in danger of attack at places they visited to meet partners, but there were also sexual health risks for both themselves and their wives: in all cases the men had married at a young age, had children and were continuing to have a relationship with their wives in the interests of presenting a 'normal' front to their family. One respondent stated that 'it is

dangerous to talk about sex diseases. The 'shadow lifestyle' has resulted in many mental problems and several suicides during the last 10 years. The problem is that parents don't allow their children to talk about sex'.

One respondent, who had had contact with gay Gypsy men and knowledge of their health needs and risk-taking behaviour, commented that it is probably rarer for Gypsy and Traveller women to be lesbians as, although much socialising takes place in single gender groups, women have less freedom to meet a partner, greater gendered expectations placed upon them, and they have family and childcare responsibilities. It was noted that a woman would be afraid to come out, not only because of stigma and potential loss of her community, but also because she would be scared that she would lose her children to her husband or other relatives, who would probably support her husband in objecting to her lifestyle. The very rare examples given by respondents of out lesbian women related to young women who had refused to marry and who had come out before having children. One respondent referred to a lesbian couple experiencing abuse and violence from male community members (including relatives of one of the couple) who would arrive at their home on occasion when drunk and become verbally and sometimes physically abusive.

An article by O'Neill (2007) raised the issue of equality of treatment and the importance of fighting for gay and lesbian rights. A Gypsy man who posted a web response to this article referred to the fear which can inhibit coming out to relatives: 'I knew [at 13 years old] that there was something different with me, I fancied men not women. This can't be right I thought, not me a Gypsy boy, what are my Mam and Dad going to say if they ever find out, probably kill me or worse disown me, and I lived a lie for the next ten years and killing me inside. Went on dates with girls then finally decided to get married'. Nevertheless, this man was very positive about the support he received from his parents after his marriage broke down, which happened within a short period of time: 'I decided it was time to open up to my wife and then finally my parents and they were great and still are my Mam and Dad … many other Gypsies and Travellers also know the attitude to homosexuality is changing for the better and about time too'. A further respondent to the article stated 'I too knew I was gay, bi-sexual at a very early age … there are still a lot of taboos about gay Gypsy lads'. He acknowledged, though, that coming from a mixed Gypsy background might have made his coming out easier.

Overall this debate is bound up not only in attitudes towards non-heterosexual orientation but in the issue of sexuality and culturally expected behaviours. When young people miss out on sex education in school, or have a disrupted education in general, the opportunities to consider and discuss matters of sexual orientation and

sexual health become extremely limited or may be based on inaccurate peer knowledge. In the absence of parentally supported discussion, and with access to sources of information or support minimised, the risk factors for depression, substance abuse and mental health problems among lesbian and gay Gypsies and Travellers increase greatly.

From the limited anecdotal evidence that is available, New Travellers appear to be generally welcoming of people of all sexual orientations. Members of the research team are aware of a number of openly lesbian or bisexual New Travellers living either alone or with partners, with no evidence of discrimination by their fellow New Travellers.

Support services and positive attitudes

Discussions with service providers and some Gypsies and Travellers have indicated that young people may not feel able to discuss their sexuality with mainstream service providers who work with gay and lesbian youth, as they would fear additional discrimination by virtue of their ethnicity, or would be concerned that many 'out' gay and lesbian people would be very middle-class. It was suggested too, that many resources and services relating to sexual orientation would be perceived as inaccessible to, or inappropriate for, young Gypsies and Travellers. Privacy issues pertaining to access to information are likely to be especially difficult given the tendency for community members to socialise and work together.

As was indicated above, the strength and importance of family bonds within at least some Gypsy and Traveller communities means that after a period of time, and where parental support exists, a lesbian or gay person may be accepted and their partner tacitly so. This pattern of gradual and reluctant acceptance of someone's sexual orientation would appear to be a common reaction across a range of communities (D'Augelli et al, 2005; Savin-Williams & Dube, 1998).

Recommendations

i. That further research is undertaken with Gypsies and Travellers to explore attitudes towards sexual orientation, after careful consultation to ensure that the subject is approached in as culturally appropriate a manner as possible.

ii. That the possibility is explored of developing partnership working with ethnic minority LGBT organisations and support groups to assist in the development of mentoring and support programmes which can be adapted for the use of Gypsies and Travellers.

iii. That, if possible, willing LGBT role models from Gypsy and Traveller communities are profiled in Gypsy and Traveller publications such as Travellers Times and are approached to engage in developing materials, support projects and websites to raise the profile and permit discussion of sexual orientation within their communities.

iv. That high-profile heterosexual Gypsy and Traveller people are willing to discuss the issue of sexual orientation and rights agendas in the manner initiated by O'Neill (2007).

v. That parents and relatives of lesbian and gay Gypsies and Travellers are willing (anonymously if necessary) to discuss their experiences of family members coming out, and note their own emotions, feelings and responses to a person who still remains a family member regardless of their sexual orientation.

10.   CONCLUSION

This research review has thrown a spotlight on the inequalities faced by Gypsy and Traveller communities in Britain. In addition, it has highlighted the extent to which many of their experiences remain invisible and ignored within wider agendas. Given the severity and breadth of issues covered, this conclusion must not be viewed as supporting any supposed hierarchy of issues and priorities that would permit other equally crucial issues to be ignored or sidelined yet again. Although some broad themes will be referred to below, it would be impossible to include every aspect. We intend each section of the report to stand in its own right and hope that different sections can be used to support a wide range of campaigns and the development of policy and practice.

While the inequalities are endemic and pervasive, some themes have emerged more clearly as a result of the interaction of disadvantages revealed in this review. The impact of insecure accommodation reverberates across the dimensions, in relation to unauthorised encampments and developments, and in relation to pressurised moves into housing which can be experienced as alien and hostile. The lack of secure accommodation for nomadic groups remains the lynchpin of a plethora of other inequalities. Some progress seems possible as a result of recent legislation and Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Assessments, although the jury is still out on how far this will begin to meet need. Meanwhile, many families continue to experience acute instability and trauma.

