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Housing Policy Discussion Series

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Traveller Accommodation in Ireland: Review of Policy and Practice

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November 2008

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Foreword

Traveller accommodation is a difficult area for local authorities to get right. Traveller families' needs and preferences vary, can be difficult to clarify and if clear can be difficult to realise. Accessing appropriate sites throws up challenges; likewise the design and planning stages, construction, on-going management and maintenance, and inter-agency co-operation. Where Traveller-specific accommodation works well it seems to work very well, but when it does not the results are all too visible and profound.

One of the key objectives of the Centre for Housing Research is to enable local authorities to develop a more responsive housing service. It is in this context that the Centre undertook the current work on Traveller accommodation.

The work is presented in three distinct but interrelated reports:

- This Review of Policy and Practice (Coates et al, 2008)
- A Research Report (Treadwell Shine et al, 2008) and
- Good Practice Guidelines (Kane et al, 2008)

Much has been achieved in recent years in the provision of quality Traveller accommodation, but there remain too many examples of situations where policy objectives are not being realised on the ground. It has been argued in this work that focusing on quality of life may be a way to move forward in the management and maintenance of Traveller-specific accommodation.

A core feature of this work has been the development and application of an indicator system to measure various aspects of Traveller accommodation provision. It is hoped that the indicator system might provide a framework on which national standards could be developed and agreed.

I would like to thank the authors of these three reports, Dermot Coates, Fiona Kane and Kasey Treadwell Shine, for the considerable advancement in our understanding of the relevant issues that they have facilitated through their work. Elena Moore helped with data collection while on a student placement with the Centre. I would like to thank officials from the Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government for providing data and commenting on earlier drafts of the reports. The researchers drew on the expertise and experience of many Traveller families and organisations representing their interests, local authority officials and other service providers, and I would like to thank all those who gave of their time to help in the completion of this work. I would also like to thank Clare Curley of South Tipperary County Council for comments on an earlier draft of the reports.

David Silke

Director

September 2008

SECTION ONE



Introduction

The understanding of the needs of Travellers for Traveller-specific accommodation (e.g. halting sites, group housing, etc) and the public policy responses to such needs have evolved incrementally over the course of recent decades. MacLaughlin (1995) linked the debates on Irish culture and identity that occurred in the mid-nineteenth century with the first significant expression of interest by the wider Irish society in Irish Travellers and their traditions. However, questions relating to the accommodation and living conditions of Irish Travellers did not take hold of the Irish consciousness until a century later, in the 1960s.

Since that time, wider societal and government perspectives on Traveller accommodation (and, by extension, Traveller living conditions) have shifted significantly. Broadly speaking these views have evolved from one that prioritises solving the ‘problem of itinerancy’, with an associated policy context of assimilating Travellers into mainstream Settled society. Current perspectives tend to prioritise a more heterogeneous view that recognises Traveller differences, with an associated policy context of providing Traveller-specific accommodation options. The legislative, financial and related contexts with respect to Traveller accommodation have also changed over time to reflect and support these altered perspectives. This evolution has been shaped by a number of key developments including, but not limited to, the following:

- *The Report of the Task Force on the Travelling Community* (Task Force on the Travelling Community, 1995)
- The Housing (Traveller Accommodation) Act 1998 and associated legislation
- The Report of the High Level Group on Traveller Issues (DoJELR, 2006)

Moreover, the Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government's (DoEHLG) housing policy statement *Delivering Homes: Sustaining Communities* (2007) sets as a key objective that communities should be sustainable. In accordance with the Bristol Accord, agreed by an Informal Council of EU Ministers (2005), sustainable communities are defined as places where 'people want to live and work, now and in the future'. The DoEHLG considers that such places will be of a high quality as regards the natural and built environment, the diverse needs of residents will be met, the quality of planning and maintenance will be high, safety will be a priority and quality of life will be high. By association, for communities to be truly sustainable they need to be able to take on board cultural diversity if and when it arises.

With regard to the Traveller community, the DoEHLG policy statement notes that a range of issues surrounding Traveller accommodation remains to be satisfactorily resolved and consequently commits the DoEHLG 'to further improve the accommodation position of Travellers, especially those families living on unauthorised sites'. To this end, the DoEHLG will:

- continue to facilitate, at national level, the development of strategies devised to accelerate the provision of Traveller accommodation
- work to achieve effective co-ordination, at local level, of the provision of all services to Travellers in conjunction with the work of the High Level Group on Traveller Issues
- support the introduction by local authorities of systematic procedures for the management and maintenance of Traveller-specific accommodation

- work through the National Traveller Accommodation Consultative Committee on all aspects of the accommodation programme. A particular priority for the Committee will be to see how Travellers can develop self-supporting approaches to meet their own needs

However, despite these changes and the increasing support for Traveller-specific accommodation, there is widespread agreement that in practice Traveller accommodation remains a particularly problematic, difficult area to address. Nearly all parties – policy-makers, local authority practitioners, politicians, Traveller organisations and members of the Settled and Traveller communities – express dissatisfaction with the current state of Traveller accommodation in Ireland. Much of this dissatisfaction relates to the visible presence and appearance of some Traveller-specific accommodation along with a public perception that the cost of providing and maintaining Traveller accommodation can be disproportionately high. Such dissatisfaction is multi-faceted and includes concerns from the general public about the accumulation of rubbish and general untidiness on some sites, the perception by many Travellers that at least some sites are not adequately maintained by local authorities and the difficulties some local authority officials report in dealing with some Traveller tenants. In most cases these issues relate to halting sites, but there are also difficulties in delivering and managing other Traveller-specific accommodation, e.g. dealing with issues around family compatibility in group housing schemes.

As part of its work the Centre for Housing Research, in consultation with the Traveller Accommodation Unit of the DoEHLG, developed a proposal to evaluate current systems of management and maintenance of Traveller-specific accommodation and formulate guidelines for local authorities on achieving good practice in this area. The Centre was tasked with ‘carrying out an evaluation of the management and maintenance systems of Traveller-specific accommodation... to determine what new practices and procedures need to be adopted so that problems can be tackled in a comprehensive manner’ (DoEHLG, 2007).

The resultant suite of research – referred to cumulatively as the Traveller Accommodation Study (TAS) – consists of three distinct but interrelated reports which should be considered cumulatively. Each of these reports addresses critical aspects of the management and maintenance of Traveller-specific accommodation, as follows:

- This Review of Policy and Practice (Coates et al, 2008)
- A Research Report (Shine et al, 2008)
- Good Practice Guidelines (Kane et al, 2008)

This discussion paper reviews policy and practice in relation to the management and maintenance of Traveller-specific accommodation. The authors hope that the findings of the report will contribute to the development of new strategies, practices and procedures to satisfactorily resolve the issues surrounding such accommodation as envisaged by Delivering Homes, Sustaining Communities (DoEHLG, 2007). The report aims to help inform the development of policy and practice in this area. It reviews current approaches throughout this country and, by drawing on domestic and international research evidence, makes suggestions for improvement.

The discussion is organised into the following sections:

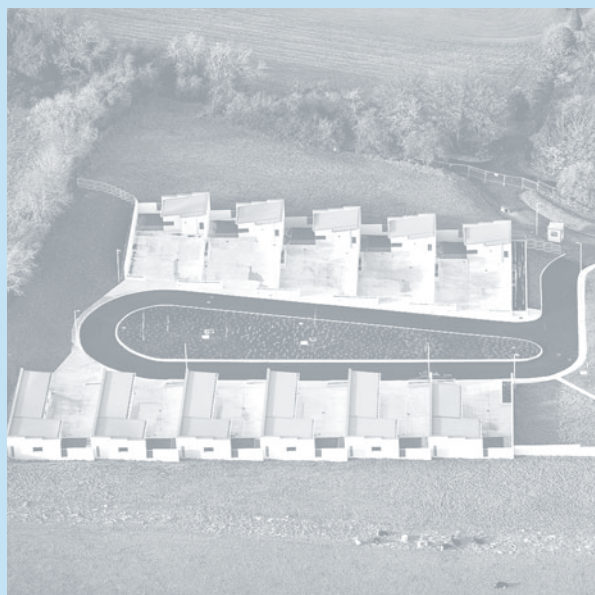
Section 2 examines Irish Travellers and Irish Traveller accommodation from an international perspective.

Section 3 provides a profile of Travellers and Traveller accommodation in Ireland.

Section 4 examines Traveller accommodation policy, funding and practice in Ireland.

Section 5 concludes the policy review and introduces the concept of ‘quality of life’ which will inform the Research Report and Good Practice Guidelines.

SECTION TWO



The International Context

2.1 Introduction

This section examines linkages between the international and domestic policy arena in relation to the situation of populations with a nomadic tradition. It outlines examples of culturally appropriate accommodation responses, common experiences of discrimination and/or racism experienced by Traveller, Roma and other nomadic groups, and concerns around accommodating nomadic lifestyles and traditions (European Commission, Employment and Social Affairs section, 2004). It highlights differences in the European and Irish government positions regarding the basis of equality of status of Irish Travellers and it examines in more detail the policy and legislative context in the UK, which more closely mirrors the Irish context. Finally, it concludes that there is potential for revisiting both the international and UK contexts, particularly with a view to advancing quality of life concerns as a benchmark for management and maintenance issues.

2.2 International Perspectives on Irish Travellers and Traveller Accommodation

Within the Irish context, few links are made between Irish Travellers and the Roma Community and other nomadic minorities in Europe, particularly in the area of housing/accommodation (European Commission Employment and Social Affairs section, 2004; Kenny, 2004). This is in part because of a common anecdotal perception that Irish Travellers differ in significant ways from the Roma Community and other nomadic minorities (MacLaughlin, 1995), and in part because debates around accommodating such minorities in Europe have tended to explicitly link ethnicity, racism and human rights. In Ireland the legislative and statutory focus has also been based upon international human rights obligations, but with a view to achieving universal equality of status. Legislative and statutory documents with respect to Irish Travellers (and by extension, Traveller accommodation) specifically do not work on the basis of distinct ethnic grounds. This has created tensions between the European and the Irish government positions vis-à-vis Irish Travellers and Traveller accommodation, and in turn may contribute to some confusion and lack of clarity for local authority practitioners and other stakeholders at local level.

2.2.1 International Perspectives on Travellers and Traveller Accommodation: Equality of Status on Ethnic Grounds

The United Nations and various bodies of the European Union have issued conventions and recommendations that indirectly impact upon housing policy and related issues with respect to Irish Travellers. These instruments are generally framed as international human rights issues, which require member states to report on the progress of implementing and monitoring their recommendations. The most significant of these instruments are the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, ratified by Ireland in 1999; and the United Nations' International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD), ratified by Ireland in 2000 and enacted in

2001 (Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, 2006; CERD, 2005). The Council of Europe has also produced a recommendation on improving the housing conditions of Roma and Travellers in Europe, which the committee of Ministers to member states adopted in 2005. All three instruments make explicit links between the Traveller and Roma communities and argue strongly that Irish Travellers are a distinct ethnic minority.

This position is supported within Ireland by a number of academics, legal experts, Traveller organisations and others (Collins, 1992; Helleiner, 1995; Irish Traveller Movement, 2006; MacLaughlin, 1995; NCCRI, 2004; Ní Shuinéar, 1994; Pavee Point, 2005). In the past decade national Traveller organisations such as Pavee Point and the Irish Traveller Movement have placed increasing emphasis on a rights-based, equality approach that works specifically on the basis of the distinct ethnic status of Irish Travellers (Donahue et al, 2003; Fay, 1992; Pavee Point, 1996). Two recent reports, by the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI) (2004) and the Equality Authority (2006) also echo such an emphasis. The Equality Authority has expressed concern at the Irish government's explicit assertion that Irish Travellers do not represent a distinct ethnic group, despite clear policy moves towards recognising Irish Travellers as a distinct group in, for example, the Incitement to Hatred Act (1989) and the Equality Employment Acts (1998 and 2004), and in the government's reports under international human rights obligations as cited above.

The importance of such debates cannot be understated. As the Equality Authority report notes, the issue of Traveller ethnicity (or indeed, any 'difference' expressed by Traveller cultural traditions) is bound to arise:

Traveller ethnicity is a key factor that has to be taken into account in identifying and responding to the needs of the Traveller community. Culture and identity will shape the needs of a group. Policies and programmes that respond to needs will only be effective to the extent that they take into account the culture and identity of the group concerned (Equality Authority, 2006:9).

2.2.2 The Irish Government Position on Irish Travellers and Traveller Accommodation: Equality of Status on Discrimination Grounds

The UN CERD committee, in its response to Ireland's first and second national reports on the range of measures adopted to give force to the provisions of the Convention, expressed concern at Ireland's refusal to accept Travellers, under law, as a distinct ethnic group (CERD, 2005). The Irish government's response to the committee's recommendation that Travellers be recognised as a distinct ethnic minority raises two important issues. Firstly, the government pointed out that membership of the Traveller Community is a separate ground under the Equal Status Act (Department of Foreign Affairs, 2006) and argued that this gives greater, not less, protection to Travellers *vis-à-vis* ethnic minorities. Secondly, the government argued that it 'has not concluded that Travellers are ethnically different from the majority of Irish people' (Department of Foreign Affairs, 2006), citing as evidence controversy within academic circles as to the definition both of ethnicity and of Traveller traditions as a distinct, separate culture from the 'majority' Irish culture (Equality Authority, 2006).

This stance has implications for Traveller accommodation policy and service delivery. The Irish government's position that Irish Travellers' equality of status is afforded even greater protection through anti-discrimination legislation is predicated upon the idea that *all* disadvantaged groups are entitled to a universal standard of protection – regardless of their differences. The international perspective that equality of status should be based on ethnicity grounds is predicated upon an assumption that ethnic differences should be afforded first priority in determining, for example, policy directives or service delivery approaches. The Government's explicit statement that Travellers are not an ethnic minority has been interpreted by some commentators as a hardening of policy with respect to Travellers (and, by extension, Traveller accommodation issues), and even that such a move reinstates debates about attempts to assimilate Travellers into the mainstream Settled community (see, for example, NCCRI, 2004; Pavee Point, 2005).

2.2.3 Implications of Differing Positions on Practice at Local Level

The different positions with respect to the status of Irish Travellers create difficulties in two areas when dealing with Traveller accommodation, in practice, at the local level. First, tensions are created around appropriate responses to Traveller traditions and differences, with knock-on effects for the implementation, for example, of Traveller Accommodation Programmes. Second, tensions are created around appropriate parameters for service delivery with respect to Traveller accommodation issues, including management and maintenance concerns.

The first area of difficulty created by tensions in regard to the precise status of Irish Travellers centres around appropriate responses to Traveller traditions and differences. Do such traditions and differences operate from a presumption of distinct ethnic identity, such that they are enshrined as ‘legitimate’ rights in international law and lead to a right-based approach to the provision and delivery of accommodation? On the one hand, such an approach may provide the basis for legal challenges which ensure that local authorities fulfil their statutory obligations with respect to Traveller accommodation. However, such an approach also opens up the possibility of the courts becoming a *de facto* implementation body. In this scenario, legal challenges may force local authorities to make changes in practice or service delivery, but they may not force concurrent changes in the policy or legislative areas. This could create a situation whereby the scope of local authority responsibilities extends beyond their existing statutory obligations, but without supporting legislative or policy frameworks.

