

Case study

A Model of Traveller Needs Assessment, United Kingdom

October 2009

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Luxembourg: Publications office of the European Union, 2010

ISBN: 978-92-9192-586-5

doi: 10.2811/ 67925

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Design: FRA - Vienna

Printed in Belgium

Printed on white chlorine-free paper

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Introduction

This case study¹ is part of a series of case studies on specific housing initiatives for Roma and Travellers. It is intended to contribute to a deeper understanding of lessons learned within the context of the larger research project on housing conditions of Roma and Travellers in the EU.²

It focuses on the ‘Cambridge Model’ of Gypsy/Traveller³ accommodation needs assessment developed by the Cambridgeshire County Council and other public authorities in the Cambridge Sub-Region, south-east England, United Kingdom in 2006.⁴ The undertaking of a needs assessment is an essential element in the development of a comprehensive local accommodation plan for Gypsies and Travellers. The good practices emerging from the Cambridge Model will be of interest to many practitioners seeking to improve Roma/Traveller accommodation across Europe, including for example:

- The role Traveller Needs Assessments can play in the development of an overall framework for Traveller/Roma accommodation policy at local level;
- The context in which the needs assessment takes place, including the legacy of multiple discrimination and neglect that has impacted affected Gypsy/Traveller accommodation in England, but also consideration of the positive impact of recent legislation;
- The importance of effective participation and equality of Gypsy/Travellers in decision making at local level, including participation at all levels (from planning to implementation and review) of a Traveller Needs Assessment;
- The importance of offering a range of options in Traveller accommodation, including the choice between Traveller specific accommodation and general housing.

¹ This case study, financed and edited by the FRA, was developed by Ms Ronnie Fay, Mr Martin Collins and Ms Tatjana Peric on behalf of the European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC), Budapest, and Pavee Point Travellers Centre, Dublin.

² Additional information on the housing situation of Roma in the UK gathered within this project can be found in the RAXEN NFP United Kingdom (2009) *Thematic Study on Housing Conditions of Roma and Travellers*, available at: <http://fra.europa.eu>.

³ ‘Gypsies’ generally refers to English Gypsies and ‘Travellers’ generally refers to Irish Travellers in Britain. These are terms of self ascription in England although ‘Travellers’ is increasingly used as a generic term. There are also Roma communities in Britain from Eastern Europe but these communities are not included in local authority needs assessments for Traveller-specific accommodation.

⁴ The ‘Cambridge Sub Region’ is not a formal entity in the structure of decentralised government authorities. Rather it is a collection of local authorities that have grouped together for the purposes of strategic planning and implementation of particular policies. It is comprised of Cambridge City; East Cambridgeshire; Fenland; Forrest Heath (Suffolk); Huntingdonshire; St Edmundsbury (Suffolk) and South Cambridgeshire, with the addition of Peterborough; Kings Lynn and West Norfolk (Norfolk).

The methodology for the case study includes qualitative information from a wide range of sources, including semi-structured interviews undertaken with ten respondents in April/May 2009. Those interviewed included representatives from local government (the lead agencies in the Cambridge Sub-Region Traveller Needs Assessment), Gypsies and Travellers⁵ and civil society representatives.

Using the template and methodology provided, the first stage of the research included a desk review of existing legislation, reports and analysis of data related to the overall accommodation conditions of Gypsies and Travellers in England. This was followed by a review of similar data related to the Cambridge Sub-Region in south-east England, the area which is the focus of this study. New primary data was gathered through a two day study visit to the Cambridge Sub-Region in April 2009, which involved face to face interviews with some of the key stakeholders. Further stakeholders were also identified through this process and subsequently interviewed by telephone.

⁵ The Gypsy/Traveller interviewees included three women and two men.