The continuing cycle of evictions associated with homelessness among caravan-dwelling Gypsies and Travellers is a shameful blot on the face of Britain. Some groups such as isolated New Travellers do not have even the benefit of access to due process to challenge evictions, as discussed in Chapter 6. Other groups, for example, Irish Travellers currently at Dale Farm, and Romany Gypsies previously at Woodside, experience the full weight of hostile political power, despite valiant legal and community struggles. An extremely worrying area is the lack of monitoring and control of bailiff companies which are contracted to undertake evictions, and which may employ brutal methods that result in damage to property and psychological trauma. The cumulative impact of such evictions, particularly on children's development, is under-researched and there is no accountability mechanism. The developmental damage is likely to be as severe for some children as the family abuse that is taken very seriously by Safeguarding Children Boards. One recommendation of this review is that the developmental risks arising from evictions should be the responsibility of these Boards.

Families who find themselves with no alternative to bricks and mortar housing, in order to avoid the eviction cycle or to access vital services, are often accommodated on the most deprived estates, and so they experience the same environmental disadvantages as their sedentary neighbours, but simultaneously are exposed to hostility from those neighbours, loss of contact with or support from extended family, loss of community mechanisms to maintain boundaries for some young people, and minimal or even hostile engagement from services. Surveillance and control systems such as the use of Anti-Social Behaviour Orders have been clearly linked with anti-Traveller prejudices and strategies on the part of some authorities and the public generally. Accelerated criminalisation processes which unfairly affect Gypsies and Travellers, and other inequalities within the criminal justice system, interact with parallel disadvantages in employment, education, health, substance use, and an extremely concerning picture in relation to self-harm and suicide.

The impact of racism and hostility and lack of access to provisions taken for granted by the mainstream population, frequently affect most acutely those sections of the communities which have even fewer resources or power. This review has considered the acute problems experienced by older Gypsies and Travellers, disabled community members, women, and children. These groups experience the structural disadvantages affecting Gypsies, Travellers and others in relation to age, gender and disability, compounded by specific Gypsy and Traveller inequalities, such as the racism to which children are exposed from all quarters, or the institutional neglect that can leave older people isolated from their family carers and familiar cultural supports and environments. Little direct research has been found in relation to sexual orientation and Gypsy and Traveller communities, but there is sufficient evidence to indicate that this is also an area of difficulty.

As highlighted generally throughout this report, all Gypsies and Travellers are likely to experience far-reaching inequality, prejudice, discrimination and racism from politicians, the media, the public, and from services that should be designed (in partnership with communities) to meet their needs. However, beyond this, Gypsies and Travellers are frequently excluded from the concept of exclusion itself and from policies to address it. We have seen this in a range of areas in the report. One key aspect that pervades many of the domains discussed is the lack of effective (or indeed of any) ethnic and cultural monitoring of service-use to gain a picture of the extent to which services are provided, accessed or are fit for purpose. Numerous recommendations have been made in different chapters for the introduction of ethnic monitoring, for example in health, social work, substance use services and criminal justice. Where ethnic monitoring has been implemented, for example in education,

this has begun to enable the full extent of Gypsy and Traveller disadvantage and underachievement to be made visible and public.

However, the development of effective ethnic monitoring is complex because of the fear of racism and rejection felt by members of the communities, and the resulting trend towards hiding identity as a measure of self-protection, as noted on many occasions in this review. Labels attached to identity need to be owned by those to whom they apply and therefore to be negotiated between services and communities. As discussed in the section on racism, recognition of identity can take various forms, both positive and negative, and positive recognition requires acknowledgement of complex and dynamic identities. A further complexity, as we have remarked in a number of places, is that existing forms of ethnic monitoring, and of legal recognition in relation to racial equality, do not include all Gypsy and Traveller groups, notably Showpeople and New Travellers, although available evidence makes clear that in many respects they experience similar inequalities and injustices. Some gains have been made in England and Wales on the basis of legal recognition of Romany Gypsies and Irish Travellers under the Race Relations Acts, and hopefully in the future in relation to Scottish Gypsy / Travellers, and these gains need to be actively consolidated and built on. However, it is also important that this is used as the basis for addressing the inequalities experienced by all groups, as powerfully modelled by many of the Gypsy and Traveller groups and coalitions that work on behalf of all Gypsies and Travellers.

Despite their legal recognition, this report has frequently documented the non-inclusion of Gypsies and Travellers in the racial equality strategies of public bodies (although this may be gradually changing). This failure reflects the lack of acknowledgement and validation of Gypsy and Traveller cultural identities and strengths that is perpetuated by many services, compounding cycles of rejection. The extensive barriers and disadvantages featured in the report have led to recommendations for urgent action at local and national levels, and for national strategies to be developed in close partnership with Gypsies and Travellers in relation to areas such as health, suicide prevention and substance use.

The report has argued for training about cultural issues to be integrated throughout many services that are currently either not available, not welcoming or culturally inappropriate for Gypsies and Travellers, including services in relation to health, homelessness, social work, substance use, early years, youth work, domestic violence, criminal justice and community cohesion. The positive development of a range of training resources by and with members of the communities has been reported, including DVDs, workshop programmes, photographic exhibitions and

myth-busting booklets. The first ever Gypsy Roma Traveller History Month in June 2008 provided a further springboard for cultural exploration and celebration. With the increasing availability of such materials, and of community members stepping forward to assist mainstream services by providing input into training, there is no reason for continued ignorance (or worse) about Gypsy and Traveller issues.