Another way of approaching Traveller traditions and differences is to regard them effectively as expressions of ‘lifestyle choices’. This is not to suggest that such traditions and differences are not genuine but it does raise questions of their legitimacy or sustainability in the current Irish context. It also raises the question as to what the local authority’s responsibilities are should a Traveller’s lifestyle change and become more settled in nature. This argument implies a ‘duties-based’ approach, one in which local authorities are obliged, within the bounds of meeting statutory requirements, to effectively exercise their duties to meet accommodation need irrespective of specific Traveller traditions or differences. Even here, legislation requires some attention to Traveller traditions or differences, by (for example) mandating the provision of transient sites to support a nomadic/travelling way of life.

However, within this argument there is still an onus on residents of halting sites or group housing schemes – equally applicable to Travellers as to residents in any other context – to behave in an appropriate and responsible manner regardless of specific needs or differences (e.g. of Traveller economy and the keeping of horses). This implies that the rights of a community to suitable and good quality accommodation are counter-balanced by responsibilities such as:

- to adhere to acceptable and respectful forms of behaviour towards others (whether other residents in a given locality or those local authority officials tasked with providing their accommodation)
- to observe universal standards of responsible management and maintenance
- to adhere to other general housing protocols (e.g. the payment of rents and charges in full and in a timely manner)

The second area of difficulty created by tensions in respect to the precise status of Irish Travellers centres on defining appropriate parameters for service delivery with respect to Traveller accommodation issues, including management and maintenance concerns. Local authorities can vary considerably in what they consider as appropriate concerns in service delivery approaches. Some, for example, argue that Travellers' accommodation requires a specialised set of housing protocols and service delivery mechanisms. Others argue that effective progress with regard to Traveller accommodation cannot happen unless and until Travellers themselves change. This point has also been raised in relation to wider Traveller issues, such as health and education. As such, the need for a strong inter-agency response has been highlighted as particularly important in this respect. These issues are examined in more depth later in this report.

On the basis of the research undertaken by the Centre as part of this project (Treadwell Shine et al, 2008) it is evident that direct engagement with tensions apparent in differing international and Irish government positions rarely filters down to the local level. Few respondents, for example, explicitly framed their actions in terms of human rights obligations or ethnic identity arguments. And the authors recognise that this is unlikely to be the primary source of difficulty in the management and maintenance of Traveller accommodation; difficulties are more likely to arise from other considerations such as resource constraints, etc.

The research showed that, while these debates were not exactly ignored at the local level, they were usually addressed only if and when they became obstacles to everyday practices, e.g. because of a legal challenge. As such these debates were often seen as something of an impediment to existing practices. In the current context, then, disparities between the Irish government and the European-oriented positions regarding the precise 'definition' of the Irish Traveller community seem to be perceived as part of the 'problem' of Traveller accommodation rather than as part of the 'solution'.

2.3 Accommodating Travellers in the UK

Policies and practices with respect to accommodating nomadic groups in the UK differ from the Irish situation, in part because they explicitly consider multiple nomadic groups (namely gypsies as well as Travellers), and in part because they tend to focus on race equality, in the context of relatively large minority populations. Furthermore, in the UK Irish Travellers and gypsies are recognised under law as ethnic minorities. More widespread differences, e.g. in the structure of government departments, research organisations feeding directly into policy initiatives, and the powers of local authorities, also differentiate UK policies and practices from those operating in the Irish situation. Nevertheless there are some important parallels to be made between the Irish and English, Welsh, Scottish and Northern Ireland arenas, which are now examined.

2.3.1 Travellers and Gypsies in England and Wales

The most significant development with respect to Gypsies/ Travellers, and other nomadic groups, in England and Wales has been the introduction of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994. This Act was intended to eliminate all unauthorised encampments by providing local authorities with strong and clear powers to evict those occupying such sites. It also removed the requirement of local authorities to directly provide sites for nomadic groups, but instead encouraged them to provide their own accommodation.

It quickly became apparent that this legislation did not have the intended effect. Local authorities, partly in response to legal challenges to the Act, were left in a very uncertain state with regard to their responsibilities and powers under the Act (Department of the Environment Transport and the Regions (UK), no date given). Moreover, in response to the much reduced role of local authorities in providing and managing authorised sites, there has been a rapid increase in unauthorised sites (sites illegally occupied by Gypsies/

Travellers and other groups) and unauthorised developments (sites owned by Gypsies/Travellers and other groups, but developed without planning permission) (Niner, 2002).

As a result, new legislation and a new approach to accommodating Gypsies/Travellers in England and Wales was introduced under the Housing Act, 2004. This legislation was reinforced by changes in the planning system as encompassed in the Circular 1/2006 in England and Circular 30/2007 in Wales *Planning for Gypsy and Traveller Caravan Sites. A report, Local Authorities and Gypsies and Travellers: Guide to Responsibilities and Powers*, published in 2006 by the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (now the Department of Communities and Local Government), outlines these legislative and planning changes and indicates some of the change in thinking with regard to Gypsy/Travellers accommodation in England. While the emphasis remains on a 'reduction of unauthorised camping', the government also recognises that adequate provision of planned authorised sites must accompany such an approach (Niner, 2002). Local authorities are therefore required to 'assess the need for Gypsy and Traveller accommodation in their areas when they assess the housing requirements of the rest of the population' and 'must then develop a strategy which addresses the need arising ... through public or private provision' (ODPM, 2006).

Local authorities must specifically identify land where sites are to be built and incorporate these into their Development Plan documents. They are encouraged to fully exercise their powers to reduce or eliminate all unauthorised camping, using both the 1994 Act and temporary stop notices (specifically designed to halt unauthorised developments). They are also encouraged to use anti-social behaviour powers (encompassed in the Anti-Social Behaviour Act, 2003) in dealing with these sites. In February 2006 a Task Force on Site Provision and Enforcement was established in England to support these changes, examine the variations across local authorities in the use and effectiveness of enforcement powers, and identify and help local authorities to eliminate the barriers to delivery of new site provision. Finally, there is an increasing interest in encouraging registered social landlords to directly provide and manage authorised sites, with legislative changes allowing them to do so introduced in 2006. This legislation extended government funding for Gypsy and Traveller sites to registered social landlords as well as local authorities.

2.3.2 Travellers and Gypsies in Scotland

The Scottish Executive has pursued its own policy agenda with respect to Gypsy/Traveller accommodation in Scotland, although some of this overlaps with the English and Welsh context. The Executive particularly focuses on race equality and, by extension, on service delivery that recognises and supports such equality. One of the important aspects of such an approach is the emphasis on a good evidence base for delivery of services, and to this end Communities Scotland has been proactive with respect to Gypsy/Traveller accommodation.

Communities Scotland is an agency of the Scottish Executive that works with others 'to ensure decent housing and strong communities across Scotland'. One of its core functions is to provide inspections of registered social landlords and of related services within local authorities, according to a number of different criteria, one of which is services for Gypsies/Travellers. In 2002, the regulation and inspection team of Communities Scotland, responsible for these functions, undertook a thematic study of services for Gypsies/Travellers within local authorities. The report was updated in May 2006. Issues raised in the 2002 report include:

- the lack of robust information on the preferred options, needs and aspirations of Gypsies/Travellers
- problems with rents
- the absence of long-term planning on site improvements
- a lack of effective financial planning

While the 2006 report notes some progress on the 2002 recommendations, it highlights a number of areas where local authorities have failed to fully implement change and/or have not followed these recommendations. The findings of these two reports echo a number of concerns raised by respondents for the Traveller Accommodation Study (TAS), despite the very different contexts of Ireland and Scotland. Three common issues stand out.

First is the widely varying responsiveness of local authorities to these issues; some local authorities were much more proactive in strategic planning and service delivery than others. A second common issue centres on difficulties with site provision and on-site services, including management and maintenance concerns. A third common issue centres on difficulties around effective and inclusive consultation (Communities Scotland, 2002, 2006).

2.3.3 Travellers and Gypsies in Northern Ireland

Traveller accommodation policy in Northern Ireland was substantially overhauled on foot of the report of a 1998 Working Party on Travellers Accommodation Needs, initiated by the then Department of the Environment (NI) Minister, Lord Dubs. The resulting *New Policy on Accommodation for Travellers* (Department of the Environment for Northern Ireland, 1999) led to a number of significant policy changes. First, all Traveller accommodation functions, including ownership and management of serviced sites, were transferred to the Northern Ireland Housing Executive (NIHE). Second, district councils were allocated responsibility for the provision and management of transit sites. The latter recommendation created some controversy, and eventually ownership and management of all sites, including transit sites, was transferred to the NIHE. The *New Policy* document also introduced the idea of group housing schemes as a potential Traveller accommodation option. Such schemes have been implemented in a number of locations throughout Northern Ireland and there are plans to implement a number of other schemes.

Finally, while the *New Policy* document did not extend the powers of local authorities to move-on Travellers from unauthorised encampments (although such powers were subsequently extended under the Unauthorised Encampment Act 2004), it did endorse a continuation of what had been termed a ‘toleration policy’, now renamed as ‘co-operation policy’. This policy allows Travellers to camp on a temporary basis as a ‘humane requirement and necessary adjunct to adequate provision’, while recognising that such policy does not and cannot take the place of permanent or transit site provision (Department of the Environment for Northern Ireland, 1999: 12)

In addition to these policy changes, a special working group on Promoting Social Inclusion (PSI) was established in 1999 under the aegis of the Targeting Social Need Initiative to specifically assess Travellers Accommodation Needs. The NIHE also undertook a needs assessment of all current and projected Traveller accommodation requirements in Northern Ireland (Northern Ireland Housing Executive, 2002). Travellers in Northern Ireland, as in the rest of the UK and in Ireland, are covered by equality legislation (in NI, Section 75 of the Northern Ireland Act 1998). The Department for Social Development (which has ultimate responsibility for coordinating Traveller accommodation policy in Northern Ireland) conducted an Equality Impact Assessment Policy on Traveller Accommodation (Department for Social Development (Northern Ireland), 2003). This assessment echoed the Scottish approach to Traveller accommodation issues through considerations of race equality (see above).

2.4 Similarities and Differences between Irish and UK Traveller Accommodation Policy Contexts

In summary, Traveller accommodation policy and practice in England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland share a number of characteristics:

- the establishment of Travellers as a distinct ethnic group across the UK contexts, a position in line with European and international debates
- an increasing emphasis on consulting with Travellers themselves on their accommodation needs and concerns
- particularly in Northern Ireland and Scotland, an increasing emphasis on (race) equality in all Traveller accommodation actions and policies
- a concern with local authorities' powers and service delivery approaches, which in some cases has concentrated on unauthorised encampments, powers of eviction and knock-on effects of these

Another common theme in these four countries relates to problems with planning system regulations, often making it difficult to implement policy directives as intended. This has led, as in the case of the England, Wales and Northern Ireland, to legislative and planning system changes. These changes consolidate functions in specific authorities and/or ensure that Traveller accommodation is specifically identified and planned for at local level (see also Bates, 2005).

A number of important parallels emerge between the UK and Ireland with respect to Traveller accommodation policy and practice. First, the challenges local authorities face within the UK context resonate with issues arising in the Irish context. For example, local authorities in the UK often have to balance the reduction and/or elimination of unauthorised sites with a lack of adequate sites on which to accommodate evicted families. This places a considerable strain on the capacities of local authorities to act, and can even lead to strangely contradictory policy directives. Northern Ireland has gone the furthest in articulating these tensions by explicitly developing its 'cooperation policy', recognising that in humane terms it is not desirable to move Travellers on if there is nowhere else suitable to go in the short term.

Second, planning system and legislative issues can significantly hamper successful accommodation outcomes and good practice, regardless of context. Third, the UK's Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 bears extremely close parallels with provisions in the Irish Criminal Justice (Public Order) Act 1994 as amended by Section 24 of the Housing (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act 2002. The Irish Act makes it an offence to enter and occupy land and gives increased eviction powers by Gardai to move-on Travellers from such sites. These 'trespass laws' as they are commonly known have had significant effects on the current context of Traveller accommodation in Ireland (Donahue et al, 2003; Irish Traveller Movement, 2006).

An important distinction between UK and Irish Traveller accommodation policy and practice is the emphasis in the UK on needs assessments and/or studies of Travellers' own preferences for accommodation, and analyses of services for Gypsies/Travellers (Communities Scotland, 2002 2006; Niner, 2002; Northern Ireland Housing Executive, 2002, 2005; School of the Built Environment Heriot-Wat University, 2004, 2006; Scottish Executive, no date; Thomas and Campbell, 1992). Such national-level, in-depth assessments are effectively absent from the Irish context, outside of the scope of much broader government reports and policy documents where such issues cannot be exhaustively examined. Although there is considerable local-level analysis through the Traveller Accommodation Programmes, these are an outcome of policy directives, not a driver of them. This has important

implications for the evidence base with respect to Traveller accommodation policy and particularly its implementation at local level, and will be discussed later in this report.

The next section profiles the Irish Traveller population.

SECTION THREE



Profile of Travellers and Traveller Accommodation

3.1 Introduction

This section provides profiles of the Traveller community and of the current context of Traveller accommodation (in standard local authority or private housing, private rented, and Traveller-specific accommodation). These profiles contribute to the overall picture of how the management and maintenance of Traveller-specific accommodation is currently handled and illustrate some of the local variability apparent in these issues, particularly in the implementation of the Traveller Accommodation Programmes (TAPs).

3.2 Profile of Travellers and Traveller Accommodation

3.2.1 Census 2002 and 2006: Emerging Trends

Notwithstanding the difficulties involved in counting a nomadic population, the most comprehensive profile of the Traveller population is provided through a question in the Irish Census. In 2002, 23,681 Irish Travellers were counted, representing 0.6 per cent of the total national population (CSO, 2004).¹ By 2006, this had fallen to 22,435 Irish Travellers (1,246 less than in 2002), representing 0.5 per cent of the total national population (CSO, 2007). However, it should be noted that the relevant question format was changed in the 2006 Census, which makes comparison with 2002 data difficult and may also account for the apparent decline in the population.

The most recent figures from the 2006 Census point to a number of issues that have implications for Traveller accommodation generally (as well as for direct management and maintenance concerns). The age and age-at-marriage profiles of Irish Travellers differ significantly from those of the general Irish population. 41.4 per cent of Irish Travellers are aged 14 or under, with an additional 20.5 per cent in the 15-24 age bracket. This compares to 20.4 per cent aged 14 or under and an additional 14.9 per cent in the 15-24 age bracket in the general Irish population. Only 2.6 per cent of the Irish Traveller population is aged 65 and over, compared with 11 per cent in the general population. The median age is 18 for Travellers and 33 for the general Irish population. Also significant is the age at which Travellers marry: 21.6 per cent of Traveller males and 26 per cent of Traveller females in the 15-24 age bracket are married, as against 1.4 per cent males and 2.7 per cent females in the general population.