1. Background information

1.1. Historical and social background

There are no precise figures available on the number of Gypsies and Travellers in England. Despite English Gypsies and Irish and other Travellers being recognised as distinct ethnic groups under British race relations legislation, the ten-year census does not currently include Gypsies and Travellers as separate census categories. This gap is also reflected in most data collected by public bodies. A report undertaken by the *Commission for Racial Equality (CRE)*⁶ in 2006 estimated the maximum population of Gypsies and Travellers in England to be around 350,000, but most academics place the population at around 300,000.⁷ It is estimated that between 90,000 and 120,000 Gypsies and Irish Travellers in England live in caravans.⁸ There are no precise figures on the numbers living in general housing, halting sites or pitches.⁹ In a review of existing research undertaken by the *Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC)*¹⁰ in 2009, it was estimated that between one-half and two-thirds of the Gypsy and Traveller populations of the United Kingdom (including England) live in general housing. The EHRC review also noted that its, '[f]indings indicate that over half of these people report that they either became housed as a result of inadequate site provision and exhaustion caused by a constant cycle of eviction, or that health or educational concerns for family members led to moving into housing.'¹¹

⁶ The Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) was a non-departmental public body in England and Wales (there were separate institutions in Scotland and Northern Ireland) which aimed to tackle racial discrimination and promote racial equality. Its work was merged into the Equality and Human Rights Commission in 2007.

⁷ M. Greenfields (2009) *Gypsies, Travellers and Accommodation*. Race Equality Foundation and the Department for Communities and Local Government, and P. Niner (2004) *Counting Gypsies and Travellers: A Review of the Gypsy Caravan Count System*. London: Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM).

⁸ A. Ivatts (2005) 'The Education of Gypsy/Roma Traveller and Travelling Children' in: Commission for Racial Equality (2005) *Common Ground: Equality, Good Race Relations and Sites for Gypsies and Irish Travellers*, p. 15. London: Commission for Racial Equality.

⁹ Halting or transit sites are permanent sites that are meant for only temporary stays. A 'pitch', in contrast is a site that is also permanent but intended for long-term settlement.

¹⁰ The Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) is a non-departmental public body established in 2007 through the merger of existing equality institutions in England, which included the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), the Disability Rights Commission (DRC) and the Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC). Distinct bodies exist in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland.

¹¹ S. Cemlyn, M. Greenfields, S. Burnett, Z. Matthews and C. Whitwell (2009) *Inequalities Experienced by Gypsy and Traveller Communities: A Review*, p. 21. Manchester: Equality and Human Rights Commission. Available at: <http://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/publicationsandresources/pages/publications.aspx?k=inequalities%20experienced%20by%20Gypsy%20and%20Traveller%20Communities> (19.05.2009).

The first major legislation on Gypsy and Traveller accommodation (which applied to England, Scotland and Wales) was the Caravan Sites Act in 1968 (the 1968 Act).¹² This act placed a statutory responsibility on local authorities to provide accommodation for Gypsies and Travellers.¹³ The 1968 Act was the outcome of a twenty-year campaign by a pro-Gypsy lobby including non-governmental organisations (NGOs), prominent individual campaigners, including proponents of civil rights and a small number of concerned politicians.¹⁴ Despite the long wait for legislation, by the time the act came into effect, campaigners felt that the legislation was enacted hastily and ‘most of the efforts of the pro-Gypsy lobby to get the bill amended at the committee stage were resisted’.¹⁵

It subsequently transpired that the legislation was also double-edged and it gave local authorities significantly increased eviction powers. Another major weakness identified in a subsequent analysis of the 1968 Act was that no time limit was set for local authorities to complete their site provision programmes. By the mid-1970s many academics and campaigners concluded that the act ‘falls a very long way short of the need’.¹⁶

Despite the lack of adequate progress under the 1968 legislation, in 1994 the British Government, under the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act,¹⁷ removed the responsibility on local authorities to provide sites for Gypsies and Travellers. Gypsies and Travellers were instead expected to provide for their own accommodation needs, including buying their own land for pitches and sites and obtaining the requisite planning permission from the relevant local authority. However, it soon became apparent that many Gypsies and Travellers lacked the means to buy their own sites and even when they did, they were often refused planning permission.¹⁸