The report has also sought to provide evidence and examples of developing good practice by policy-makers and service-providers. In some areas, notably education and the work of Traveller Education Services, there are valuable examples of good practice within a section of the statutory sector and of active partnership with the communities. Despite this, the educational disadvantage of Gypsy and Traveller children remains extreme, illustrating the necessity of fundamental mainstream change and of addressing all the intersecting disadvantages that impact on educational opportunity. Partnership work has also developed with the police, illustrated through the Pride not Prejudice conferences and associated work. But the section on criminal justice illustrates that policing and criminal justice remain amongst the most concerning areas of Gypsies' and Travellers' experience. There is no room for complacency in relation to any of the topics covered in this review.

In many domains, existing equality and human rights law provides the framework for addressing these injustices, but it needs to be proactively and effectively implemented. In other areas, for example the media (that plays such a crucial role in sustaining and promoting prejudice and misinformation), and the operation of private companies such as bailiffs, there is urgent need for regulation to be strengthened.

The most positive examples of challenge to inequality and development of solutions, as noted throughout the report, have come from the work of community members and groups, advocating on behalf of their communities and developing self-organised provision. Youth groups, use of community-run media, and involvement in research, community and political campaigns, all provide a counterbalance to the overwhelming evidence of marginalisation and exclusion. Remarkable achievements have been reported. What has also been noted, however, is that inequality pervades these same areas of political participation, community development and community cohesion. This applies both to exclusion from theoretical and policy frameworks as indicated earlier, and exclusion from secure mainstream funding sources to support community activity. There have been some positive developments in this respect more recently, usually from non-governmental sources, but they generally remain piecemeal and short-term.

Alongside community-led resistance and action, there is also a strand of evidence throughout the report of Gypsies and Travellers being resigned to the experience of

discrimination and of low quality of life, health and well-being. Acceptance of second or third-class status is itself an indicator of the strength and persistence of inequality over generations, which it is the responsibility of mainstream institutions to address.

The report is a research review and has therefore noted where research evidence is helpfully available and where there are significant gaps. Addressing those gaps is a prerequisite for evidence-based policy-making: without this, inequality and injustice can remain invisible, even if well known to the communities and those that work with them. Some of the broad areas we have identified as needing further research are: discrimination in employment; the experiences of different groups within the criminal justice system; the impact of evictions, especially on children; research into the prevalence and underpinning factors related to suicide and self-harm, issues around 'coming out' as non-heterosexual; substance misuse and domestic violence and the services available to Gypsies and Travellers in these areas; and further research including secondary analysis of GTAA evidence about the experiences of older and disabled Gypsies and Travellers. Other specific suggestions include research on the health needs of Gypsy and Traveller men, exploration of good practice in youth and community work, and investigation of needs and provision in relation to adult basic skills. This concluding chapter does not attempt to draw all such threads together but instead, highlights some major themes and illustrative issues.

Finally, the research team very much welcomed the opportunity to contribute to the developing agenda and knowledge base of the newly established Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) in relation to Gypsies and Travellers. It is immensely grateful for the support received from community members, practitioners, agencies and the EHRC. We did not undertake the review with the primary aim of adding to the number of reports on Gypsy and Traveller issues, although we are committed to the importance of research. Our hope from the start has been to provide further tools for concerted strategic action from national and local government, the EHRC and other agencies, to promote equality for Gypsies and Travellers. We hope that the report can support a wide range of such campaigns and developments to overcome the shameful situation of Gypsies and Travellers in Britain today.

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GLOSSARY OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASBO   Anti-Social Behaviour Order

CLG   Communities and Local Government (Government Department
            with responsibility for Gypsy and Traveller Affairs in England and
            Wales)

CJPOA   Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994

CRE   Commission for Racial Equality

CRES   Commission for Racial Equality Scotland

DDA   Disability Discrimination Acts

DCSF   Department for Children, Schools and Families

DGLG   Derbyshire Gypsy Liaison Group

DfES   Department for Education and Skills

DH   Department of Health

DWP   Department for Work and Pensions

EHE   Elective Home Education

EOC   Equal Opportunities Committee (Scotland)

FSM   Free School Meals

FTT   Friends, Families and Travellers

GP   General Practitioner

GTAA   Gypsy Traveller Accommodation Assessments

GTR   Gypsy / Traveller / Roma – acronym used by Traveller Education
            Services in their documentation and as categories within annual school
            census returns to DCSF

HRA   Human Rights Act

ITM (B)   Irish Traveller Movement (Britain)

LGBT   Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender

LHS   Local Housing Strategy

MP   Member of Parliament

NATT   National Assocation of Teachers of Travellers

NAW   National Assembly for Wales

NGO   Non-Governmental Organisation

NHSCCA   National Health Service and Community Care Act 1990

NIMH   National Institute for Mental Health

NTA   National Treatment Agency (drugs and substance abuse policy)

ODPM   Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (forerunner to the CLG, the
             department which formerly held responsibility for Gypsy and Traveller
             affairs)

PSR   Pre-Sentence Report

SEN   Special Educational Needs

STEP   Scottish Traveller Education Programme

TAT   Travellers Aid Trust

YOT   Youth Offending Team

WAG   Welsh Assembly Government

APPENDIX 1: METHODOLOGY

This appendix describes the methodology used for the review. The search terms that were used included 'Gypsy', 'Traveller', 'Gypsies and Travellers', 'Gypsy Traveller', 'New Travellers', 'Showpeople', 'Showmen' and 'Occupational Travellers'. Additional keywords related to specific topics, are indicated below.

Accommodation

A search of databases, journal articles and Government reports yielded a number of journal articles, research reports, policy discussions, Government guidance and book chapters. Findings from Gypsy Traveller Accommodation Assessments (GTAAs) are also drawn upon.