¹ The accuracy of this figure may be somewhat skewed insofar as it relies upon respondents' self-identification as Travellers, who for a variety of reasons may not identify themselves as member of the Traveller Community. Nevertheless other estimates roughly accord with this figure (Silke, 2005).

These figures have significant implications for both current and future Traveller accommodation and for the management and maintenance of such accommodation. Households will more likely form earlier amongst members of the Traveller community and will continue to form at a high rate in the future, based upon the current age and age-at-marriage profiles.

Family size is another factor that will affect management and maintenance concerns. Census 2006 found that one-person households accounted for 14.0 per cent of all Traveller households as against 22.4 in the general population. Conversely, over 41.6 per cent of Irish Traveller households had 5 or more members, compared to just 14.5 per cent in the general Irish population. This supports anecdotal evidence that general wear and tear due to the sheer size of many Traveller families is a significant management and maintenance concern.

Other profiles generated from the Census 2006 data show that the Irish Traveller population is affected by high levels of multiple disadvantage. For example, nearly 69.3 per cent of Irish Travellers aged 15 years or over whose education had ceased received only primary or no formal education, as compared to 18 per cent in the general Irish population. Economic activity in mainstream employment is also much lower in the Traveller population: only 13.8 per cent of all those aged 15 and over are at work, compared with 57.2 per cent in the general population (this includes those in the labour force and those not in the labour force). The Traveller Health Strategy 2002-2005 estimated that up to 80 per cent of adult Travellers are illiterate. In addition, life expectancy is significantly lower for Irish Travellers, with Irish Traveller women in particular living 12 years less than in the general population (Department of Health and Children, 2002).

These figures are important in considering, for example, methods for communicating information about management and maintenance programmes and the delivery of these programmes. Low literacy rates and an unfamiliarity with technical language can affect the process of consultation, filling out forms, communicating tenancy agreements, and so on. Estate management programmes will most likely need a considerable amount of capacity building and skills training to be successful, and may need to take into consideration unfamiliarity with or even resistance to communal approaches to management.

The Census 2006 figures reveal some interesting findings in relation to Traveller accommodation. The figures show that just over half (51.2 per cent) of Traveller families rent from a local authority. This is a significantly higher figure than for households in general (7.2 per cent). Traveller families are much less likely to own their home compared to the households in general – 21.1 per cent for Traveller families compared to 74.6 per cent for households as a whole. Two-thirds (66 per cent) of Traveller families reported living in households of 3–5 rooms compared to 43.7 per cent of the total households.² However, almost half (47.6 per cent) of the all households occupied more than 6 rooms compared to 16 per cent of Traveller families. Traveller families were less likely to have central heating compared to all households – 20.2 per cent compared to 9.3 per cent. A final point to arise from the 2006 Census is that 24.9 per cent of Travellers enumerated lived in caravans or mobile homes, while 69.1 lived in permanent accommodation (including permanent accommodation in Traveller encampments) (an additional 6 per cent did not state their type of accommodation).

3.2.2 Families Accommodated by Local Authorities: Emerging Trends

The annual counts submitted by local authorities to the DoEHLG revealed that, in 2007, 8,099 Traveller families were accommodated across the State (see Table 1). Of these, a little less than a quarter (22 per cent) were living in Traveller-specific accommodation (halting sites or groups housing), almost half (45 per cent) were accommodated in non-Traveller-specific housing (i.e. standard social rented, voluntary and co-operative housing, etc), and a third (33 per cent) were in other accommodation types (i.e. private rented, unauthorised sites, etc).

² Rooms included are, for example: kitchens, living rooms, bedrooms, conservatories and studies. This excludes: bathrooms, toilets, utility rooms, halls/landings and storage rooms.

It is important to note that the methods for counting have changed over time, and in addition can over- or under-estimate the true size and profile of the resident Traveller population. This is because Traveller families can frequently move in and out of different accommodation within or between different local authorities, and may even be double counted. Nevertheless several general trends can be extracted.

Table 1

Summary of Accommodation for Traveller Families, 2007

Accommodated with Local Authority Assistance

Group Housing	677
Halting Sites	1,140
Total Traveller-Specific	1,817

Standard Social Rented	3,071
Private with Local Authority Assistance	444
Voluntary Housing with Local Authority Assistance	104
Total Non-Traveller-Specific	3,619

Accommodated without Local Authority Assistance

Unauthorised Sites (Roadside)	594
Own Resources	489
Private Rented	1,143
Shared Housing	437
Total without Local Authority Assistance	2,663

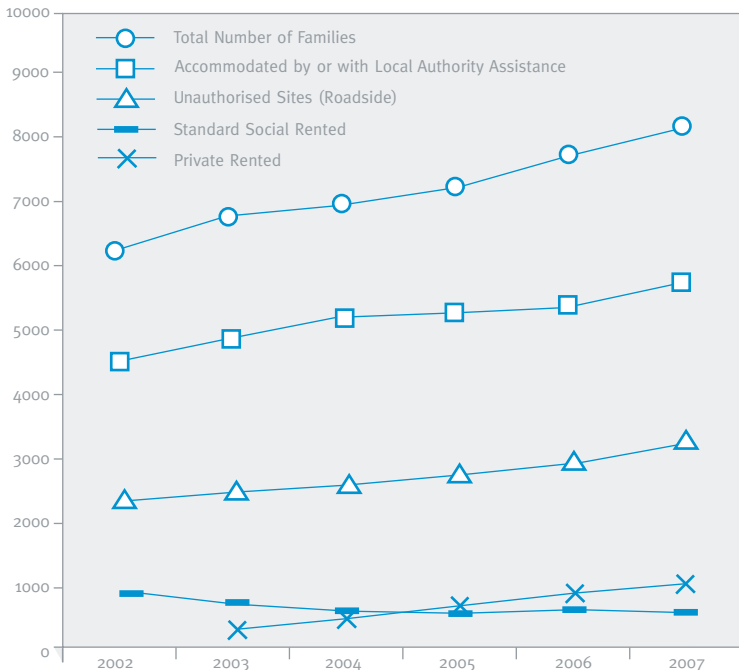
Grand Total	8,099
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Source: The Annual Count of Traveller Families, 2007 (DoEHLG, 2008)

Appendices 1 to 3 give a more detailed profile of Traveller families accommodated in different accommodation types in the period from mid-way through the first Traveller Accommodation Programme in 2002, to 2007. The number of Traveller families is increasing, up from 6,289 households in 2002 to 8,099 in 2006 (an increase of 28.8 per cent; see Figure 3.1). The number accommodated by local authorities or with local authority assistance has risen from 4,522 to 5,436 (an increase of 20.2 per cent).

The number of families accommodated in standard local authority housing also increased (by 22.8 per cent) between 2002 and 2007. The number of families living on the roadside decreased steadily up to 2005. A slight upward trend was evident for 2006, but this decreased again in 2007. Also of interest is the trend towards more Traveller families living in the private rented sector – by 2007 about one in seven (14 per cent) of Traveller families were living in this tenure.

Figure 1 Breakdown of Traveller Family Accommodation, 2002-2007



Source: The Annual Count of Traveller Families (DoEHLG, various years)

3.2.3 Traveller Accommodation Programmes: Emerging Trends

Table 2 examines the accommodation provided under the Traveller Accommodation Programmes in 2005 and 2006. This table reveals considerable variation in the implementation of Traveller Accommodation Programmes in local authority areas. In addition, the progress in meeting Traveller accommodation targets also varied significantly for certain local authority areas between 2005 and 2006. At present there are no implications for local authorities who do not reach the targets set out in the Traveller Accommodation Programmes.

However, it is also important to note that this measurement of performance, taken from the report on the service indicators in local authorities, is based on the assumption that the targets are annualised under the Traveller Accommodation Programmes. In practice, some local authorities do have annual targets, but for others the targets and objectives adopted in relation to Traveller accommodation are generally set out over a four- or five-year period. As such, some authorities may not reach their target in any given year while in another year they may exceed their annual target.

Furthermore, a more detailed examination of the Traveller Accommodation Programmes reveals a number of relevant points that are often not reflected in performance measurement:

- Traveller Accommodation Programmes reflect local circumstances and the achievement of targets is dependent on changing local determinants and a number of other issues, for example the mobility of Traveller families into and out of the local authority area.
- The number of accommodation offers that have been refused are not reflected in the performance measurement of the Traveller Accommodation Programmes.
- The commitment for the provision of transient sites/bays is extremely variable, and while many local authorities agree in principle with the provision of such sites there are considerable differences regarding exactly how and where these should be provided.
- A number of local authorities also cite refurbishment of sites as part of their targets under the Traveller Accommodation Programmes, suggesting that refurbishment of existing sites, particularly in order to house more families and/or provide more satisfactory accommodation for existing families, is an essential tool in the provision of Traveller-specific accommodation.
- A number of local authorities include details for the management and maintenance of Traveller-specific accommodation. Schemes of letting priorities, procedures to respond to anti-social behaviour and to manage refusals, as well as brief details of programmes of day-to-day management are all commonly included in local authority Traveller Accommodation Programmes.

Table 2

Traveller Families Accommodated as a Percentage of the target set in the Local Traveller Accommodation Programme

Local Authority	2005 %	2006 %
County Councils		
Carlow	60.0	160.0
Cavan	58.0	100.0
Clare	73.0	61.3
Cork	53.4	42.2
Donegal	115.4	100.0
Dún Laoghaire-Rathdown	64.0	73.0
Fingal	25.0	78.3
Galway	245.0	59.0
Kerry	58.0	143.0
Kildare	100.0	80.0
Kilkenny	25.0	200.0
Laois	188.9	171.4
Leitrim	100.0	100.0
Limerick	78.0	166.0
Longford	125.0	133.3
Louth	98.0	80.4
Mayo	72.4	88.9
Meath	175.0	99.9
Monaghan	150.0	150.0
North Tipperary	100.0	41.0
Offaly	30.0	106.0
Roscommon	75.0	13.0
Sligo	23.1	33.3
South Dublin	87.8	106.8
South Tipperary	120.0	20.0
Waterford	90.0	100.0
Westmeath	30.0	166.0
Wexford	70.0	122.0
Wicklow	82.9	73.0
City Councils		
Cork	85.7	57.1
Dublin	27.4	93.0
Galway	110.0	73.3
Limerick	100.0	0.0
Waterford	20.0	80.0

Source: Local Government Management Services Board (2006, 2007)

3.3 Conclusion

The assessment of needs and provision of accommodation under the Traveller Accommodation Programmes, as well as the profiles and breakdowns of accommodation by local authority and over time all provide a detailed picture of the current context of these issues. Broad trends are sketched below.

From the Census data of 2002 and 2006 and annual counts from 2002 to 2007 the following trends emerge:

- The number of Travellers living in permanent accommodation, especially standard local authority housing and group housing, is increasing.
- Only approximately a quarter of the Traveller population now live in Traveller-specific accommodation, and the number of families accommodated on halting sites is decreasing.
- In relative terms there is little change in the number of Traveller families living in unauthorised/roadside encampments since the time of the 1963 Commission on Itinerary report.
- The age and age-at-marriage profile indicates that housing needs arising from growing household formation will increase in the future, the apparent decline in population between 2002 and 2006 notwithstanding.
- Management and maintenance demands on housing will continue to be significant because of the sheer size of Traveller families compared with those of the general Irish population.

From the first and second Traveller Accommodation Programmes, a number of additional trends emerge:

- Housing needs continue to be significant.
- The provision of transient sites and/or bays is extremely variable.
- A number of issues affect the provision of accommodation and/or progress on targets including refused offers, mobility of Traveller families, and refurbishment requirements.
- A number of local authorities specifically include details for the management and maintenance of Traveller-specific accommodation.

SECTION FOUR



Policy and Practice Issues

4.1 Introduction

This section describes the national context of Traveller accommodation policy and practice in Ireland. It also details the associated historical, legislative and financial contexts that support these issues. Finally, it examines the apparent difficulties in progressing national policy into practice at local level. As the research report accompanying this policy review has found, these policy implementation problems mean that the local practices and conditions are key determinants of how Traveller accommodation is managed and maintained (Shine et al, 2008).

4.2 Historical Context

Historically, economic trade and related activities were the primary form of interaction between the Settled and Traveller communities (see, for example, Acton, 1994; MacLaughlin, 1995; Ní Shuineár, 1994). Everyday patterns of contact and interaction were rare. Traveller accommodation issues did not feature to any great degree in Settled–Traveller interactions. The situation began to change from about the mid-twentieth century with the decline of traditional crafts and the introduction of new technologies. Most commentators mark the most important shift in patterns of interaction between the Settled and Traveller communities as starting from the 1960s, when a general programme of economic modernisation (with knock-on societal, cultural and geographical effects) was introduced in Ireland (see, for example, Donahue et al, 2003; MacLaughlin, 1995).

For the Settled community, this period of modernisation contributed to a number of trends, including greater urbanisation, reduced emigration, infrastructural and related development, and associated factors. For the Traveller community, this period contributed to the development of new economic activities, increasing urbanisation, for many (although not all) less frequent travelling (i.e. sedentarisation), and the closure and/or development of lands previously used for pulling in (see, for example, MacLaughlin, 1995). As a result, patterns of interaction between the two communities began to be much more frequent and not always predicated on economic transactions.

The historical legacy of these interactions is important in trying to understand current relationships between the two communities. While everyday contact and familiarity between the two communities is still rare, in most cases Settled and Traveller people are in much closer proximity to each other than ever before. Commentators have pointed to the accommodation implications of the increased urbanisation of the Traveller population, particularly in the context of high employment rates in the Traveller community (see, for example, Donahue, 2003).

What emerges from the literature, reinforced by research findings (Shine et al, 2008), is that understanding and perceptions of *both* Settled differences (by Traveller people) *and* Traveller differences (by Settled people) is crucial. Both affect the dynamics of Traveller accommodation issues, particularly as they meet (and often clash) in consultation mechanisms. The historical legacies of Traveller accommodation issues, policies and practices are therefore extremely important in shaping the current context.

4.3 Policy Development

Traveller accommodation policy in Ireland has evolved at least in part on foot of recommendations emerging from reports prepared by independent bodies – the Commission on Itinerancy (1963), the Travelling People Review Body (1983), the Task Force on the Travelling People (1995) and the Review of the Operation of the Housing (Traveller Accommodation) Act 1998 (2004). These are now briefly outlined in turn.

4.3.1 Report of the Commission on Itinerancy, 1963

Traveller accommodation issues, or indeed any services to Travellers, were not explicitly raised as concerns until the 1960s, when in 1963 the *Report of the Commission on Itinerancy* was published. Until that point, Irish Travellers were generally perceived as providing niche economies within the landscape of the young Irish state but, as many commentators point out, the modernisation of the Irish economy and the introduction of new materials increasingly made such economies untenable (Ó Síocháin et al, 1994). By the time of the Commission on Itinerancy, the government (and indeed the wider settled community) had begun to view Traveller traditions (especially nomadism and associated

accommodation issues) as ‘social problems’ that had to be addressed (Fraser, 2002; MacLaughlin, 1996). However, it should also be noted that Travellers’ accommodation and living conditions were particularly poor compared with the wider Irish society. This was especially the situation for those living in wagons at the side of the road with no basic services or amenities. The attempt to move Travellers off the roadside and into houses, as recommended by the Commission’s report, is linked in part to concern over such living conditions.