Gypsies and Travellers were thus caught in the very difficult position of being expected to provide for their own accommodation, if they had the means, but then discovering that they were consistently denied planning permission by

¹² United Kingdom/Caravan Sites Act (1968) (c. 52), available at: <http://www.statutelaw.gov.uk/content.aspx?LegType=All+Legislation&title=Caravan+sites+act&Year=1968&searchEnacted=0&extentMatchOnly=0&confersPower=0&blanketAmendment=0&sortAlpha=0&TYPE=QS&PageNumber=1&NavFrom=0&parentActiveTextDocId=1635402&ActiveTextDocId=1635402&filesize=61899> (10.11.2009).

¹³ For a summary of the key legislation impacting England, see Annex 1 of this case study.

¹⁴ B. Adams, J. Okely, D. Morgan and D. Smith (1975) *Gypsies and Government Policy in England*, Heinemann: London, pp. 5-23.

¹⁵ B. Adams, J. Okely, D. Morgan and D. Smith (1975) *Gypsies and Government Policy in England*, Heinemann: London, pp. 5-23.

¹⁶ B. Adams, J. Okely, D. Morgan and D. Smith (1975) *Gypsies and Government Policy in England*, Heinemann: London, pp. 5-23.

¹⁷ United Kingdom/Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (1994) (c. 33).

¹⁸ Department for Communities and Local Government (2007) *The Road Ahead: Final Report of the Independent Task Group on Site Provision and Enforcement for Gypsies and Travellers*, available at: <http://www.communities.gov.uk/documents/housing/pdf/roadahead.pdf> (01.10.2009).

local authorities. As a consequence, they were frequently classed as being illegally encamped, even where they owned the land. Organisations supportive of Gypsies and Travellers campaigned to highlight the negative impact of the 1994 Act. However it was not until a decade later that sufficient pressure built up for the government to provide a new legislative framework for Gypsy/Traveller accommodation which focused on the role and responsibilities of local authorities and regional planning bodies, but also sought to remove some of the barriers to Gypsies and Travellers providing for their own accommodation needs, including over-riding local planning refusals through appeal to regional assemblies.

Considerable public anxiety had resulted from the problems caused by several years of unauthorised encampments, as exemplified by a high profile encampment in the Cambridgeshire area (Smithy Fen), in 2004. It was in this context that the government took action to change their overall approach and planning framework. The Housing Act 2004 provides the current framework for site provision in England¹⁹ and requires local housing authorities to carry out Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Assessments (GTAAs) alongside reviews of the housing needs of the general population.²⁰ Policy on planning for Gypsies and Travellers was set out in Circular 01/2006 by the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM).²¹ The circular provides a new planning definition of Gypsies and Travellers, sets out how local authorities should go about meeting the accommodation needs of Gypsies and Travellers in their area and gives advice to Gypsies and Travellers who wish to provide their own sites on how they can work with local authorities to find suitable locations.

The process requires input at both the local authority and regional level. Results of GTAAs undertaken by local authorities are passed to the Regional Planning Body (currently the Regional Assembly) and fed into the Regional Spatial Strategy. Taking a strategic view of how needs should be met across the region, the Regional Planning Body then allocates a number of pitches to each local planning authority. Local authorities in their turn should then identify sufficient land through a site allocation Development Plan Document (DPD) to allow those pitches to be provided, whether that provision is made by the authority itself, by Registered Social Landlords²² or by private developers (including Gypsies and Travellers themselves).

¹⁹ Similar legislation was enacted for Wales in 2005.

²⁰ United Kingdom/Housing Act (2004) (c. 34), available at: http://www.opsi.gov.uk/acts/acts2004/ukpga_20040034_en_1 (10.11.2009).