Employment and economic exclusion

Searches of a series of databases, journal articles and completed GTAAs, in relation to employment and economic, inclusion yielded very few returns. The economic and financial exclusion of Gypsies and Travellers is rarely mentioned in official reports. However, discussion of employment types and preferences is found in a number of accommodation-related publications (for example, Niner, 2003) and within educational policy and research publications, generally in the context of low educational attainment and early school-leaving impacting on the occupational choices of Gypsies and Travellers. Some information is available in completed GTAAs on employment patterns and site regulations which may impact on self-employment and work opportunities. Several respondents to the questionnaire responded to the question on employment by referring to the work of Connexions, while others provided more detail.

Health

The CINAHL, MEDLINE and COCHRANE databases were used to identify health-related literature. Little large-scale research has examined health care provision for Gypsies and Travellers: a single multi-centre study in 2004 remains the leading source of information. Smaller-scale research projects have focused on practice issues such as the use and uptake of primary care services, use of parent-held child health records, and pilot studies of Gypsies and Travellers keeping their personal medical records. Other studies have explored how Gypsies' and Travellers' lifestyles may contribute to health and health needs, and whether there is a shared community view of health. Results from small-scale local projects often remain unpublished. Given the variations between communities, localities and available services, concern has been raised about the applicability of much research to the wider Gypsy and Traveller community. In the absence of a wider body of research, most health

resources are in the form of publications from pressure groups or articles by professionals or bodies which have an interest in issues that concern Travellers.

Substance misuse

A review of nine key data sources (including Medline, Ovid,Iingenta full-text, Worldwide Web of Knowledge, and specialist journal and policy databases) produced very few references to Gypsies and Travellers. The one key UK resource (UNITE, 2006) was accessed via an Open Source, European Network for Social Inclusion and Health search. It is of concern that a Department of Health (DH) funded publication was not accessible via the DH website: the lack of easy availability of such an important resource is indicative of the ways in which Gypsy and Traveller issues are frequently sidelined. Apart from the community drugs information and needs assessment (UNITE, 2006) and Fountain et al's (2006) exploration of drug use by Irish Travellers in Ireland, the majority of references in this review are of small articles from specialist community publications or materials produced for dissemination to or by professionals for example, Drugscope briefings (2004, 2006) and videos developed for use with Gypsy and Traveller youth as educational materials.

Self-harm and suicide

A search of databases, journal sites, and policy documents available to the research team and specialist (for example, Travellers Times) and general health and community care magazines (for example, Community Care, Nursing Times) revealed very few references to suicide within the Gypsy and Traveller community. The majority of this discussion is therefore based on:

- A limited number of Irish studies and policy discussions (Brack & Monaghan, 2007; Pavee Point, 2005), which have noted a high suicide rate amongst male Irish Travellers

- Articles in specialist Traveller and Gypsy magazines (Voice of the Traveller, 2007)

- Findings from a focus group undertaken as part of a GTAA (Richardson et al, 2007) during which respondents tangentially referred to suicide or harm caused by nihilistic behaviour (predominantly substance abuse), occurring as a result of residence in housing, high unemployment or depression after the death of a close family member

- Personal communications received by the research team who have all had contact with an exceptionally high number of service users / clients who report the death by suicide of a family member.

In addition, and although exact statistics are not available, we are advised that an extremely high percentage of suicides in prison are of Gypsies and Travellers (Irish Traveller Movement (Britain) conference discussion, 2007; consultation submission from Father Gerard Barry; and interview with Yvonne McNamara, Irish Traveller Movement). A local authority respondent to the consultation reported having had contact with a number of families where suicide had occurred, but for reasons of confidentiality no further information was provided.

It is surprising that the clear over-representation of Gypsies and Travellers amongst victims of suicide has failed to attract greater academic or policy attention and is in itself perhaps indicative of the invisibility of Gypsies and Travellers in service provision discourse.

Education

A search was undertaken of a range of databases, journal articles and Government reports. Education has received a higher level of attention in policy and research than some other areas in this review. In addition, the Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF) has collated data from schools and Traveller Education Services. Voluntary organisations such as Save the Children Scotland have produced reports. Many of the studies refer to England, several to Scotland and a minority to Wales. Research data are supplemented by focus group findings and the informal knowledge of Gypsies and Travellers, education workers and voluntary agencies, which together provide a comprehensive account of inequality and the non-implementation of rights to education.

Early years and play

Databases, journals and Government policy documents were searched on this topic, but with only a few direct results. Throughout the literature relating to Gypsies and Travellers, there are references to the impact on children of the inequalities experienced by the communities, and some education literature includes a focus on early years (O'Hanlon & Holmes, 2004). There is less in the way of specific research related to early years. Moreover, the limited development of ethnic monitoring in relation to Gypsies and Travellers also undermines the availability of data concerning their access to services in broader studies, for example, in research undertaken by the Pre-School Learning Alliance (Reynolds, 2007). However, some voluntary organisations and local voluntary projects have developed a specific focus on early years work in Gypsy and Traveller communities (National Playbus, undated; Save the Children, 2007).

Children's experiences and leisure, play and youth provision

A search was undertaken of a range of youth journals, websites of relevant agencies such as, the National Youth Agency, Connexions, Government departments and the Children's Fund. This yielded only a small number of sources. However, research reports, policy documents and consultation responses from specialist agencies in the field were relevant to this topic. Work with young Gypsies and Travellers outside school is a generally under-researched area.

Social work

Searches were undertaken of a range of databases and social work journals, which yielded a small range of studies, alongside chapters in books, and incidental findings in studies on other topics such as accommodation and policing. This was complemented by practice knowledge and consultation responses. All three countries are represented in these sources although most focus on England. The findings relate to Irish Travellers, Romany Gypsies and New Travellers, sometimes in common and sometimes differentially, but no data were found relating to Occupational Travellers and social work.