The terms of reference of the Commission were clear: to resolve the ‘problem arising from the presence in the country of itinerants in considerable numbers’, by assimilating itinerants into the settled society. The first step in this process was providing standard houses for Travellers. Paradoxically, however, the Commission recognised that in instances where Travellers would not accept houses, or where there was an insufficient supply of houses, ‘serviced’ campsites should be provided, with water, sanitation and electricity; together with short-stay, ‘unserviced’ sites for highly mobile families (Commission on Itinerancy, 1963).

In large part because of the recommendations of the 1963 report, Traveller accommodation policy in Ireland in the period 1963–1982 focused heavily on accommodating Travellers in standard local authority housing. This is reflected in the numbers in such housing, from 56 families in 1960 to 957 families in 1980 (DoELG, various years). However, by 1980 an additional 384 families were accommodated in what was intended to be temporary (serviced and unserviced) sites (no such sites existed in 1960). These numbers make clear that, by the early 1980s, what had started as a stop-gap measure had become an established feature of Traveller accommodation options. In addition, in this period there was almost no substantive change in the number of families living on the roadside. A near doubling in the number of Traveller families in this period undoubtedly added to the pressures. However, the lack of change is surprising given the massive output of social housing in the 1970s.

4.3.2 Report of the Travelling People Review Body, 1983

The *Report of the Travelling People Review Body* (1983) represented something of a departure from the 1963 Commission on Itinerancy report. It clearly argued against a policy of assimilation or ‘absorption’ of Irish Travellers into settled society, but rather suggested the ‘integration’ of the two communities. However, even in embracing those differences the report does not endorse the view that Travellers are, for example, a distinct ethnic group. Norris and Winston (2004) argue that the report therefore contains many recommendations that imply Traveller differences are in fact ‘choices’, rather than cultural traditions or the basis for collective rights, and ignores the role of structural inequalities in Traveller accommodation issues.

Thus for example while the report suggests providing serviced halting sites, it also stresses that these should be kept to a minimum level and cater only to those Travellers who are unable or unwilling to live in standard housing. However, the report did also recommend that group housing could and should be built for Travellers to allow extended families (a key feature of the Traveller community) to live together.

Traveller accommodation policy outputs in the period between the 1983 Travelling People Review Body report and the 1995 Task Force report show three trends. First, there is a much greater increase again in the number of families accommodated on halting sites. Second, there is a substantial increase in the numbers being accommodated in group housing schemes. In just nine years (from 1981 to 1990) 233 families were accommodated in these schemes (DoEHLG, various years), compared with the 459 families being accommodated in standard housing in this same period (the Review Body recommended the provision of 1,400 such houses from 1982 to 1987). A third trend is that the numbers of families living on the roadside still do not significantly differ from the start to the end of this period. As with the 1963 report what actually happens in this period in terms of the accommodation of Traveller families appears to run counter to the recommendations of the 1983 report, and indeed to policy directives enacted on foot of these recommendations.

4.3.3 Report of the Task Force on the Travelling Community, 1995

The Task Force on the Travelling Community (the ‘Task Force’), established in 1993, delivered the third and most recent report that informs Irish government Traveller accommodation policy – *Report of the Task Force on the Travelling Community (1995)*. The report makes a range of recommendations around relationships between the Traveller and Settled communities; Traveller culture; discrimination; accommodation; health; education and training; the Traveller economy; and specific Traveller groups, namely women and those with a disability. It also calls for better access to sports, community, cultural and recreational facilities and stresses the need for a co-ordinated approach to service delivery and to the implementation of its recommendations.

The Task Force’s overall approach again differs from the two earlier reports by stating that Travellers do have a distinct identity that should be supported by public policy. However, it stops short of identifying Travellers as a distinct ethnic group, a point that has since been repeatedly used by the Irish government (Department of Foreign Affairs, 2005, 2006). With respect to accommodation, it recommends that both standard housing and Traveller-specific accommodation are to be provided, the latter to include a national network of short-term transient sites. It recommends that a national Traveller Accommodation Agency be established to oversee a national programme for Traveller accommodation (to be implemented by local authorities).

Several policy changes arose on foot of the Task Force report (1995). The government did not establish a national agency but opted to legally oblige local authorities to draw up five-year Traveller Accommodation Programmes. These obligations were enacted through the Housing (Traveller Accommodation) Act 1998. A monitoring committee was also established at this time to oversee the implementation of the Task Force recommendations. As part of these obligations local authorities were charged with providing transient sites in their areas. More than a decade on from the Task Force report, with the second round of Traveller Accommodation Programmes well underway, it has become apparent that an increasing number of Traveller families are now accommodated

in standard housing (see Section 3 above). Progress on other recommendations, such as the provision of transient sites, has been slow (Fahy, 2001; McKeown and McGrath, 1996; National Traveller Accommodation Consultative Committee, 2004).

4.3.4 Review of the Operation of the Housing (Traveller Accommodation) Act 1998

The first progress report of the monitoring committee responsible for overseeing the implementation of the Task Force recommended a review of the operation of the Housing (Traveller Accommodation) Act 1998. In this context a review of the Act was conducted by the National Traveller Accommodation Consultative Committee (NTACC) in 2004. The review involved an examination of a number of issues relating to the Housing (Traveller Accommodation) Act 1998. Firstly, it involved an analysis of the progress under the Traveller Accommodation Programmes. Secondly, it considered the effectiveness of consultation mechanisms relating to the Traveller Accommodation Programmes, including the Local Traveller Accommodation Consultative Committees (LTACCs). Thirdly, it examined the impact of the Act on unauthorised encampments. Finally, it focused on the relevant planning legislation.

The NTACC report made a number of recommendations relating to the above mentioned issues. It recommended that local authorities should be required to set realistic and achievable annual targets for the number of accommodation options to be provided for Travellers in each year of the programme. In addition, it recommended that the next accommodation programmes should cover the four-year period 2005–2008, to coincide with the Social Housing Action Plans. These recommendations were adopted by local authorities in the second round of Traveller Accommodation Programmes.

The review recognised the importance of effective consultation between the local authority and the prospective tenant for successful Traveller-specific accommodation. It noted that LTACCs should be consulted for advice in relation to determining the appropriate mechanisms to be adopted, for example the timescale

of the consultation, providing specific objectives and setting out steps by which the local authority will make a final decision on the accommodation provided. It was suggested that the NTACC should develop a model of consultation that would include an agreed definition of consultation and guidelines for implementation.

In considering the Housing Act's provisions in relation to dealing with unauthorised encampments, it was suggested that local authorities, as far as practicable, should not request Gardaí to use their powers to remove families who are on local authority lands and awaiting accommodation. It was agreed that eviction under the trespass legislation is not a ground for, and should not result in, a family losing its position on the list or being removed from it. In addition, absence from the local authority area resulting from use of the legislation should not affect the family's position on the waiting list. Each local authority should ensure that it keeps contact with families who are on its waiting list but have moved out of its functional area.

The report stated that each local authority should deliver transient halting sites in its area. It recommended that the use of land for a transient halting site to be used in the short term should be exempt from Section 4 of the Planning and Development Act 2000. It stated that planning authorities should ensure that their zoning objectives are co-ordinated with the Traveller programme in their area. It recommended that there should be a greater linkage between the provisions of Part V of the Planning and Development Act 2000 (social and affordable housing) and the Traveller Accommodation Programmes.

A joint submission from three national Traveller organisations reiterated the recommendation of the Task Force report to establish a national Traveller Accommodation Agency. However, the committee did not agree to the establishment of such an agency. It was perceived that such an agency would not be in a position to deal with issues that might arise in relation to Traveller-specific accommodation such as land acquisitions, objections from the local community, court challenges and dealing with refusals of families to accept accommodation provided for them.

4.3.5 National Advisory Bodies

While the Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government takes the lead role and responsibility in the development of policy regarding Traveller accommodation, three national bodies provide guidance on Traveller accommodation issues: the High Level Group on Travellers; the National Traveller Consultative Committee (NTACC); and the National Traveller Monitoring and Advisory Committee (NTMAC).

The High Level Group on Travellers is comprised of senior officials across a range of agencies; it operates under the aegis of the Cabinet Committee on Social Inclusion chaired by the Taoiseach, with the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform acting as secretariat. This Group examines the provision and delivery of services to Travellers in the key areas of accommodation, health, education and employment.³ The Group reported to Government in 2006 and identified the following three priorities:

- coherent inter-agency co-operation
- meaningful consultation with Travellers and their representatives
- incorporation of law enforcement measures into the inter-agency approach

³ The High Level Group has been the subject of some criticism by national Traveller organisations, who cite the lack of Traveller representatives on the Group as a significant impediment to achieving real progress on Traveller accommodation and related areas, as directed and desired by Travellers themselves. In response, a person interviewed for TAS and closely associated with the Group stated that its primary functions are to provide a coordinated strategic focus for examining current policy, practice and service delivery around these issues. Other High Level Groups exist with similar terms of reference, to look at other areas of concern (e.g. social exclusion/multiple disadvantage), and likewise do not include local representatives.

The Group recommended the establishment of inter-agency groups within county and city development boards, to devise and deliver a co-ordinated inter-agency plan for Traveller services in all local authority areas. These plans are currently being drawn up, and it is envisaged that such an inter-agency approach will help to deliver targets not only with respect to the Traveller Accommodation Programmes but also in relation to education, health and employment (DoJELR, 2006). The High Level Group identified the need for better data on Traveller accommodation and recommended the development of a Traveller Data Collection Strategy to 'supply policy makers and service providers with the means of assessing need, future planning, bench-marking, target-setting and quantifying success' (DoJELR, 2006).

The National Traveller Consultative Committee (NTACC), which was reconstituted in March 2007, along with Local Traveller Accommodation Consultative Committees (LTACCs), is intended to facilitate consultation between local authorities, Travellers and other stakeholders; and to advise on all Traveller Accommodation issues and monitor the preparation, adequacy, implementation and co-ordination of local Traveller accommodation programmes. In April 2007, the establishment of a National Traveller Monitoring and Advisory Committee (NTMAC) was announced, with a remit to 'pursue improved outcomes for the Traveller Community' as per the latest national partnership agreement, with a focus on access to mainstream employment and 'to increased communications between the Traveller and Settled communities' (Downes, 2007).

Both of these bodies, together with the High Level Group, will have guiding roles in the policy and practice of Traveller accommodation issues into the future.

4.4 Wider Influences on Policy and Practice

A number of other initiatives impact on Traveller accommodation policy and practice; these are now outlined.

4.4.1 Recent Wider Housing Policy Developments

The DoEHLG recently launched a new statement on Housing Policy for Ireland, *Delivering Homes, Sustaining Communities* (2007). This document emphasises the need to build sustainable communities, as places ‘... where people will want to live and work, now and in the future’, and that meet the diverse needs of future and existing residents, are sensitive to their environment, and contribute to a high quality of life. They are ‘safe and inclusive, well planned, built and run, offer equality of opportunity and good services for all ’ (agreed by the Informal Council of EU Ministers under the Bristol Accord, 2005 and quoted in DoEHLG, 2007:21). As part of this overall aim, *Delivering Homes, Sustaining Communities* sets out a number of general principles including:

- a renewed emphasis on a customer-centred, personal-service delivery approach that takes into account changes in housing needs throughout different phases in people’s lives
- a wider range of supports for households who cannot afford to provide their own housing
- a focus on improving the efficient delivery of appropriate high-quality housing options, in part through increased inter-agency approaches, particularly for those with special housing needs, and in part through attention to planning, land-use and related hindrances to current supply
- a general commitment to the improvement of existing stock as well as social regeneration, to ensure that sustainable communities are created and supported over time

Actions to achieve these general aims include:

- actions and legislative changes to deal with residential density, planning and land-use issues
- actions to promote the mixing of tenures and the integration of communities, including the requirement for new social housing developments to be ‘sustainable-community proofed’
- investment in the renewal and maintenance of social housing estates, to include an audit of existing social housing stock
- actions to address anti-social behaviour and multiple disadvantage, including the establishment of a Sustainable Communities Fund
- actions to improve access to housing advice and support, address housing need and choice, and enhance personal responsibility, to include new proposals for assessment of need and allocation policies
- actions to improve the effectiveness of delivery of housing programmes, including the establishment of a dedicated regeneration unit under the National Building Agency, the development of legislation to place multi-annual Housing Action Plans on a statutory footing, improvements in the operation of the voluntary and co-operative housing sector, and other institutional and implementation reforms.

Travellers’ housing needs and Traveller-specific accommodation are targeted by specific actions in *Delivering Homes, Sustaining Communities*. These include the improvement of management and maintenance procedures and practices on foot of this report; work to improve inter-agency approaches to all service delivery at local level; efforts to improve the delivery of targets under the Traveller Accommodation Programmes, in part through annual performance indicators and in part through the NTACC; and the development of methods for self-supporting approaches to meeting housing needs, by Travellers themselves.

Broader general principles of this policy document, as well as wider proposed actions, will impact on Travellers' lives and on Traveller accommodation issues generally. For example, the Traveller community is one of the many communities who will be targeted by actions to 'sustainable-community proof' new social housing developments. The Traveller community will also be affected by efforts to create, rebuild and regenerate such communities in existing social housing estates (which considerations, by extension, should include Traveller-specific accommodation). To this end it is recommended that such accommodation be targeted as part of the planned audit of the wider social housing stock, and be included in the regular assessments of such stock as set out in the policy document.

Another challenge is to ensure that inter-agency approaches do not lead to more congested governance at local level. Clear links therefore need to be made between existing bodies such as the NTACC and LTACCs, city and county development boards and social inclusion monitoring committees, and any proposed new bodies or approaches, to ensure clear chains of command, decision-making and delivery processes, and transparent roles and responsibilities of relevant actors. A specific caveat needs to be made about the links between the multi-annual Housing Action Plans and the Traveller Accommodation Programmes. To date these have led in some local authority areas to conflicting priorities in the provision of Traveller-specific accommodation. Again, a clear relationship between these plans and the Traveller Accommodation Programmes, including relative priorities and assessment and allocation procedures, must be established to ensure a fair, transparent and consistent process and delivery of targets.

4.4.2 Anti-Racism/Multi-Cultural Measures

Planning for Diversity: The National Action Plan Against Racism 2005–2008 was drawn up on foot of the National World Conference Against Racism in South Africa in 2001, and reaffirmed in *Sustaining Progress*, the national partnership agreement 2003–2005 (and linking to developments with the UN CERD and National Framework for the Protection of Minorities). The plan operates upon an intercultural framework with five objectives (protection, inclusion, provision, recognition and participation) and details a number of expected outcomes and measures to arise from the implementation of the plan. Objective 3.5 (within the general objective of service provision) is to develop targeted initiatives focusing on access to key public services, for Travellers, refugees and migrants. Objective 6 deals entirely with accommodation targets and includes a commitment to ‘ensure greater progress is made in the implementation of the local authority Traveller Accommodation Programmes’. Travellers, along with refugees, migrants, and ethnic minorities are identified as a target population throughout many of the plan’s actions.