²¹ Department for Communities and Local Government *Circular 01/06 (ODPM): Planning for Gypsy and Traveller Caravan Sites*, available at: <http://www.communities.gov.uk/publications/planningandbuilding/circulargypsytraveller> (10.11.2009). The ODPM became the Department for Communities and Local Government in 2007.

²² Registered Social Landlords (RSLs) are independent housing organisations registered with the former Housing Corporation under the Housing Act 1996.

An Independent Task Group on Site Provision and Enforcement for Gypsies and Travellers (task group) was established by the ODPM in 2006, with one of its main roles being to review progress under the 2004 Act. In its final report, published in 2007, the task group considered that Circular 01/2006 was beginning to have a positive impact on the grant of planning permissions for Gypsy/Traveller specific accommodation. The task group report referred to a review of the impact of the circular²³ that showed that a large number of the planning permissions were granted on appeal: ‘Indeed, early evidence suggests that Circular 01/2006 has had a real impact on the appeal success rate [...] In the six months following the Circular coming into force, there was a significant rise in the number of planning appeals allowed for Gypsy and Traveller sites, from around 35 per cent allowed in the six months prior to implementation, to around 54 per cent allowed thereafter. The message to local authorities must be this: take action to plan for sites in appropriate locations in your areas, or the decision may be taken out of your hands’.²⁴

The positive impact of Circular 01/2006 is also supported by the review of Gypsy and Traveller research carried out by the EHRC.²⁵ However, across the whole of England, some key Traveller organisations report a more mixed picture of local authorities meeting their statutory responsibilities.

On the question of the need for more sites, the task group contended, ‘It is clear that delivering more sites will not be easy. We have heard about the practical difficulties of finding land and resources. But it is clear to us that the key issue is neither of these – the land required to meet the accommodation needs of Gypsies and Travellers against the 240,000 bricks and mortar homes the Government plans to build each year is a drop in the ocean; [...] [the central government department for] Communities and Local Government is currently making available 100 per cent grant funding to local authorities and Registered Social Landlords to meet the costs of new sites. The most significant stumbling block is opposition from members of the settled community; fuelled by negative perceptions of living near to a Gypsy or Traveller site’.²⁶

The most important legal case of recent years was decided by the European Court of Human Rights. Concluding in favour of the applicant in *Connors v. the United Kingdom*,²⁷ the Court found that the lack of security of tenure on official

²³ R. Lishman, and J. Richardson (2007) *Assessing the Impact of Circular 01/06 on the Supply of New Gypsy/Traveller Sites*. Leicester: Leicester Business School.

²⁴ Department for Communities and Local Government (2007) *The Road Ahead: Final Report of the Independent Task Group on Site Provision and Enforcement for Gypsies and Travellers*, available at: <http://www.communities.gov.uk/documents/housing/pdf/roadahead.pdf> (01.10.2009).

²⁵ S. Cemlyn, M. Greenfields, S. Burnett, Z. Matthews and C. Whitwell (2009) *Inequalities Experienced by Gypsy and Traveller Communities: A Review*, p. 21. Manchester: Equality and Human Rights Commission.

²⁶ Department for Communities and Local Government (2007) *The Road Ahead: Final Report of the Independent Task Group on Site Provision and Enforcement for Gypsies and Travellers*, p. 39.

²⁷ Application No. 66746/01, judgment of 27.5.2004.

local authority Gypsy/Traveller sites was a breach of Article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights (the right to respect for private and family life). The Community Law Partnership solicitors' Traveller Advice Team (TAT) concluded in the wake of this landmark judgment, 'It is hoped that this is the end of a long waiting game'.²⁸ The TAT noted that the government had now sought to respond to this judgment by introducing a new clause into a forthcoming Housing and Regeneration Bill to amend the Mobile Homes Act (1983) that would include Gypsies and Travellers on local authority sites within its terms, as they had been excluded from the security of tenure provided to other people living in mobile homes.²⁹

Additionally, the Anti-social Behaviour Act (2003) provides increased eviction powers to police where local authorities are able to provide alternative site pitches or places for Gypsies and Travellers to halt.³⁰