Domestic violence

A search was undertaken of seven major academic databases, websites of national agencies including the Home Office, Department of Health, Metropolitan Police, Women's Aid Federation England and Crown Prosecution Service, and a range of journal publishers. An extremely limited number of documents were sourced. In total, 11 references to domestic violence amongst Gypsy and Traveller communities were found. In three cases, these were short articles published in British newspapers or magazines (for example, Travellers Times) and one conference presentation discussed prevalence rates amongst a sample of women accessing health services. A PhD thesis (Greenfields, 2002) discussed New Travellers' experiences of domestic violence in-depth within the context of family court proceedings. A small number of references to domestic violence were found within journal articles on the general health status of Gypsies and Travellers, but these were all cited in passing, and tended to refer to European, predominantly Eastern European, research which baldy stated that domestic abuse rates were high amongst Roma communities.

Two Gypsy Traveller Accommodation Assessments and two homelessness reviews explicitly referred to domestic violence as a reason for women leaving accommodation but no further information was given. Supporting People (SP) documents from two localities dealt with the subject in more detail as victims of domestic violence are categorised as a discrete SP client group.

The most prolific range of resources emanated from Irish websites, with references to domestic violence amongst Irish Traveller communities found in two Irish Government policy documents and referred to on the website of Pavee Point (the Irish Traveller NGO). One DVD resource provided by a specialist refuge, included information on Irish Traveller women's access to refuge accommodation. In the absence of written materials, further primary research was undertaken through interviews with service providers. No respondents to the questionnaire were able to provide information on domestic violence prevalence rates or proposals for engaging with the topic, although one grant-making body explicitly referred to the need to undertake further research into this field of work as they were aware of an increase in requests for assistance from individuals leaving violent relationships.

The subject of domestic violence is considerably under-researched and appears to be rarely engaged with by professionals and support groups working with Gypsy and Traveller communities, often because of victims' reluctance to discuss the subject with outsiders. Anecdotal evidence indicates that for women from the Gypsy, Traveller and Show communities, barriers to reporting family violence (including cultural and family issues, and an unwillingness to expose violent partners to additional racism or stereotypical labeling) are similar to those that exist for other ethnic minority communities (Black Londoners Forum / Womens Resource Centre, 2003, p. 5; Branigan, 2004).

Criminal justice and policing

Searches were made of several criminal justice journals, and papers identified in these, led to further references. The websites of relevant organisations were accessed for example, the Home Office. Several sources were located through networking with organisations and individuals in the field. Some consultation responses were particularly helpful. This is an area where only a few significant research studies have been undertaken and where the lack of ethnic monitoring in many services undermines attempts to develop a more accurate picture. Gypsies' and Travellers' general exclusion from ethnic minority issues is particularly evident for example, in a Youth Justice Board study of 'minority ethnic young people in the youth justice system' (Feilzer & Hood, 2004).

Political participation

Political journals were searched for relevant articles, which produced an extremely limited number. However, because of the broader context of political participation referred to, and the importance of including involvement in participatory as well as representative democracy, numerous informal sources were important. These included magazines, newsletters and websites produced by Gypsy and Traveller

organisations, conference contributions, and scattered references in other sources to involvement and participation. This broad approach to data results in a somewhat diffuse discussion, but the aim is to raise issues for further development.

Religion

A database search was undertaken, and data were gathered from web sources and electronic contacts, including a student dissertation. Newsletters and publications of church groups were also accessed. These sources were complemented by anecdotal knowledge.

Wales

Research findings relating to Wales were included in the broader searches under different topic areas. Two major reports for the National Assembly for Wales (NAW) / Welsh Assembly Government (WAG), already known to the research team, are the 2003 'Review of Service Provision for Gypsies and Travellers' (NAW, 2003), and the 2006 report 'Accommodation needs of Gypsy-Travellers in Wales' (Niner, 2006). The WAG website was searched for further updates. The Economic and Social Research Council website yielded evidence of participation that included Gypsies and Travellers.

Many of the studies discussed in this review related to Wales and England. A few research studies specifically relating to Wales were identified (for example, Clay, 1997; Roberts, 2005), although the issues discussed were more widely applicable than to Wales alone.

Scotland

Research findings relating to Scotland, were included in the broader searches relating to specific topic areas. Many policy-related publications are available through the Scottish Parliament website, with others published by the Commission for Racial Equality Scotland (CRES). Save the Children Scotland and the Scottish Traveller Education Project are key advocates for Gypsies and Travellers in Scotland: their research outputs and submissions to enquiries have been utilised extensively by the Scottish Parliament and CRES in developing strategic approaches to social inclusion and combating discrimination against Gypsy / Travellers. We have identified a number of accommodation needs assessment documents which identify community participation and evidence of need, while the 2007 Scottish Social Attitudes Survey (Bromley et al, 2007) highlighted high levels of discrimination towards Scottish Gypsy / Travellers. The team received an email discussing the political situation in Scotland and comments made by a Scottish MP to newspapers and in Hansard. Apart from

this communication, only one questionnaire was received which referred to Scotland: this extremely full response was provided by Save the Children Scotland. We particularly acknowledge the assistance of Michelle Lloyd (Save the Children, Scotland) in preparing this section of the report and for the provision of hard copies of various consultations and research reports.

Racism, sedentarism and discrimination

The searches already undertaken for the other topics in this review revealed plentiful evidence in relation to racism. Key themes from these topics are highlighted in this section.

Human rights

Similarly, the searches already undertaken provided multiple sources that incorporated human rights issues from a variety of angles.