4.4.3 National Partnership Agreements

Travellers are increasingly identified as a target group in the national partnership agreements (see Silke, 2005). The last three of these agreements relate specifically to Traveller Accommodation Programmes. The *Programme for Prosperity and Fairness 2000–2002* committed to monitoring and evaluating efforts to meet Traveller Accommodation Programmes. *Sustaining Progress 2003–2005* noted the ‘barriers encountered to date’ with regard to the implementation of the Traveller Accommodation Programmes and committed to ensuring that greater progress is made by identifying and addressing these barriers (Department of the Taoiseach, 2003). The most recent partnership agreement, *Towards 2016*, re-affirms a commitment to the implementation of the local authority Traveller Accommodation Programmes.

4.4.4 Social Inclusion/Anti-Poverty Measures

Closely linked to the national partnership agreements, the Government's National Action Plan for Social Inclusion (NAPinclusion) set as a high level goal the delivery of high-quality housing for those who cannot afford to meet their own housing needs and to underpin the building of sustainable communities. The strategy names Travellers as a group with special housing needs (Office for Social Inclusion, 2007a:61). In relation to Traveller accommodation the NAPinclusion 2007–2016 commits that funding will be made available to local authorities to provide approximately 2,000 units comprised of standard local authority accommodation and additional units of permanent Traveller-specific accommodation constructed under the second Traveller Accommodation Programmes (2005–2008). The first annual NAPinclusion progress report notes that over the 2005–2006 Programmes 1,000 such units were provided (Office for Social Inclusion, 2007b:70).

The National Development Plan (NDP) 2007–2013 commits the resources required for the investment in the National Action Plan for Social Inclusion 2007–2016. The NDP 2007–2013 reiterates the Government's strategic aim and commitment to provide high-quality housing which reflects the needs of a modern, dynamic and multi-cultural society. The Plan also notes a programme of funding to provide approximately 2,000 units of accommodation both in standard local authority housing and in Traveller-specific accommodation under the local authorities' Traveller Accommodation Programmes 2005–2008.

4.4.5 Activities at National and Local Level and Other Service Providers' Contributions

Local authorities, national and local Traveller organisations, and other service providers/ statutory agencies have directly or indirectly contributed to policy and practice outcomes in relation to Traveller accommodation.

For example, South Dublin and Clare County Councils are singled out by the High Level Group as examples of particularly successful pilot inter-agency and/or employment initiatives. Other local authorities have already advanced informal inter-agency approaches, and/or staff within these have attempted to informally involve other agencies by liaising with counter staff in these organisations when working with specific Traveller families, amongst other approaches. A small number of local authorities have conducted detailed needs analyses and/or maintain information on specific accommodation issues for local Traveller families (for details of all of these initiatives see, for example, Bergin, 2004; O'Brien, unpublished; O'Sullivan, 2005; Wexford County Development Board, 2003).

National Traveller organisations such as the Irish Traveller Movement, Pavee Point and Exchange House have made numerous submissions and have published policy review documents and reports examining different aspects affecting the Traveller community (including especially their accommodation needs and concerns) (see, for example, Donahue et al, 2003; Fahy, 2001; National Traveller Women's Forum, 2001; Pavee Point, 2005; Quinn and Ní Ghabhann, 2006). These activities have been supported by a range of community development and related projects under the aegis of local Traveller organisations (a number of which were visited for this study). These organisations have been especially proactive in calling for the recognition of Travellers as a distinct ethnic group; in ensuring that local authorities meet their statutory obligations with respect to Traveller Accommodation Programmes; and in supporting court cases to ensure equality of access to services and goods, as well as appropriate accommodation, for Travellers (see, for example, Curran, 2006; Irish Traveller Movement, 2006; Pavee Point, 2005). Religious organisations such as CORI

and Crosscare have also been proactive in these areas (see, for example, Weafer, 2001).

Finally, a few voluntary and cooperative housing associations are beginning to, or have attempted to, target Travellers as potential service users. Respond! Housing Association proposed a *Traveller Accommodation and Support Policy* (2006) which emphasised, for example: the importance of the recognition of Traveller culture, a holistic and multi-disciplinary approach, political buy-in, good design, and meaningful consultation. The potential role of these organisations is explored in more depth later in this report.

4.5 Legislative Context

Many of the changes in Traveller accommodation policy and practice discussed above have been supported by legislative directives. In addition, legislation not necessarily specific to the Traveller accommodation arena has had an impact, namely the ‘trespass laws’ as embodied in changes to the Criminal Justice (Public Order) Act 1994 in 2002. Wider legislation and conditions, for example dealing with the private rented sector, homelessness, social welfare and anti-social behaviour also have an indirect impact upon Travellers and Traveller accommodation issues. Two relevant issues here are the powers of eviction held by local authorities to deal with anti-social behaviour on sites; and the habitual residency condition for social welfare recipients.

The Task Force Report (Task Force on the Travelling Community, 1995) and resultant challenges have had the greatest impact on direct legislative changes affecting Traveller accommodation, through the implementation of the Housing (Traveller Accommodation) Act in 1998. This act places a statutory obligation on local authorities, in consultation with Travellers/Traveller organisations, to draw up five-year programmes that would meet identified Traveller accommodation needs in their areas and to ensure that the necessary steps are taken to realise these programmes within the allotted timeframe. The first of these

Traveller Accommodation Programmes came into force in 2000, and the second round of programmes was drawn up in 2005 covering the period up to 2008.

The Act established on a statutory footing the NTACC, and the LTACCs as their local counterparts. The Act also contained a requirement to provide a range of accommodation options, including a network of transient sites, which requirement is reiterated by DoEHLG circulars (DoEHLG, various years). The virtually non-existent provision of such sites despite legislative requirements is a significant stumbling block in the progression of Traveller accommodation policy and practice at present.

A second legislative change was introduced by the amendment of the Criminal Justice (Public Order) Act 1994 in 2002 by Section 24 of the Housing (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, which in turn superseded local authorities' powers introduced by Section 32 of the 1998 Act to move on illegal unauthorised encampments. This Act was originally intended to address the problems of large illegal and unauthorised encampments. However, it appears that these 'trespass laws', as they are commonly known, have affected Travellers and their accommodation options. Particularly in the absence of sufficient transient accommodation outputs as per statutory obligations, the Act has effectively curtailed Travellers' freedom to move as guaranteed in a number of different policy documents (Fahy, 2001; Irish Traveller Movement, 2002; Norris and Winston, 2004; Silke, 2005).

Another legislative issue affecting Traveller accommodation generally is that of powers of eviction for local authorities, to deal with anti-social behaviour on sites. There is some confusion over the exact letter of the law here and to this end at least one local authority (Dublin City Council) has produced guidelines outlining the provisions of the Act, the powers of local authorities, and suggestions for appropriate use (Nevin and Keenan 2005). However, some officials interviewed for this study were reluctant to exercise their powers for eviction whether because of anti-social behaviour or to address unauthorised encampments using the 'trespass' laws. It was felt that using such powers could (1) inflict damage upon existing relationships; (2) aggravate existing, or create new, difficulties for managing and maintaining sites, including unauthorised sites; (3) create legal challenges that

would absorb considerable financial and human resources; and (4) aggravate existing, or create new, problems for the family in question, including the potential to make that family effectively homeless.

A number of other recent legislative or related changes have had knock-on effects for Travellers and Traveller accommodation. One such recent change arises from the habitual residency condition (HRC), introduced in 2004 through Section 208A of the Social Welfare (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act 2004, and requiring at least two years continual residency in the country to avail of social welfare payments. Application of the HRC, especially in the context of determinations of 'effective and genuine work', appears to have inadvertently contributed to increasing homelessness, as those deemed not to have such work are subject to the HRC restrictions (Bergin and Lalor, 2006).

4.6 Financial Context

Table 3 gives a break-down of allocation and drawdown of capital funding for Traveller accommodation in 2004 and 2005. In 2005, the DoEHLG allocated €45m in capital grants, (an increase of 13 per cent from the previous year), of which €37 million was drawn down by local authorities. It is noticeable from the Table that there is considerable variation in both allocations and drawdown by local authority.

Table 3

Trends in Allocation and Drawdown of Capital Funding, 2004 – 2005

Local Authority	Allocation 2004	Allocation 2005	% Change	Drawdown 2004	Drawdown 2005	% Change
Cork City Council	2,000,000	250,000	-88%	2,589,787	319,695	-88%
Dublin City Council	3,500,000	5,000,000	43%	5,879,780	3,853,336	-34%
Galway City Council	2,000,000	2,000,000	0%	1,240,528	0	-100%
Limerick City Council	500,000	500,000	0%	5,499	31,000	464%
Waterford City Council	125,000	150,000	20%	79,203	0	-100%
City Councils	8,125,000	7,900,000	-3%	9,794,797	4,204,031	-57%
Drogheda Borough Councils	125,000	150,000	20%	145,514	0	-100%
Clonmel Borough Councils	0	200,000	NA	270,000	52,000	NA
Sligo Borough Councils	0	500,000	NA	18,287	2,315	NA
Borough Councils	125,000	850,000	580%	433,801	54,315	-87%
Carlow City Council	500,000	1,000,000	100%	500,000	1,080,000	116%
Cavan City Council	1,200,000	500,000	-58%	1,098,807	413,628	-62%
Clare City Council	4,500,000	3,650,000	-19%	2,143,700	3,140,773	47%
Cork North	125,000	150,000	20%	3,810	3,810	0%
Cork South	125,000	300,000	140%	0	611,027	NA
Cork West	150,000	200,000	33%	0	147,303	NA
Donegal City Council	125,000	250,000	100%	214,768	5,965	-97%
Dún Laoghaire-r.Down	1,500,000	1,000,000	-33%	2,808,116	625,212	-78%
Fingal City Council	1,500,000	3,000,000	100%	2,054,890	2,923,558	42%
Galway City Council	500,000	1,500,000	200%	1,234,327	1,610,336	30%
Kerry City Council	125,000	150,000	20%	147,379	33,060	-78%
Kildare City Council	250,000	750,000	200%	176,249	507,447	188%
Kilkenny City Council	750,000	1,000,000	33%	43,700	551,600	1162%

Laois City Council	200,000	150,000	-25%	502,197	5,080	-99%
Leitrim City Council	500,000	750,000	50%	137,700	137,342	0%
Limerick City Council	800,000	4,000,000	400%	57,013	3,350,323	5776%
Longford City Council	125,000	150,000	20%	0	0	NA
Louth City Council	125,000	150,000	20%	0	53,002	NA
Mayo City Council	900,000	500,000	-44%	965,697	625,495	-35%
Meath City Council	2,500,000	1,250,000	-50%	1,846,573	1,304,278	-29%
Monaghan City Council	2,000,000	500,000	-75%	1,056	2,750	160%
North Tipperary City Council	125,000	500,000	300%	270,012	33,140	-88%
Offaly City Council	125,000	2,000,000	1500%	307,215	2,454,740	601%
Roscommon City Council	2,000,000	150,000	-93%	1,263,798	359,363	-72%
Sligo City Council	125,000	7,200,000	5660%	21,465	8,553,737	39750%
South Dublin City Council	8,000,000	150,000	-98%	7,288,781	204,560	-97%
South Tipperary City Council	200,000	500,000	150%	233,051	0	-100%
Waterford City Council	125,000	150,000	20%	0	0	NA
Westmeath City Council	700,000	500,000	-29%	500000	162,710	-67%
Wexford City Council	500,000	1,000,000	100%	601644	0	-100%
Wicklow City Council	400,000	1,000,000	150%	565237	1,818,362	222%
County Councils	30,800,000	34,950,000	11%	24,987,185	30,418,571	22%
Birr Town Council	125,000	350,000	180%	0	238,100	NA
Dundalk Town Council	400,000	150,000	-63%	377620	7,620	-98%
Dungarvan Town Council	300,000	150,000	-50%	48307	31,200	-35%
Tipperary Town Council	0	150,000	NA	50000	200,000	300%
Tralee Town Council	0	150,000	NA	0	108,078	NA
Tullamore Town Council	125,000	1,250,000	900%	0	1,672,666	NA
Wicklow Town. Co.	0	0	NA	0	65,419	NA
Town Councils	950,000	2,200,000	132%	475,927	2,323,083	388%
Totals	40,000,000	45,000,000	13%	35,691,710	37,000,000	4%

Source: Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government

Almost all (90 per cent) of the capital funding drawn down in 2005 was used for the provision of halting sites and group housing schemes. The specific intended uses of potential allocated funds, reflected in the application of capital funding (Appendix 4), and the percent distribution of these applications by each local authority (see Table 4 and Figure 1), reveal a number of trends:

- There are no broad trends in the percent totals for any given category (unlike, for example, the percent of total costs for specific management and maintenance categories, where salaries take up a significant portion of costs – see Table 4.3).
- Only two local authorities made applications for caravan grants, while many more applied for emergency funds for caravans. This supports evidence that with respect to the management and maintenance of caravans, reactive rather than proactive practices are the norm.
- At €18.2m (or almost 50 per cent), halting sites represented much of the funding applied nationally, although there are some exceptions.
- There is a growing number of applications for single purchase of dwellings (representing almost 10 per cent of total applications for funds), strengthening evidence that once-off rural housing as an accommodation option for Travellers is increasing.
- Some local authorities made no applications for capital funding in 2004 or 2005.

Table 4 gives a breakdown of spending on different accommodation options by local authority types and shows that almost all of spending on halting sites was undertaken by county councils (90.9 per cent) whilst the city councils were more likely to use funds for caravan purchase (emergency) than other local authority types.