Despite the fact that Gypsies and Travellers are covered by antidiscrimination legislation in Britain and Northern Ireland, a report of the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) of 2009 found 'overwhelming evidence of persistent racism experienced by Gypsies and Travellers from the public, from services and sometimes from politicians. This can involve violent and even fatal physical attacks through to lower level abuse and denigration on a daily basis'.³¹

1.2. Housing situation of Gypsies and Travellers

With regards to the housing situation of Gypsies and Travellers, a report undertaken on this issue by the Race Equality Foundation in 2009 contended that recent policy has failed to improve the housing situation of Gypsies and Travellers.³² The foundation reported that one in four Gypsies or Travellers living in a caravan did not have a legal halting berth. As a result, Gypsies and Travellers in this situation can be considered legally homeless. In addition, a significant percentage of homeless families are living on their own land without planning permission.³³ Gypsies and Travellers in this situation often have access to education and health services, but they remain under threat of eviction. Home seizures and even imprisonment can result from a failure to comply with

²⁸ C. Johnson (2008) 'The End of the Waiting Game', in: *TAT News* (April 2008), p. 2.

²⁹ C. Johnson (2008) 'The End of the Waiting Game', in: *TAT News* (April 2008), p. 2.

³⁰ United Kingdom/Anti-social Behaviour Act (2003) (c. 38).

³¹ S. Cemlyn, M. Greenfields, S. Burnett, Z. Matthews and C. Whitwell (2009) *Inequalities Experienced by Gypsy and Traveller Communities: A Review*, Manchester: Equality and Human Rights Commission, p. 227.

³² The Race Equality Foundation is an independent expert body that commissions research.

³³ M. Greenfields (2009) *Gypsies, Travellers and Accommodation*, London: Race Equality Foundation and the Department for Communities and Local Government, p. 2.

directions to leave specified land.³⁴ It has also been estimated that one third of Gypsies and Travellers have been evicted on at least thirty occasions within the previous five years.³⁵

The shortage of sites was also elaborated on by the EHRC in its 2009 report. The report concludes that a site shortage in the last two decades coinciding with a high family growth rate of approximately 4 per cent per annum has seen those with adequate financial means turning to 'self help' options, including purchasing land for private sites and in some cases taking up residence while retrospectively applying for planning permission. The key problem in respect of Traveller accommodation, according to the task group, is not the legislative framework for Traveller accommodation, but the fact that '[r]eal improvements cannot be made while the provision of authorised sites remains woefully inadequate for the needs of Gypsies and Travellers'. This includes the provision of pitches, halting sites and transit sites.³⁶

The available sites are often inadequate, as the EHRC further contends in its 2009 report. Conditions appear to vary with many publicly provided sites being of poor quality, built on contaminated land, close to motorways, adjoining sewage works or on other poor quality land. Other significant failings include areas such as fire safety, contamination by vermin, chronically decayed sewage and water fittings and poor-quality utility rooms. The report notes that sites owned and operated by local authorities are immune from prosecution. This is the case even where clear hazards exist. Under present arrangements, local authorities have no obligation to repair or even adhere to fire authority guidance on fire safety. This is despite the existence of guidance from the Department for Communities and Local Government (CLG).³⁷

The east of England, which includes the Cambridge Sub-Region, has the largest proportion of Gypsy and Traveller families (around one quarter) in the whole of England. A considerable amount of public and media attention, including anti Traveller/Gypsy 'campaigns' by tabloid newspapers have focussed on large scale encampments in the east of England by Gypsies and Travellers, particularly in Dale Farm in Essex and Smithy Fen in South Cambridgeshire.

³⁴ M. Greenfields (2009) *Gypsies, Travellers and Accommodation*, London: Race Equality Foundation and the Department for Communities and Local Government, p. 2.

³⁵ M. Greenfields (2009) *Gypsies, Travellers and Accommodation*, London: Race Equality Foundation and the Department for Communities and Local Government, p. 2.