Gender issues

Searches relating to gender revealed few references for inclusion in this section of the report: most texts referred to gendered dimensions of health inequalities, the development of Irish and Roma women's political engagement, or European data on education and health inequalities, considered elsewhere in this report. Only four publications were found which explored broader domains of gendered behaviour and inequalities which impact on British Gypsies and Travellers.

Disability

Searches of databases, journals and other websites revealed little direct information about disability among Gypsies and Travellers. Findings in other sections of this report (for example, health, accommodation, social work and education) provided a partial picture of experiences of disability and of relevant measures to promote equality, and are included in those sections. In terms of more specific research, in the absence of published studies, information was sought from the field via a specialist researcher colleague and contact with networks of occupational therapists working in this area.

Sexual orientation

A search of a number of websites, journal articles and policy documents has revealed no information on the topic of sexual orientation amongst Gypsy, Traveller and Showpeople communities.

One of two short web articles discussed the out Lesbian Roma singer Marija Serifovic, who won the 2007 Eurovision Song Contest (Greer, 2007), while an article

by the Romany health and social inclusion campaigner Richard O'Neill broached the topic of gay and lesbian Gypsies and Travellers and the parallels between racist and homophobic abuse (O'Neill, 2007). Two gay Gypsy men responded to the O'Neill article online. Three respondents to the consultation referred to issues around sexual orientation. In addition, a highly educated professional Roma woman who is active in the International Roma Women's Network (IRWN) and is an out lesbian, emailed comments; she has also spoken on sexual orientation to her own community, on radio and at Council of Europe meetings.

APPENDIX 2: LIST OF PEOPLE AND ORGANISATIONS WHO RESPONDED TO THE CONSULTATION

Susan Alexander	Travellers Aid Trust
Father Gerard Barry	HM Prison, Full Sutton
Sue Cullen	Shelter
Penny Dane	Devon Racial Equality Council
Caroline Dann	Travellerspace
Joanne Davis	Health Visitor
Jude Hawes	Stoke CAB
Alison Heine	Town Planner
Glen Hocken	HM Prison Service
Liz Hughes	Shelter
Michelle Lloyd	Save the Children
Liz Morgan	Stonewall
Iryna Pona	Children's Society
Michael Ridge	Haringey Council
Tony Thomson	Travellers Aid Trust (TAT) and Friends Families and Travellers (FFT), and in his personal capacity as a Traveller
Anthea Worthington	National Association of Teachers of Travellers (NATT)

APPENDIX 3: TOPIC GUIDE FOR CONSULTATION

Inequalities experienced by Gypsy and Traveller Communities: A Review

Introduction to the questionnaire

The purpose of this review, commissioned by the Equalities and Human Rights Commission (EHRC), is outlined in the attached document, which we invite you to read **prior** to completing the questionnaire.

The timetable for responding to this review is unfortunately very short and **all responses (either by email or post) must be received by the 21st February** in order that your comments can be included into the consultation.

As part of the review we are seeking information, views, experiences, and guidance about additional sources of evidence, from stakeholders within Gypsy, Traveller and Showpeople communities, from organisations working with or providing services to those communities, and from relevant policy making and research bodies.

Your help will greatly enhance the relevance and value of the review, and assist in drawing up policy recommendations for the EHRC to promote equality and human rights for Gypsies and Travellers.

All comments received will be anonymised and your name, and that of your organisation will not be identified in the report in connection with any statement made, unless you indicate your willingness to have statements attributed to you/your organisation.

You may also indicate if you wish for your organisation/individual name to be included in the report as responding to the consultation, if no signature is received your name/organisation's name will not appear anywhere in the report.

When completing this questionnaire we would like you to **select** those aspects of the review that are most relevant to your work, and to provide any comments about:

i)   **Areas on which we should focus particular attention**

        and / or

ii)   **Issues about which we may not be aware**

        and / or

iii)   **Sources of additional evidence**

If you have any specific reports/articles which you wish to draw to our attention please provide the names (if known) and if possible (for example, you have an electronic copy of an annual report which refers to particular health or social care needs) attach a copy to your response.

Where possible please respond to this consultation by email. If you wish to respond by post, please return this questionnaire and any attachments (for example annual reports or reports to management committees on specific issues under review) to:

Friends, Families and Travellers

Community Base
113 Queens Road
Brighton
East Sussex
BN1 3XG

Email: fft@gypsy-traveller.org [please indicate on message heading that email relates to EHRC consultation]

Phone: 01273 234796

Fax: 01273 234778

Please do not think that you need to complete each section. While we value all comments and contributions, the likelihood is that many organisations will wish to make comments in **one or two** specific areas that are their main concern. We are sending the complete questionnaire to everybody involved in the consultation, partly because this is easier for us to manage and we are conducting the review with limited time and resources, and partly because we would like you to feel free to comment on any or all areas if you wish.

Please feel free to expand the space provided if needed. We have also added an **'Other comments'** section to enable you to draw to our attention any other issues or areas that we have not so far included. If you would be willing for the questionnaire to be followed up by further email contact or a telephone discussion in some cases, please indicate this in the final section '**Further contact**'.

We greatly appreciate your assistance with this consultation.

Chris Whitwell (Friends, Families and Travellers)
Zoe Matthews (Friends, Families and Travellers)
Sarah Cemlyn (Bristol University)

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Margaret Greenfields (Buckinghamshire New University)

January 2008

Name of Individual/Organisation responding to Consultation

…………………………………………………………….……

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1. Accommodation

Please provide any comments or information related to accommodation issues that could assist the review.

2. Health

Please provide any comments or information related to health that could assist the review.

3. Education

Please provide any comments or information related to education that could assist the review.

4. Criminal justice

Please provide any comments or information related to criminal justice issues that could assist the review.

5. Youth provision

Please provide any comments or information related to youth provision that could assist the review.

6. Play provision and early years work.

Please provide any comments or information related to play provision and early years work that could assist the review.