Table 4

Capital Expenditure by Local Authority Type, 2005

	Halting Sites		Group Housing	
	€	%	€	%
City Councils	32,000	2	2,543,836	17.1
Borough Councils	0	–	52,000	0.4
County Councils	16,580,121	90.9	11,571,948	78
Town Councils	1,633,044	9	665,419	4.5
Grand Totals	18,245,165	100	14,833,203	100

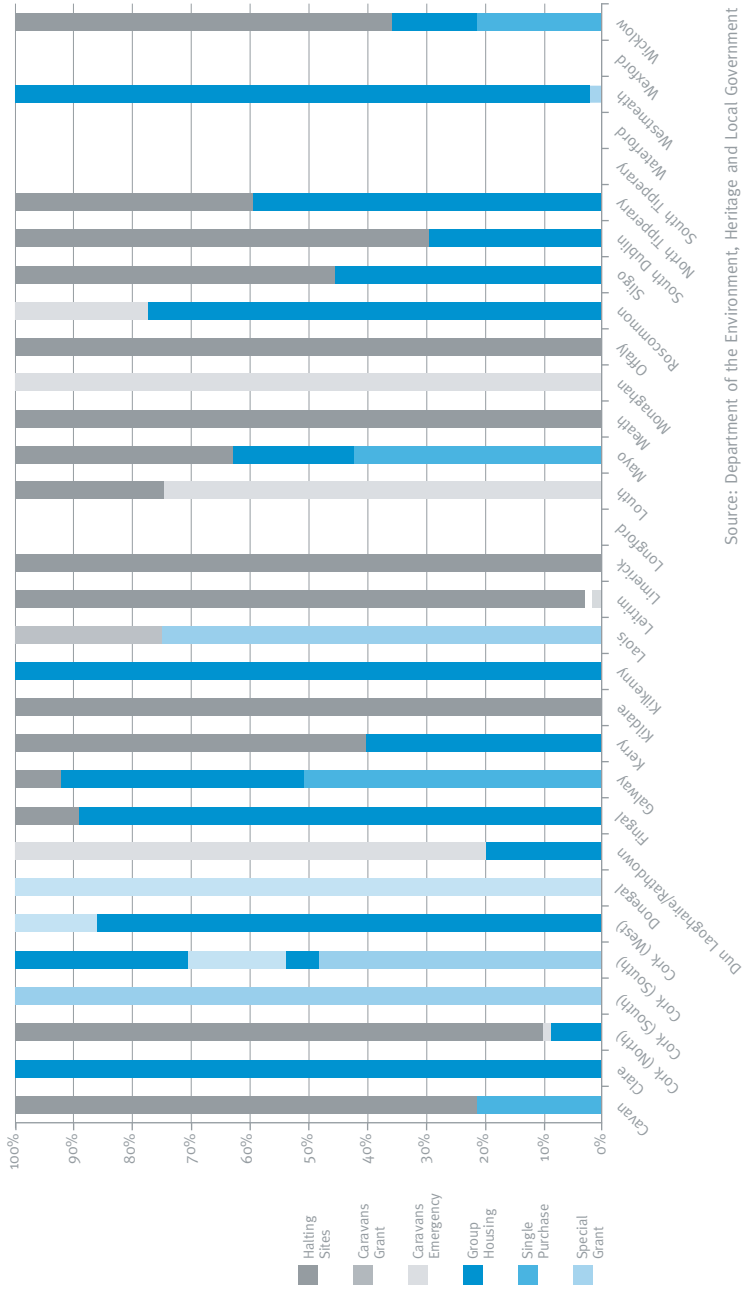
Source: Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government



Single Purchase		Caravans – Emergency		Caravans – Grant		Special Grant	
€	%	€	%	€	%	€	%
1,400,000	41	224,500	51.4	3,695	9.7	0	–
0	–	0	–	2,315	6.1	0	–
2,016,515	59	199,741	45.7	27,987	73.5	22,259	74.5
0	–	12,900	3	4,100	10.8	7,620	25.5
3,416,515	100	437,141	100	38,097	100	29,879	100

Figure 2

Percent Totals of Applications for Capital Funding, 2005, County Councils



Source: Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government

Table 5 gives a break-down of Traveller-specific accommodation management and maintenance costs in 2005. In total, almost €5.5 million was spent on the day-to-day running costs associated with Traveller-specific accommodation in that year, most of which related to salaries (general and social worker), with the remainder spent on repairs and skips. Only one local authority had costs relating to a pilot project.

Table 5

Management and Maintenance Costs by Local Authority Type, 2005

	Salaries €	Social Work Salaries €	Repairs €	Skips €	Pilot Scheme €
City Councils	635,908	542,107	85,676	44,653	–
Borough Councils	23,091	–	2,890	–	–
County Councils	1,496,164	1,853,441	357,244	127,363	27,000
Town Councils	150,444	50,445	42,146	17,943	–
Grand Totals	2,323,607	2,445,992	487,955	189,959	27,000

Source: Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government

Table 6 shows that population changes year-on-year are not necessarily reflected in increases (or decreases) in expenditure. For example, the percentage change in the Traveller population in the Carlow County Council operational area was exceeded, in proportional terms, by the level of increase in both capital and current expenditure. By contrast, in the Dún Laoghaire-Rathdown County Council operational area the level of capital and (certain) current expenditure fell whilst the Traveller population rose. This variability may reflect difficulties with regard to flexibility, planning and/or population projections or it may be due to differing levels of progress in the roll-out of individual Traveller Accommodation Programmes.

Table 7 shows that, on average, almost €6,000 per Traveller household was spent on accommodation in 2004 and 2005 and that there was considerable variation in spending by local authority. This variation in spending was more related to capital costs than current costs. The average spend per household had also dropped slightly between 2004 and 2005. Another important point to bear in mind when considering these figures is that Traveller households tend to be larger than other households, which is likely to have a cost implication. Precise data to demonstrate these per individual costs either for Traveller tenants or indeed for other local authority tenants are not available.

Table 6

Changes in Population and Expenditure Type by Local Authority, 2004–2005

County Councils	Local Authority (+/-)	Change in Capital Expenditure	Change in Management Costs	Change in Social Work Costs
Carlow	22.1%	116.0%	33.9%	33.9%
Cavan	-4.9%	-62.4%	24.3%	NA
Clare	-1.1%	46.5%	-14.0%	35.3%
Cork	9.1%	19903.7%	NA	-100.0%
Donegal	0.6%	-97.2%	56.3%	28.4%
Dún Laoghaire-Rathdown	13.9%	-77.7%	-7.4%	6.1%
Fingal	2.3%	42.3%	-1.7%	39.3%
Galway	2.4%	30.5%	-2.8%	-33.7%
Kerry	1.7%	-4.2%	169.5%	8.8%
Kildare	3.7%	187.9%	3.6%	-14.1%
Kilkenny	6.5%	1162.2%	7.1%	11.2%
Laois	10.8%	-99.0%	42.4%	20.8%
L Leitrim	4.2%	-0.3%	-5.5%	49.7%
Limerick	-4.2%	5776.4%	59.0%	-27.1%
Longford	2.5%	NA	-11.2%	46.7%
Louth	1.0%	-88.4%	5.5%	8.0%
Mayo	-12.1%	-35.2%	NA	-100.0%
Meath	-2.2%	-29.4%	21.4%	115.6%

Monaghan	8.3%	160.4%	NA	231.2%
Offaly	5.4%	1223.3%	37.9%	-85.1%
Roscommon	-4.1%	-71.6%	98.8%	46.2%
Sligo	1.9%	21423.6%	-79.9%	31.5%
South Dublin	3.3%	-97.2%	-100.0%	-18.7%
North Tipperary	4.5%	-87.7%	-26.9%	-20.1%
South Tipperary	7.0%	-54.4%	-73.3%	-98.3%
Waterford	-2.9%	-35.4%	-100.0%	-3.2%
Westmeath	-5.1%	-67.5%	47.0%	NA
Wexford	6.5%	-100.0%	-100.0%	95.5%
Wicklow	18.1%	233.3%	NA	NA
City Councils				
Cork	-4.9%	-87.7%	-3.7%	7.0%
Dublin	10.8%	-34.5%	32.9%	0.2%
Galway	31.1%	-100.0%	-100.0%	-56.6%
Limerick	-2.9%	463.7%	106.3%	291.5%
Waterford	1.8%	-100.0%	-37.1%	4.2%
National	3.9%	3.7%	2.9%	-7.8%

Source: Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government

Table 7

Average Spend per Traveller Household as at November Census, 2004 and 2005

County Councils	Spend per Household 2004			Spend per Household 2005		
	Capital	Revenue	Total	Capital	Revenue	Total
Carlow	5,263.16	786.79	6,049.94	9,310	862.93	10,173.28
Cavan	18,013.23	692.68	18,705.91	7,132	905.54	8,037.05
Clare	11,587.57	1,267.46	12,855.03	17,163	1,254.55	18,417.24
Cork	16.42	232.82	249.25	3,012	53.64	3,066.05
Donegal	1,270.82	595.84	1,866.66	35	824.37	859.45
Dún Laoghaire-Rathdown	27,803.13	1,948.65	29,751.78	5,437	1,634.53	7,071.16
Fingal	6,759.51	852.10	7,611.60	9,401	895.97	10,296.48
Galway	2,952.94	871.89	3,824.82	3,762	609.84	4,372.31
Kerry	503.00	254.02	757.02	474	398.74	872.36
Kildare	1,616.96	1,851.74	3,468.70	4,490	1,732.85	6,223.26
Kilkenny	475.00	1,442.69	1,917.69	5,629	1,479.28	7,107.86
Laois	4,184.98	841.10	5,026.07	38	989.02	1,027.21
Leitrim	2,868.75	2,005.87	4,874.62	2,747	2,412.57	5,159.41
Limerick	126.70	364.57	491.27	7,773	363.13	8,136.50
Longford	–	307.88	307.88	–	342.65	342.65
Louth	1,773.34	598.66	2,372.00	203	633.38	836.81

Mayo	4,162.49	397.41	4,559.90	3,066	681.58	3,747.73
Meath	9,981.48	792.33	10,773.80	7,206	1,263.75	8,469.70
Monaghan	11.00	196.68	207.68	26	2,271.80	2,298.24
Offaly	1,669.65	975.65	2,645.30	20,956	811.18	21,767.40
Roscommon	17,312.30	1,559.34	18,871.65	5,134	2,941.31	8,075.07
Sligo	375.02	867.74	1,242.76	79,223	673.83	79,896.54
South Dublin	15,121.95	981.80	16,103.75	411	168.44	579.21
North Tipperary	1,742.01	893.51	2,635.52	205	653.08	857.65
South Tipperary	4,809.14	1,250.98	6,060.12	2,049	193.59	2,242.37
Waterford	1,380.20	2,195.00	3,575.20	918	1,066.29	1,983.94
Westmeath	2,127.66	238.56	2,366.22	730	369.62	1,099.26
Wexford	1,511.67	576.51	2,088.18	-	667.46	667.46
Wicklow	3,925.26	-	3,925.26	11,081	433.21	11,514.28
City Councils						
Cork	9,699.58	763.29	10,462.87	1,259	793.84	2,052.48
Dublin	11,528.98	1,343.65	12,872.63	6,820	1,440.27	8,260.34
Galway	4,430.46	1,137.16	5,567.62	-	258.80	258.80
Limerick	78.56	797.88	876.43	456	2,105.51	2,561.39
Waterford	463.18	539.37	1,002.55	-	418.40	418.40
National	5,105.38	783.34	5,888.72	5,092	753.44	5,845.65
Change	-	-	-	-0.3%	-3.8%	-0.7%

Source: Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government

4.6.1 Capital Expenditure and Capital Stock Delivered, 2005

Table 4 gave details of the €37 million capital spending on Traveller-specific accommodation in 2005. Of the funds drawn down, more than €36m (97 per cent) of these funds were applied to the construction and refurbishment of housing units, with the remainder used for purchase of caravans.

The principal beneficiaries of the construction-related expenditure were the county councils and these accounted for 91 per cent and 78 per cent, respectively, of all monies applied towards halting sites and group housing schemes. Amongst those in receipt of the highest single payment amounts were South Dublin and Clare County Councils and Dublin City Council. In particular, South Dublin County Council accounted for 33 per cent of all expenditure on group housing nationally whilst Dublin City Council accounted for 41 per cent of all expenditure on single instance housing purchases.

In return for this expenditure, 169 completed housing units were delivered in 2005 – some of which were commenced in 2004 and thereby covered by the funds drawn down in that year, with a further 209 units under construction (Table 8). Of the units completed in 2005, almost 60 per cent of these were group housing. Permanent and emergency halting site provision accounted for approximately 33 per cent of the balance, although there were no transitory units delivered in this year.

Table 8

Capital Stock Delivered, 2005							
	New			Refurbishment			Totals
	Permanent	Transitory	Emergency	Permanent	Transitory	Emergency	
Completed							
Halting Sites	22	0	33	4	0	0	59
Group Housing	44	0	0	54	0	0	98
Single Instance							
Purchases	12	0	0	0	0	0	12
Totals	78	0	33	58	0	0	169
Work-in-Progress							
Halting Sites	31	8	19	36	0	34	128
Group Housing	78	0	0	3	0	0	81
Totals	109	8	19	39	0	34	209

Source: Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government

4.6.2 Relationship between Capital Expenditure and Capital Stock Outputs

Guidance issued to each local authority emphasises the need for cost control in the construction and refurbishment of Traveller accommodation – ‘... the designer should have regard to the implications for both capital costs and costs-in-use (*Guidelines for Group Housing for Travellers*, 2002). This guidance draws attention to the factors that can be particularly significant from the perspective of costs and encourages designers to be wary of those characteristics of a site that can adversely affect development costs.

The DoEHLG has established a Budget Cost Approval mechanism in order to ensure that each capital proposal is processed efficiently and that costs are monitored in a prudent manner. Under the terms of this process, an applicant local authority must follow a number of steps prior to commencement, as follows:

- initial submission with layout scheme, site plans and bill of costs
- approval by DoEHLG, Architectural Inspector and Quantity Surveyor
- submission of any outstanding documentation requested
- submission of tender documentation (including revised costings, where appropriate)
- final approval (e.g. commencement of works)

It should be noted that the DoEHLG only provides funding upon the commencement of works. As such, where a local authority incurs costs at the pre-tendering phase (e.g. for planning, consultation, etc.) and the project does not go ahead, these are not recoupable from the DoEHLG and are borne solely by the local authority.

During the course of fieldwork for this project, a number of local authority officials expressed concern regarding the unit cost of Traveller accommodation and queried if value for money was being obtained. These criticisms centre on the perception that unit costs are higher than for standard social rented units. A number of reasons have been advanced for this difference:

- lower densities
- requirement for on-site maintenance with relevant facilities for staff
- provision of additional facilities for horses, etc
- provision of facilities for economic activity

However, as noted above, most Traveller households are larger than those in the settled community, and as such costs per individual/unit may compare more favourably with other social housing costs. Nevertheless, the authors are aware of many instances where the cost per unit has exceeded €300,000. By comparison, Goodbody Economic Consultants estimated the cost of delivering standard units at €208,000 in Dublin and €145,000 in the rest of the country, respectively. With the paucity of relevant data it is difficult to estimate the number of instances where the above differential has occurred and the extent to which Traveller accommodation is likely to be more expensive. However, in the course of this study the authors noted the cost of delivering a permanent halting site and a group housing scheme in a rural county and an urban county (see Table 9 below). Given that only two developments were examined, the costs are not definitive but do provide an interesting indication of the ongoing cost differential. In each case, a unit of Traveller housing is significantly more expensive (at least 50 per cent) than a unit of standard social housing.

Table 9

Sample Construction Costs in Two Local Authorities		
	County A – Rural	County B – Urban
	Halting Site	Group Housing
Units (N)	6	5
Structures	329,988	510,000
Works	329,579	355,000
Project Costs	69,850	109,000
Sub-Total 1	729,417	974,000
VAT @ 13.5%	97,715	131,490
Sub-Total 2	827,132	1,105,490
Estimated Additional Costs (e.g. ESB, Technical Fees, provision of temporary facilities)	180,060	239,891
Grand Total	1,007,192	1,345,381
Unit Costs	223,820	269,076
Excess over Standard Units	54%	86%

Note: For comparative purposes, the above figures equate a site with 0.75 of a house. Excess is based on figures for social housing outside Dublin City.