³⁶ Department for Communities and Local Government (2007). *The Road Ahead: Final Report of the Independent Task Group on Site Provision and Enforcement for Gypsies and Travellers*.

³⁷ S. Cemlyn, M. Greenfields, S. Burnett, Z. Matthews and C. Whitwell (2009) *Inequalities Experienced by Gypsy and Traveller Communities: A Review*, Manchester: Equality and Human Rights Commission, p. 9.

The task group contended that while cases such as Dale Farm and Smithy Fen may make the headlines, large sites are ‘very much the exception to the rule’.³⁸

With regard to the situation of Travellers in Cambridgeshire, the Cambridgeshire County Council exhibits a positive attitude to the right of Gypsies and Travellers to live and work in the district outlining on its website that Travellers are the largest minority ethnic group in the area with an ancestry that stretches back further than most ‘settled’ residents. The council notes that many Gypsies and Travellers are attracted to the area by the summer fayres, agricultural work and family occasions. To facilitate both the local and visiting populations, Cambridgeshire County Council states that it currently provides:

- Ten Local Authority Traveller sites managed by the Districts which, according to the 2005 count, contained 278 pitches with a capacity for 620 Gypsy and Traveller residents. The estimated population of Gypsies and Travellers in Cambridgeshire is 6,500-7,000 including those in standard housing.³⁹
- Research on Cambridgeshire Travellers including the UK’s largest ever survey assessment of Traveller Needs.
- A Traveller Education Team responsible for improving education outcomes for Gypsy and Traveller children in the area. The priorities of the team include meeting the needs of highly mobile pupils to secure access and attendance at school, transfer to secondary school and maintenance of attendance at secondary school.
- A Traveller Liaison Officer who is responsible for managing unauthorised encampments on County land (such as rights of way, highways and county farms); strategic working within the county (including Corporate Diversity); and partnership working across other authorities and agencies.⁴⁰

1.3. Institutional response to the situation

The main institutional responses that have taken place in recent years relate to the reform of the planning process and their impact on Gypsy and Traveller accommodation in 2006. It included the creation of the task group (noted above)

³⁸ Department for Communities and Local Government (2007) *The Road Ahead: Final Report of the Independent Task Group on Site Provision and Enforcement for Gypsies and Travellers*.

³⁹ See Annex 1 Table 3. R. Home and M. Greenfields (2006) *Cambridge Sub-Region Traveller Needs Assessment 2005-2010*, p. 23. This study was commissioned from Anglia Ruskin University and Buckingham Chilterns University College by Cambridgeshire County Council for a consortium of public authorities. It is available at: http://www.cambridgeshire.gov.uk/NR/rdonlyres/42B16143-1733-44FE-9A32-5484F627BFDA/0/TravellersSurveyFinalReportRevisedEdition18_02_08.pdf (10.11.2009).

⁴⁰ Cambridgeshire Council, available at: <http://www.cambridgeshire.gov.uk/community/travellers/> (15.03.2009).

and the review of policy and research undertaken by the EHRC. The reformed planning process in relation to Gypsy and Traveller accommodation was defined in Circular 01/2006, which is described in section 1.1 of this case study. The task group's final report of 2007 states: 'We have had to conclude that it is not delivering at a pace that will meet the needs of either Gypsies and Travellers or the settled community'.⁴¹

⁴¹ Department for Communities and Local Government (2007) *The Road Ahead: Final Report of the Independent Task Group on Site Provision and Enforcement for Gypsies and Travellers*.

2. Case study

2.1. Project description

The **title of the initiative** is the *Cambridge Sub-Region Traveller Needs Assessment 2005-2010 (CNA or 'Cambridge Model')*.

The **institution leading the implementation** is Cambridgeshire County Council (local government authority) and a consortium of public authorities.