7. Social work

Please provide any comments or information related to social work that could assist the review.

8. Substance abuse, self-harm and suicide

Please provide any comments or information related to substance abuse, self-harm and suicide that could assist the review.

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9. Domestic violence

Please provide any comments or information related to domestic violence that could assist the review.

10. Employment/Economic Inclusion

Please provide any comments or information related to employment and economic inclusion that could assist the review.

11. Legal services

Please provide any comments or information related to legal services that could assist the review.

12. Community development/community cohesion

Please provide any comments or information related to community development and community cohesion that could assist the review.

13. Political participation

Please provide any comments or information related to political participation that could assist the review.

14. Wales

Please provide any comments or information related to Wales that could assist the review.

15. Scotland

Please provide any comments or information related to Scotland that could assist the review.

16. Human rights

Please provide any comments or information related to human rights that could assist the review.

17. Racism and discrimination

Please provide any comments or information related to racism and discrimination that could assist the review.

18. Women and gender

Please provide any comments or information related to women and gender issues that could assist the review.

19. Disability

Please provide any comments or information related to disability that could assist the review.

20. Age

Please provide any comments or information related to age and ageism that could assist the review.

21. Sexual orientation

Please provide any comments or information related to issues of sexual orientation that could assist the review.

22. Religion/belief

Please provide any comments or information related to the significance of religion and belief and/ or discrimation related to religion and belief for Gypsies and Travellers that could assist the review.

23. Any other comments

Please provide any further comments on any topic that you think should be addressed in this review.

24. Further contact

Would you be willing to enter into further email contact or a telephone discussion to follow up specific issues raised in your response to the questionnaire?   Yes/ No

If so please provide the name and telephone number of a contact person.

Name of contact person:

Email address:

Telephone number:

Please strike out/sign the statement below as relevant. If you do <u>not</u> sign your organisation/or personal name will NOT be acknowledged within the report and any comments used will be anonymous.

I/My organisation are willing to be included in the acknowledgement sheet of

the report as responding to the consultation.

YES/NO

Signed

………………………………………….………………….

I/My organisation are willing for my/our comments to be attributed to me/our

organisation within the main report.

YES/NO

Signed

………………………………………….………………….

THANK YOU FOR RESPONDING TO THIS CONSULTATION

APPENDIX 4: TOPIC GUIDE FOR CONSULTATION (COMMUNITY GROUP VERSION)

Inequalities experienced by Gypsy and Traveller Communities: A Review

Background to the project and outline of areas to be covered

Introduction

The Equalities and Human Rights Commission (EHRC), an organisation which has replaced the Commission for Racial Equality has a duty to monitor at all types of equality issues including, race, gender, disability, age, sexual orientation, religious beliefs, and human rights.

The EHRC wants to look at Gypsies' and Travellers' experiences of inequalities (not just accommodation). They have asked Sarah Cemlyn (Bristol University); Friends, Families and Travellers (Zoe Matthews and Chris Whitwell) and Margaret Greenfields (Buckinghamshire New University) to look at all of the evidence we can find – including reports and books, accommodation assessments and health studies – to identify inequalities and gaps in provision, show where more research is needed and make policy recommendations to the EHRC about a number of topics.

The review will look at information and research about Romany Gypsies, Irish Travellers, Scottish and Welsh Travellers, New Travellers and Showpeople.

We will look at a number of areas as well as the ones the EHRC has responsibility for which are listed at the top of this leaflet. We have listed the areas we want to look at below.

Consultation with stakeholders

Part of review involves consulting with a small number of agencies and people with a lot of experience of working with Gypsies and Travellers and that is why we have contacted you.

We don't expect you to comment on all of the areas but please add information (and attach information or reports if you have any you think we really should know about) about the areas which are most important to you and your work.

If you think we have missed out something which is really important please tell us about it. We know that in some of the topic areas there is a lot of information (for example education) but in others (for example how important religion is to Gypsies

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and Travellers, or work on domestic violence or where a Gay or Lesbian Gypsy or Traveller can get advice) there really isn't much information that we know about.

Importance of the consultation

This consultation is very important as it will help the research team and the EHRC pick up on key issues your organisation would like us to look at and point out research and practice we might not know about.

The review is only taking place over a very short time so it is VERY important that we get your comments back by the 21st February. We are sorry that the time to reply is so short.

Topics to be covered

These are listed below and we've added some main points that we already know about – please add to these.

We would like your comments on anything else we have missed, any research or project work you know about and what should be the main focus of the review. Please tell us what policy areas the EHRC should focus on.

Accommodation

Problems with finding a suitable place to live is possibly the most important inequality experienced by Gypsies, Travellers and Showpeople. We will look at research studies and Gypsy Traveller Accommodation Assessments to see how accommodation problems relate to other inequalities.

Health

There is lots of information about health inequalities experienced by Gypsies and Travellers. These include lower life expectancy, increased bad health, use of accident and emergency services, more likely to have certain health conditions and risks of accidents to children. We want to know about health projects and planned research/projects. We will look at health in relation to age (young and old), men and women and disability.

Education

There is evidence that Gypsy and Traveller children suffer inequalities through school and college, often related to being evicted or moved on, teachers' attitudes, racist harassment/ bullying, being excluded from school and different attitudes to education in the Gypsy and Traveller and settled communities. We will look at differences

across ages (nursery school to university) and between boys and girls, men and women.

Criminal justice

Only a few studies look at Gypsy/Traveller experiences of the courts and criminal justice and they show lots of discrimination against Travelling people. More evidence is needed of Gypsies' and Travellers' experiences of the criminal justice system.

Youth provision

There is some evidence that shows Gypsies and Travellers have problems in using mainstream youth provision, and some information on good work in some projects aimed specially at Gypsies and Travellers. More information is needed about what is happening.