4.7 Other Developments Affecting Approaches around Traveller-Related Issues and Services to Travellers

It is important to briefly mention that, as with Traveller accommodation policy generally, there has been a significant shift in policy direction and actions with respect to areas such as Traveller health, education, employment and equality. There are numerous links between, and knock-on effects, of these areas and accommodation issues.

Travellers' poor health indicators, for example, have been directly linked to inadequate accommodation (see, for example, Department of Health and Children, 2001; Treadwell, 1998). A Traveller Health Advisory Committee was established in 1998 on foot of the Task Force Report. Subsequently a Traveller Health Policy Unit within the Department of Health and Children was established, and dedicated Traveller Health Units were also set up in all health board areas. *The Traveller Health: A National Strategy 2002-2005* (Department of Health and Children, 2002) for the first time sets out specific targets with respect to Traveller Health. Currently the Department is in the process of setting up a new Traveller Health Status Study.⁴ This important study is only the second to be undertaken in the history of the state, with the last study conducted in 1986/87 (Barry et al, 1989).

Echoing the National Health Strategy, plans for a National Traveller Education Strategy are well underway and the strategy should be published shortly (DoJELR, 2006). Schemes such as the Visiting Teachers service for Travellers have been greatly expanded and the integration of Traveller children into mainstream education is largely accomplished, with the exception of a few training centres and Traveller-specific pre-school provision (Francis, pers. com. July 2006).

⁴ See http://www.dohc.ie/about_us/divisions/social_inclusion/tender.html, accessed 01 December 2006

Significant advances have been made in the area of equality legislation, with membership of the Travelling Community identified as one of nine grounds specifically protected against harassment and discrimination, in both the Employment Equality Act 1998 and the Equal Status Act 2000. This legislation has had knock-on effects for Traveller accommodation. It has introduced the idea of a rights-based approach to service delivery, and by extension, has led local authorities to consider equality directives in assessing (culturally) appropriate accommodation needs in their Traveller Accommodation Programmes.

Advances in employment and other areas such as community development with respect to Travellers have not yet progressed quite as far as Traveller health and education issues. Nevertheless, there is a growing interest in these areas and an emphasis on addressing these issues, in consultation with Travellers and other stakeholders, in a culturally appropriate manner. To this end, Travellers have for example been included in the Community Development Programme under the National Development Plan (see www.pobail.ie, Community and Local Development Programmes). Efforts are also being made to facilitate Travellers' access to mainstream employment; for example, South Dublin County Council have employed a number of Travellers (DoJELR, 2006).

Finally, a growing awareness of the need for culturally appropriate service delivery and approaches has developed in the context of the increase in the numbers of minority ethnic groups now living in Ireland. This is reflected in the work of the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI). The Gardaí have recently established an Intercultural Office and have begun to examine ways of attracting members of minority ethnic groups – and Travellers – into the force. Moreover, there is a fast-growing body of literature and policy documents on for example racism (such as the National Action Plan Against Racism), which have indirect impacts on approaches to and debates around Traveller accommodation issues (see, for example, DoJELR, 2004; NCCRI and Equality Authority, 2003).

SECTION FIVE



Quality of Life

This section begins by focusing on one of the main cross-cutting issues identified in this review of policy and practice, i.e. that there is an implementation gap between the policy framework and practice in relation to Traveller accommodation. It then outlines a possible alternative basis on which to more forward implementation in this area – that of quality of life.

5.1 Policy and Practice at Local Level: Implementation Deficits

The review of Traveller accommodation policy and practice outlined above has shown variations between international and national policy contexts and also variations between national policy and local practice. These disconnections have been identified as potential underlying reasons for the slow rate of progress in policy implementation, leading to, for instance:

- conflicts between planning and housing legislation (e.g. between Traveller Accommodation Programmes and wider Development Plans); and the resources absorbed by legal challenges, arising at least in part because of unclear legislative procedures and/or powers
- difficulties with county/city managers' emergency powers (e.g. the use of the compulsory purchase order to force the acquisition of land for halting sites)
- a lack of confidence in public sector bodies to adequately manage and maintain Traveller-specific accommodation
- a lack of political commitment
- inconsistencies in local authority staff practice
- reports of institutional racism and discrimination
- negative public opinion regarding Traveller accommodation
- problems with the existing consultation mechanisms, such as the NTACC and LTACCs.

(see Donahue et al, 2003; Fahy, 2001;;Nevin and Keenan (2005): Fay, 1992; McKeown and McGrath, 1996; National Traveller Accommodation Consultative Committee, 2004; Norris and Winston, 2004; Pavee Point, 2005; Silke, 2005 for a more detailed discussion of these points).

In addition, this review has identified the following issues:

- a lack of consistent, transparent and fair procedures and practices (e.g. in terms of assessments of need and allocation policies)
- an imbalance between revenue and income streams, and the disparities in terms of funds allocated, funds drawn down, expenditure and population change, especially between local authorities at county level
- recent changes, such as the HRC and the trespass laws, and what appear to be increasing instances of anti-social behaviour and consequent safety and security concerns for staff
- the tensions between the European perspective on the status of Travellers, as an ethnic minority, and that of the Irish government, which emphasises equal status through legislation
- appropriate service delivery models, and the challenges for balancing special housing needs with a universal, customer-centred model emphasising personal responsibility
- dissatisfaction with the progress of Traveller Accommodation Programmes and especially the provision of transient sites
- the impact of new migrant and ethnic groups on housing demand and supply, contributing to debates about the status of Traveller-specific accommodation and service delivery into the future

5.2 Possible Ways Forward: Quality of Life Concerns and ‘Successful’ Accommodation

How to deal with Traveller difference in accommodation is an area on which consensus has not developed. Many of the difficulties in implementing policy into practice ultimately connect to positive and negative perceptions of such differences and to occasionally contradictory treatments of these differences in policy and legislative documents.

The analysis by Ní Shuinéar (1998) of the three policy statements on the Traveller Community (1963, 1983 and 1995, see Section 3) suggests that the root of these difficulties may lie in the way Irish Travellers and Traveller accommodation were first approached and defined in the *Report of the Commission on Itinerancy 1963*. By seeking to ‘solve’ the ‘problem’ of itinerancy, a particular trajectory for dealing with Traveller accommodation issues was established, namely that these issues – and, to some extent, Traveller differences that impacted on these issues – would always be seen as ‘problems’ to be solved. Alternatively, one could argue that a perspective based on ethnic identity might offer a way of approaching these issues as ‘differences’ to be embraced and celebrated in policy and practice. The possibilities for adopting such a position as the basis of policy are currently extremely limited, given the government position rejecting the ethnic status of Irish Travellers.

However, two facts have emerged from the reviews of the international and national contexts relating to Traveller accommodation. First, these debates are not going to go away. International policy and legislative contexts will have at least some impact on the evolution of national policy contexts and by extension local practices, if only through an awareness of these by other actors and their pressures to adopt, for example, rights-based perspectives based on ethnic identity. Second, and most important, the reality is that progress in Traveller accommodation has been slow, regardless of the reasons for such delays. Given the links between Traveller accommodation, health, education, employment and other issues, many Travellers are still living in unacceptable conditions. This point was made by the Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI) in 1986 (Rottman et al 1986)

and deemed still relevant in 2000 by the Monitoring Committee charged with examining progress on the Task Force Report.

It is in this context that the concept of 'quality of life' may help to move things forward. The interest in quality of life as a policy tool can be traced back to the 1970s with the development of social indicators to measure these issues, as a way of informing public policy debate, practice and delivery. Different models have been, and continue to be, developed. Broadly speaking, 'quality of life' is linked to two key concerns:

- the well-being of the people in question (here, Traveller tenants of local authority and particularly in Traveller-specific accommodation), prioritising what is important and the 'liveability' of their social, economic and associated environments
- the depth and breadth of knowledge that it generates as it links economic, social and environmental dimensions

There are a number of different models for quality of life, including those that focus on 'liveability' and well-being, those that concentrate on a number of key domains, and those that use for example longitudinal data to develop detailed statistical 'pictures' of quality of life in given scenarios. Broadly speaking, these models share an interest in a number of interrelated areas, including: Economic Resources; Employment and Working Conditions; Family and Social Support; Support Services; Housing; Environment/ Energy; Education; Human Rights; Infrastructure; Safety and Security; and Recreation and Leisure (see, for example, Audit Commission UK, 2002; Bowling, 1995; Felce and Perry, 1995; Flynn et al; 2002, Hatter and Gilby, 2002; Hollar, 2003). Many quality of life measurements also engage directly in seeking the views of target populations on pertinent concerns, e.g. levels of crime, access to services and facilities, open/green spaces.

The UK Audit Commission has developed specific quality of life indicators related to housing that measure, for example, the number of unfit dwellings per 1,000 households, incidences of homelessness, and the percentage of households that can afford affordable/first-time buyers' housing in an area (Audit Commission UK, 2002). The first *European Quality of Life Survey: Social dimensions of housing* report (Domanski et al, 2006) explores the following areas:

- ratings of living space, including density, floor space, number of rooms per person, perceptions of lack of space, etc
- ratings of standards of accommodation, including substandard fixtures, lack of facilities such as heating or flush toilets
- comparative ratings of population, household type, income and related categories and adequate housing conditions, across the EU
- ratings of housing ownership and tenure types
- ratings of local environment, including quality of water and air, noise pollution, issues of safety and security, access to services and infrastructure
- ratings of satisfaction with housing, comparing measurable physical standards of housing with perceptions of, and satisfaction with, housing conditions

These ratings of housing conditions demonstrate how 'quality of life' measures can encompass a broad range of 'objective' standards and conditions, and 'subjective' perceptions of these. Comparing these, not only with each other but also across geographical, social, economic and demographic characteristics provides a rich source of information. They help not only to build up a picture of what is currently happening, but also to identify inequalities across different categories and thus help identify areas that can be targeted for improvement.

But how does the concept of quality of life link to Traveller accommodation? Traveller accommodation is inextricably linked to almost all other aspects of Travellers' lives – their traditions, health, education, employment prospects, and any number of other issues. Quality of life by its very nature considers attempts to understand and measure a broad range of interrelated areas and could be a useful way of determining how 'well' Traveller accommodation is working, what is not working, and how things may be improved.

Measuring and understanding quality of life, for example through specific indicators or through asking people's views on what is important for their quality of life, is important for four main reasons.

- First, it helps to identify key areas of public policy practice and delivery that are 'working' (or not working) for target populations.
- Second, it helps to streamline appropriate (and often scarce) resources to achieve the best possible outcomes. Here quality of life indicators and/or other measurements can complement existing measurements (e.g. best value/ cost benefits) to determine the success of both outputs and outcomes of any given policy objective.
- Third, gauging quality of life through a range of linked areas helps to give a more complete picture of what is happening on the ground for target groups and their levels of satisfaction, particularly with regard to their accommodation.
- Fourth, measuring and understanding quality of life also allows an engagement with long-term perspectives and wider issues, such as sustainability, community involvement and so on. Here links can be made between quality of life measurements that 'measure what is happening today', and sustainability measurements that look to measure the '... capacity for what will happen tomorrow' (Flynn et al, 2002).

There is a considerable amount of work yet to be done in implementing considerations of quality of life into practice. This may be due to scepticism about the value of indicators and other measurements for identifying and improving practice and delivery concerns. It may also be due to concerns that shifting the thinking to quality of life could add yet more burdens, particularly with respect to roles and responsibilities around service delivery and reasonable expectations of (in the context of this study) Traveller accommodation options.

However, there are a number of advantages at present in using even informal or ad hoc measures of quality of life in everyday good practice. Such measures can:

- clarify the agenda of what should and should not be done with respect to Traveller accommodation practice and delivery
- clearly establish what Travellers themselves identify as essential to their well-being and their quality of life; and from these, specific targets can be determined
- establish the baseline of what the minimum standards of practice and delivery should be; however, because these standards are based upon achieving comprehensive quality of life targets they will not solely focus on, for example, achieving physical outputs
- identify what objectives need to be undertaken, in light of current resources and constraints, to achieve best possible solutions on the basis of those concerns
- incorporate concerns of quality of life of other stakeholders, and their impacts for potential successful outcomes; for example, the quality of working life of service providers could be considered here as part of the practice and delivery of Traveller accommodation issues

Appendix 1

Additional Tables



Table A1

Total Number of Traveller Families in All Categories of Accommodation, Selected Years

County Councils (including Borough and Town Councils)	Total Accommodation by or with assistance of Local Authority*				On Unauthorised Sites*			
	2002	2004	2006	2007	2002	2004	2006	2007
Carlow	61	65	73	74	16	3	6	3
Cavan	54	56	49	48	2	3	1	1
Clare	93	116	137	142	54	18	15	7
Cork	126	148	158	177	49	37	40	35
Donegal	137	132	136	141	6	3	0	4
Dun/L-Rathdown	97	90	91	87	15	11	5	3
Fingal	249	257	190	209	35	7	66	74
Galway	284	328	364	374	72	41	33	33
Kerry	236	258	227	183	11	7	9	8
Kildare	54	56	75	82	50	28	10	16
Kilkenny	64	67	69	72	16	9	14	23
Laois	66	88	89	98	18	9	8	10
Leitrim	28	39	34	32	0	0	0	0
Limerick	184	207	224	291	101	81	53	31
Longford	173	207	236	237	4	9	10	2
Louth	173	196	221	239	12	13	8	6
Mayo	135	151	152	162	46	43	27	28
Meath	157	173	151	159	1	4	6	6
Monaghan	74	85	83	91	8	2	0	2
North Tipperary	103	114	120	119	29	33	26	30
Offaly	113	137	150	157	43	27	25	23
Roscommon	49	53	55	57	15	5	5	7
Sligo	53	71	71	65	21	22	14	10
South Dublin	370	394	394	417	31	4	19	7
South Tipperary	72	83	86	79	20	17	21	24
Waterford	21	25	20	17	14	8	9	10
Westmeath	76	141	151	155	7	2	0	3
Wexford	145	190	196	213	111	74	71	84
Wicklow	99	113	125	142	29	23	27	26
City Councils								
Cork	208	226	226	233	32	14	12	16
Dublin	393	434	451	441	62	41	70	46
Galway	193	224	258	264	1	0	1	4
Limerick	66	60	66	73	6	1	1	0
Waterford	116	122	123	106	2	2	17	12
Totals	4,522	5,106	5,251	5,436	939	601	629	594

Source: Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government (various years)
The Annual Count of Traveller Families