Type of initiative: the CNA provides an assessment of the accommodation needs of Gypsies and Travellers in the Cambridge Sub-Region (CSR) 'residing in or resorting to their district'. Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Assessment (GTAA) is required under the Housing Act (2004) and guidance by the ODPM and Circular 01/2006 (see section 1.1 of this case study). The accommodation needs of a broad range of Travellers are to be taken into account. Evidence produced will then inform both the Regional Spatial Strategies (RSS) and local development frameworks. It is widely recognised as the most comprehensive and innovative GTAA undertaken in England and it has helped to inform other GTAAs carried out in other parts of England. The main quantitative data sources were the findings of an interview survey of 313 Gypsies/Travellers on sites of all types and general housing which was undertaken in 2005, as well as the official six monthly counts of caravans undertaken since 1980 and local school rolls data. Other than the legislative requirement to undertake the GTAA, there is a range of other factors that provide a rationale/background to the Cambridge Model. These include:

- Concern about the insufficient number of Gypsy/Traveller accommodation (sites and pitches in the CSR);
- Public concern about unauthorised encampments by Gypsies and Travellers in CSR;
- The large encampment of Irish Travellers in Smithy Fen, South Cambridgeshire, in 2004, which attracted considerable local and national media attention and local opposition;
- The increase in the number of Gypsies and Travellers in the CSR According to the needs assessment, total caravan numbers have nearly doubled in 25 years (from about 800 to 1,600).⁴²

The **objectives** of the CNA are to provide an accommodation assessment in the CSR applying the approach recommended in the 2006 Guidelines; to assess

⁴² Interview with a local authority representative, Cambridge, 10.04.2009.

future needs in respect of learning, health and other key services;⁴³ to understand the demographic profile of Gypsies and Travellers; and to increase understanding of how services might best be provided, including access to accommodation.

Guidelines developed by the Royal Town Planning Institute based on the CNA provide an overview of the elements and stages needed for a comprehensive Gypsy/Traveller accommodation needs assessment.⁴⁴ These include:

- A clear definition of which groups are included;
- Preparation, including: identifying stakeholders, use of external consultants and use of advisory groups;
- Inclusion of those Gypsies and Travellers living in Traveller specific accommodation and standard housing;
- An assessment process that includes review of existing programmes and strategies, use of and problems with existing data, methodologies to collect new data and information on travel (nomadism);
- Outputs that are focused on developing a Gypsy and Traveller accommodation strategy. In other words, ensuring that the needs assessment is not an end in itself but rather forms the prelude to a plan of action;
- Guidance on monitoring, review and subsequent assessments is also given.⁴⁵

The main activities of the Cambridge Model are: assessing characteristics of the study population, including definitions, estimates of numbers and patterns of work and travel; developing an accommodation assessment, including seasonal fluctuations, council sites, private authorised sites, unauthorised and roadside sites, standard housing, survey findings on accommodation preferences and an assessment of policy implications; and undertaking a review of service needs and attitudes including health and demographics, education, school attendance, access to other services and recommendations.

With regards to **timeframe**, the CNA was published in May 2006 and provides the CSR Traveller Needs Assessment for the period 2005 to 2010. The location is the CSR⁴⁶ which is comprised of Cambridge City; East Cambridgeshire; Fenland; Forrest Heath (Suffolk); Huntingdonshire; St Edmundsbury (Suffolk); and South Cambridgeshire, with the addition of Peterborough, Kings Lynn, and West Norfolk (Norfolk). The **target group** is defined as the Gypsy/Traveller

⁴³ R. Home and M. Greenfields (2006) *Cambridge Sub-Region Traveller Needs Assessment 2005-2010*, p. 8.

⁴⁴ Royal Town Planning Institute (2007) *RTPI Good Practice Note 4: Planning for Gypsies and Travellers. Part B: Accommodation Needs Assessment*, pp. 5-6, available at: http://www.rtpi.org.uk/download/616/GoodPracticeNotes4_B.pdf (10.11.2009).