Play and early years work.

Recent studies show some evidence of need for more play work, and of problems about using services. Information about experience and any ongoing research will help this review.

Social work

There isn't much on social work but what has been carried out shows problems with accessing support, culture clashes between social services departments and Gypsies and Travellers and communication problems as well as some good approaches. Further information is needed from social work, from agencies who have contact and work in partnership with social workers, as well as from Gypsy/Traveller/ Showpeople communities. We are particularly interested in the new Children's Trusts and how they work for Gypsies/Travellers/Showpeople.

Substance abuse, self-harm and suicide

From talking to Gypsies and Travellers in focus groups and from things we've heard at conferences, we have been told that Drugs, Alcohol, self-harm (cutting) and suicide are major problems facing some Gypsies/Travellers. We don't really know about projects or research that are looking at this and we really want help in finding out more. Please provide comments and ideas.

Domestic violence

There is little British information about domestic violence amongst Gypsy/ Traveller/Showpeople communities (how many people experience it and how to stop it), although Irish policy documents might provide some ideas. Please tell us about any project, policy or research you know about.

Employment/Economic Inclusion

There is very little research on employment, but some information from education, health, accommodation and other studies which tell us about Gypsy/Traveller work and problems faced in finding employment. Information from professional associations (such as the Showmen's Guild) will be important. Please tell us if you know about any back to work/retraining projects and problems you know about related to work.

Legal services

There is very little information about how Gypsies/Travellers and Showpeople get access to lawyers and legal services. We will use anonymous (no names given) information from FFT about how they refer people to lawyers. Any similar information from other groups or organisations would be helpful.

Community development/community cohesion

We know a little about the ways in which Gypsies/Travellers and Showpeople can become involved in community development work (for example involvement in GTAAs and voluntary/health projects). There seems to be a lot of inequalities in this area and we need to look at it more. We are especially interested in how Gypsies/Travellers and Showpeople can become involved in (and access) wider community relations and conflict resolution about sites. Any examples of local research and practice such as agency reports would be helpful.

Political participation

If Gypsies/Travellers and Showpeople become involved in politics (voting, local involvement with councils, standing as councillors and responding to national political consultations, etc) this will help to reduce inequalities and lack of rights. Information on this topic from Gypsy Traveller groups and coalitions will be very important to the review.

Wales and Scotland

We will include information from Welsh and Scottish studies in the review. We want to know how the development of Scottish and Welsh government has changed the situation for Gypsies/Travellers and Showpeople in those countries.

Research and information from Welsh and Scottish organisations will be very important in highlighting issues and developments.

Human rights

We will look at how inequalities lead to loss of human rights. We want to know about Gypsies' and Travellers' daily experiences of legal and political struggles. Information from agencies and organisations about human rights issues affecting Gypsies, Travellers and Showpeople will be very important.

Racism and discrimination

Racism and discrimination will be looked at in all the subjects but we will also look at this as a separate topic. Your views and experiences will be very important in understanding this area.

Women and gender

We know from research that men and women have different experiences of health and education. Isolation in housing is most common amongst women. We will look at women's experiences of all topics but especially access to child-care, pre-school children and domestic violence. We are hearing really positive news about women's involvement in communities across all the subjects, and we hope to hear more about this through this consultation.

Disability and age

Disability and age cut across all topics but we will look at these separately too to see where inequalities occur. Information about inequalities in policy or service provision for older or disabled people is needed.

Sexual orientation

Because of cultural taboos and reluctance to discuss the subject amongst many people, we don't know about any research or reports/projects on attitudes towards sexuality and Gay/Lesbian Gypsies and Travellers. We would welcome further information and experience on working in these areas from you (e.g. how someone would be treated within their community if they 'came out' as Gay; what support might be available to a young unmarried girl who was pregnant, etc.)

Religion/belief

We know that religion is very important to many Gypsies and Travellers. This can be very important in terms of accessing services, advice and support. We want to hear more about this from Gypsy/Travellers and religious organisations in this area.

THANK YOU FOR TAKING PART IN THIS CONSULTATION. PLEASE REMEMBER TO GET YOUR COMMENTS BACK TO US BY THE 21st FEBRUARY 2008.

This report reviews the available information about the severe inequalities that Gypsies and Travellers face in Britain today. It draws on a wide range of sources, including published literature, the results of Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Assessments and a specially designed consultation.

WHAT IS ALREADY KNOWN ON THIS TOPIC:

- The lack of appropriate residential and transit accommodation underpins a range of other problems, from access to education to appropriate healthcare.
- Gypsies and Travellers experience racism and discrimination throughout their lives and in a range of contacts with other members of society.

WHAT THIS REPORT ADDS:

- The report provides a wide-ranging and detailed account of the inequalities that Gypsies and Travellers face, and of the actions that are needed to address these.
- It includes specific discussion of inequalities in relation to gender, disability, age, religion and sexual orientation, as well as race.
- It highlights a range of areas requiring further research, as well as more systematic monitoring of service usage.

Contact us

You can find out more or get in touch with us via our website at:

www.equalityhumanrights.com

or by contacting one of our helplines below:

Helpline - England
Telephone: 0845 604 6610
Textphone: 0845 604 6620
Fax: 0845 604 6630

Helpline - Scotland
Telephone: 0845 604 5510
Textphone: 0845 604 5520
Fax: 0845 604 5530

Helpline - Wales
Telephone: 0845 604 8810
Textphone: 0845 604 8820
Fax: 0845 604 8830

9am–5pm Monday to Friday except Wednesday 9am–8pm.

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Calls may be monitored for training and quality purposes.

Interpreting service available through Language Line, when you call our helplines.

This report is available for downloading from our website.
If you require it in an alternative format and/or language please contact the relevant helpline to discuss your needs.