Own Resources (Estimate)				Private Rented (Estimate)				Sharing Housing				Total number of traveller families in all Categories of Accommodation			
2002	2004	2006	2007	2002	2004	2006	2007	2002	2004	2006	2007	2002	2004	2006	2007
8	10	12	12	4	3	8	15	10	14	20	17	99	95	119	121
0	0	0	0	0	0	9	10	0	2	4	7	56	61	63	66
6	2	3	4	3	29	17	17	12	20	15	15	168	185	187	185
8	10	9	9	16	18	30	39	12	19	36	46	211	232	273	306
0	0	0	0	17	29	41	57	13	5	7	6	173	169	184	208
0	0	0	0	0	0	8	6	19	0	5	12	131	101	109	108
0	0	0	0	3	35	69	69	5	5	4	13	292	304	329	365
10	4	10	10	13	29	51	68	3	16	12	17	382	418	470	502
0	15	16	6	2	5	47	25	4	8	6	25	253	293	305	247
10	15	15	19	1	7	15	16	0	3	2	2	115	109	117	135
5	5	6	6	4	6	11	15	2	5	6	6	91	92	106	122
3	5	2	2	2	13	12	23	0	5	10	1	89	120	121	134
0	0	0	0	0	9	19	22	3	0	2	3	31	48	55	57
100	100	100	100	6	10	12	17	2	52	50	41	393	450	439	480
22	25	27	27	0	17	28	44	11	23	20	10	210	281	321	320
31	31	33	33	12	40	53	59	7	15	17	21	235	295	332	358
7	8	0	1	2	18	56	90	11	12	8	9	201	232	243	290
0	0	0	0	4	5	29	50	16	3	6	6	178	185	192	221
1	1	2	2	4	6	15	26	4	2	9	12	91	96	109	133
0	0	1	1	3	5	9	14	1	3	4	6	136	155	160	170
3	4	4	5	5	14	35	41	3	2	6	1	167	184	220	227
0	0	0	0	0	4	6	11	10	11	4	1	74	73	70	76
0	0	0	0	2	2	18	10	3	11	8	6	79	106	111	91
6	25	25	25	5	55	68	55	11	4	9	8	423	482	515	512
7	7	7	7	1	4	7	7	5	4	13	12	105	115	134	129
1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	36	35	30	30
73	73	73	75	3	14	18	22	1	5	1	1	160	235	243	256
76	86	102	106	3	20	43	54	19	28	41	44	354	398	453	501
2	2	2	3	0	4	15	28	2	2	1	0	132	144	170	199
5	2	2	2	10	14	20	25	11	11	15	15	266	267	275	291
0	0	0	0	0	13	35	36	32	22	23	32	487	510	579	555
0	1	2	2	35	41	105	126	11	14	26	34	240	280	392	430
1	0	0	0	0	6	8	8	4	3	1	0	77	70	76	81
32	32	32	32	2	10	17	37	2	5	0	6	154	171	189	193
417	464	485	489	162	486	935	1,143	249	334	391	437	6,289	6,991	7,691	8,099

Notes: Information on all years between 2002-2007 is available on the Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government website at www.environ.ie

Table A2

Traveller Families in Local Authority and Local Authority Assisted Accommodation (Not Traveller-Specific), Selected Years

County Councils (including Borough and Town Councils)	Standard Local Authority Housing			
	2002	2004	2006	2007
Carlow	34	40	40	43
Cavan	29	27	26	25
Clare	34	31	38	39
Cork	88	107	113	130
Donegal	88	91	108	114
Dun/L.-Rathdown	44	43	43	31
Fingal	53	67	63	64
Galway	203	215	242	242
Kerry	168	180	132	117
Kildare	16	32	37	44
Kilkenny	35	35	38	38
Laois	39	61	67	72
Leitrim	2	3	2	3
Limerick	114	130	158	171
Longford	140	172	207	217
Louth	114	129	146	156
Mayo	105	124	116	112
Meath	60	69	59	67
Monaghan	43	52	52	60
North Tipperary	73	81	88	88
Offaly	74	67	67	72
Roscommon	13	13	15	16
Sligo	22	33	32	22
South Dublin	101	129	158	185
South Tipperary	43	49	52	48
Waterford	9	12	8	9
Westmeath	51	71	75	86
Wexford	94	110	122	133
Wicklow	61	67	78	97
City Councils				
Cork	132	148	133	137
Dublin	82	111	144	177
Galway	127	151	183	182
Limerick	12	7	3	4
Waterford	92	96	96	70
Totals	2,395	2,753	2,941	3,071

Source: Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government (various years)
The Annual Count of Traveller Families



Private Houses assisted by Local Authority				Accommodation provided by Voluntary Bodies with L. A. assistance				Total accommodated by or with assistance of Local Authority and on Unauthorised Sites			
2002	2004	2006	2007	2002	2004	2006	2007	2002	2004	2006	2007
5	6	13	13	3	1	3	2	77	68	79	77
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	56	59	50	49
20	30	28	29	3	3	6	6	147	134	152	149
10	15	11	13	0	1	2	1	175	185	198	212
2	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	143	135	136	145
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	112	101	96	90
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	284	264	256	283
13	29	43	56	6	7	6	5	356	369	397	407
38	50	70	40	0	0	1	1	247	265	236	191
0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	104	84	85	98
11	13	12	13	3	3	4	4	80	76	83	95
9	7	10	11	2	3	2	3	84	97	97	108
0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	28	39	34	32
27	28	30	30	0	0	0	0	285	288	277	322
10	15	16	13	5	4	4	4	177	216	246	239
23	30	34	40	7	8	9	10	185	209	229	245
15	15	16	30	4	4	8	7	181	194	179	190
5	5	0	0	9	9	15	15	158	177	157	165
20	20	18	18	0	0	2	3	82	87	83	93
2	4	4	4	0	0	0	0	132	147	146	149
4	23	23	22	3	5	5	7	156	164	175	180
3	3	4	4	0	0	0	0	64	58	60	64
1	1	0	0	3	3	3	3	74	93	85	75
8	9	9	9	0	0	0	0	401	398	413	424
4	5	5	5	0	0	2	3	92	100	107	103
0	2	1	1	0	0	1	1	35	33	29	27
1	27	28	29	1	0	0	0	83	143	151	158
16	22	22	24	3	7	8	7	256	264	267	297
2	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	128	136	152	168
5	7	20	20	1	0	0	0	240	240	238	249
2	2	1	1	2	5	5	5	455	475	521	487
1	1	10	11	0	2	2	2	194	224	259	268
2	2	2	3	0	0	0	0	72	61	67	73
0	0	0	0	4	5	14	12	118	124	140	118
259	376	433	444	61	74	104	104	5,461	5,707	5,880	6,030

Notes: Information on all years between 2002-2007 is available on the Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government website at www.environ.ie

Table A3

Traveller Families Accommodated in Traveller-Specific Accommodation and Unauthorised Sites, Selected Years

County Councils (including Borough and Town Councils)	Local Authority Group Housing			
	2002	2004	2006	2007
Carlow	12	14	12	11
Cavan	4	11	23	23
Clare	11	30	30	30
Cork	14	14	16	16
Donegal	12	11	12	12
Dun/L.-Rathdown	24	22	21	27
Fingal	23	38	45	45
Galway	38	50	49	51
Kerry	0	0	0	0
Kildare	8	7	7	7
Kilkenny	1	0	5	8
Laois	4	4	4	4
Leitrim	0	2	5	8
Limerick	16	16	16	16
Longford	0	0	0	0
Louth	18	19	20	20
Mayo	5	5	7	7
Meath	34	41	29	29
Monaghan	0	0	0	0
North Tipperary	9	9	9	9
Offaly	0	0	0	4
Roscommon	10	10	9	17
Sligo	0	0	0	0
South Dublin	24	24	43	68
South Tipperary	8	8	11	12
Waterford	0	0	0	0
Westmeath	4	6	6	6
Wexford	14	28	25	34
Wicklow	8	12	12	12
City Councils				
Cork	0	9	9	9
Dublin	154	157	182	154
Galway	29	26	26	26
Limerick	9	9	9	9
Waterford	0	0	0	3
Totals	493	582	642	677

Source: Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government (various years) The Annual Count of Traveller Families

Local Authority
Halting Sites

On Unauthorised Sites

Total accommodated by Local
Authority in Traveller-specific
accommodation and on
unauthorised Sites

Local Authority Halting Sites				On Unauthorised Sites				Total accommodated by Local Authority in Traveller-specific accommodation and on unauthorised Sites			
2002	2004	2006	2007	2002	2004	2006	2007	2002	2004	2006	2007
7	4	5	5	16	3	6	3	35	21	23	19
21	18	0	0	2	3	1	1	27	32	24	24
25	22	35	38	54	18	15	7	90	70	80	75
14	11	16	17	49	37	40	35	77	62	72	68
35	26	16	15	6	3	0	4	53	40	28	31
29	25	27	29	15	11	5	3	68	58	53	59
173	152	81	99	35	7	66	74	231	197	192	218
24	27	24	20	72	41	33	33	134	118	106	104
30	28	24	25	11	7	9	8	41	35	33	33
29	17	31	29	50	28	10	16	87	52	48	52
14	16	10	9	16	9	14	23	31	25	29	40
12	13	6	8	18	9	8	10	34	26	18	22
26	33	27	20	0	0	0	0	26	35	32	28
27	33	20	74	101	81	53	31	144	130	89	121
18	16	9	3	4	9	10	2	22	25	19	5
11	10	12	13	12	13	8	6	41	42	40	39
6	3	5	6	46	43	27	28	57	51	39	41
49	49	48	48	1	4	6	6	84	94	83	83
11	13	11	10	8	2	0	2	19	15	11	12
19	20	19	18	29	33	26	30	57	62	54	57
32	42	55	52	43	27	25	23	75	69	80	79
23	27	27	20	15	5	5	7	48	42	41	44
27	34	36	40	21	22	14	10	48	56	50	50
237	232	184	155	31	4	19	7	292	260	246	230
17	21	16	11	20	17	21	24	45	46	48	47
12	11	10	6	14	8	9	10	26	19	19	16
19	37	42	34	7	2	0	3	30	45	48	43
18	23	19	15	111	74	71	84	143	125	115	133
27	30	31	29	29	23	27	26	64	65	70	67
70	62	64	67	32	14	12	16	102	85	85	92
153	159	119	104	62	41	70	46	369	357	371	304
36	44	37	43	1	0	1	4	66	70	64	73
43	42	52	57	6	1	1	0	58	52	62	66
20	21	13	21	2	2	17	12	22	23	30	36
1,314	1,321	1,131	1,140	939	601	629	594	2746	2504	2402	2411

Table A4

Application of Capital Funding by Local Authority, 2005

Local Authority	Halting Sites	Group Housing	Single Purchase
Cork City Council	32,000	113,800	0
Dublin City Council	0	2,430,036	1,400,000
Galway City Council	0	0	0
Limerick City Council	0	0	0
Waterford City Council	0	0	0
City Councils	32,000	2,543,836	1,400,000
Clonmel Borough Council	0	52,000	0
Drogheda Borough Council	0	0	0
Kilkenny Borough Council	0	0	0
Wexford Borough Council	0	0	0
Sligo Borough Council	0	0	0
Borough Councils	0	52,000	0
Carlow County Council	860,000	0	220,000
Cavan County Council	0	413,628	0
Clare County Council	2,834,328	282,635	0
Cork North	0	0	0
Cork South	176,603	34,946	298,085
Cork West	0	126,577	0
Donegal County Council	0	0	0
Dun Laoghaire-R.Down	501,847	123,365	0
Fingal County Council	303,647	2,616,161	0
Galway County Council	116,982	664,387	825,158
Kerry County Council	19,755	13,305	0
Kildare County Council	507,417	0	0
Kilkenny County Council	0	551,000	0
Laois County Council	0	0	0
Leitrim County Council	133,592	0	0
Limerick County Council	3,324,161	24,150	0
Longford County Council	0	0	0
Louth County Council	13,345	0	0
Mayo County Council	228,965	127,720	265,000
Meath County Council	1,304,278	0	0
Monaghan County Council	0	0	0
North Tipperary County Council	203,950	0	0
Offaly County Council	0	25,735	0



	Caravans – Emergency	Caravans – Grant	Special Grant	Other	Totals	
	170,200	3,695	0	0	319,695	0.9%
	23,300	0	0	0	3,853,336	10.4%
	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
	31,000	0	0	0	31,000	0.1%
	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
	224,500	3,695	0	0	4,204,031	11.4%
	0	0	0	0	52,000	0.1%
	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
	0	2,315	0	0	2,315	0.0%
	0	2,315	0	0	54,315	0.1%
	0	0	0	0	1,080,000	2.9%
	0	0	0	0	413,628	1.1%
	20,000	0	3,810	0	3,140,773	8.5%
	0	0	3,810	0	3,810	0.0%
	101,393	0	0	0	611,027	1.7%
	20,726	0	0	0	147,303	0.4%
	5,965	0	0	0	5,965	0.0%
	0	0	0	0	625,212	1.7%
	0	3,750	0	0	2,923,558	7.9%
	0	0	3,809	0	1,610,336	4.4%
	0	0	0	0	33,060	0.1%
	0	0	0	0	507,417	1.4%
	0	600	0	0	551,600	1.5%
	1,270	3,810	0	5,080	0.0%	
	3,750	0	0	0	137,342	0.4%
	0	2,012	0	0	3,350,323	9.1%
	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
	39,657	0	0	0	53,002	0.1%
	0	600	3,210	0	625,495	1.7%
	0	0	0	0	1,304,278	3.5%
	2,750	0	0	0	2,750	0.0%
	0	610	0	0	204,560	0.6%
	5,500	1,905	0	0	33,140	0.1%

Table A4 *continued*

Local Authority	Halting Sites	Group Housing	Single Purchase
Roscommon County Council	1,171,675	959,055	22,000
Sligo County Council	251,229	106,862	1,272
South Dublin County Council	3,461,132	5,077,375	0
South Tipperary County Council	0	0	0
Waterford County Council	0	0	0
Westmeath County Council	0	158,900	0
Wexford County Council	0	0	0
Wicklow County Council	1,167,215	266,147	385,000
County Councils	16,580,121	11,571,948	2,016,515
Ballinasloe Town Council	0	0	0
Birr Town Council	232,100	0	0
Bray Town Council	0	35,419	0
Cavan Town Council	0	0	0
Dundalk Town Council	0	0	0
Dungarvan Town Council	24,300	0	0
Letterkenny Town Council	0	0	0
Longford Town Council	0	0	0
Navan Town Council	0	0	0
Tipperary Town Council	100,000	100,000	0
Tralee Town Council	108,078	0	0
Tullamore Town Council	1,168,566	500,000	0
Wicklow Town Council	0	30,000	0
Town Councils	1,633,044	665,419	0
Totals	18,245,165	14,833,203	3,416,515
	49.3%	40.1%	9.2%

	Caravans – Emergency	Caravans – Grant	Special Grant	Other	Totals	
	0	2,010	0	0	2,154,740	5.8%
	0	0	0	0	359,363	1.0%
	0	15,230	0	0	8,553,737	23.1%
	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
	0	0	3,810	0	162,710	0.4%
	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
	0	0	0	0	1,818,362	4.9%
	199,741	27,987	22,259	0	30,418,571	82.2%
	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
	6,000	0	0	0	238,100	0.6%
	0	0	0	0	35,419	0.1%
	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
	0	0	7,620	0	7,620	0.0%
	6,900	0	0	0	31,200	0.1%
	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
	0	0	0	0	200,000	0.5%
	0	0	0	0	108,078	0.3%
	0	4,100	0	0	1,672,666	4.5%
	0	0	0	0	30,000	0.1%
	12,900	4,100	7,620	0	2,323,083	6.3%
	437,141	38,097	29,879	0	37,000,000	
	1.2%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	100.0%	

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