⁴⁵ Royal Town Planning Institute (2007) *RTPI Good Practice Note 4: Planning for Gypsies and Travellers. Part B: Accommodation Needs Assessment*, p. 2.

⁴⁶ See maps in Annex 2 of this case study.

population of the CSR which is estimated at 6,500-7,000 (including those in standard housing). Six categories were identified in the CNA, which are: English Gypsy/Romany, Irish Traveller, new Traveller, Scottish Traveller-Gypsy, Showman and 'Other'. The two largest categories are English Gypsies and Irish Travellers. Most English Gypsies in the study area are 'indigenous' to the region. A quarter of the Gypsy/Traveller population are Irish Travellers.⁴⁷ The **total budget** for the CNA is around £120,000 (approximately 132,000 EUR).⁴⁸ The CNA was funded by a range of local authorities and public bodies in the CSR region. The period of funding was around 12 months.

2.2. Main elements

There is evidence of **co-operation and partnership** at all levels of the CNA. The needs assessment was led by one local authority (Cambridgeshire County Council) in partnership with a range of seven other local authorities in the Sub-Region, including parts of neighbouring counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. Academics working in the Anglia Ruskin University and Buckingham Chilterns University College were commissioned to undertake the study. Three groups were established to oversee, advise and undertake the needs assessment. These were:

- Core Team Members Group (academics);
- Advisory Group (including focus group facilitator, Gypsy/Traveller representatives, professionals, and others);
- Interviewers (Gypsies and Travellers).

There is strong evidence of **innovation and creativity** in this project. The Cambridge Model of needs assessment has been identified by Traveller organisations, expert bodies and central government as good practice in terms of working in partnership, fulfilling the requirements of equality policy, community capacity-building and delivery of valid findings. Appropriate training in interview methods was provided for the interviewers (all personally recommended by advisory group members and agencies), who had been recruited in line with a policy decision to recruit similar numbers of English Gypsies and Irish Travellers (both to the advisory group and as interviewers) and to maintain a gender balance (given the highly gendered nature of Gypsy and Traveller society). This policy represented an innovative community-development approach to accommodation needs assessment and resulted in a small number of education and employment opportunities for some Roma and Traveller participants. Because of the gaps and weaknesses in existing data, innovative methods were also used in survey design. The challenges identified

⁴⁷ R. Home and M. Greenfields (2006) *Cambridge Sub-Region Traveller Needs Assessment 2005-2010*, p. 12.

⁴⁸ Interview with a representative of New Buckingham University, 08.05.2009.

included: relatively small population numbers, nomadic culture of some Gypsies and Travellers and the unavailability of postcodes (used in most social surveys in England).

The survey methods in the CNA included:

- Snowball sampling methods;
- Research methodologies adapted from a research project on Andalusian Gypsies;
- The use of six monthly local authority counts, which provided a stratified sample;
- Sample segmenting by geographical area, accommodation type and ethnic category.

The Cambridge Project went beyond a simple assessment of accommodation needs and shows a **multifaceted approach** to other service/living needs of Gypsies and Travellers. These include an assessment of health and demographics, school attendance/education, and a short section on access to other services and issues. This section includes reference to attitudes of Gypsies and Travellers towards the police, which were generally negative. There was also abundant evidence of low-grade discrimination including, 'name calling, refusal of entry or services in shops, leisure centres, hair or beauty salons, and launderettes and horn-blowing directed at Travellers by members of the public driving past unauthorised sites at night. Those at Cottenham, South Cambridgeshire felt especially persecuted'.⁴⁹ The CNA also included reference to negative attitudes towards the media, especially by Travellers in South Cambridgeshire.

The CNA actively promotes a **non-discriminatory approach** by aiming to improve the accommodation of Gypsies and Travellers in the CSR, rather than simply aiming to prevent unauthorised encampments, which was the former approach of local authorities in the area.

With regard to **involvement**, an advisory group of nine Gypsies and Travellers was formed and met four times; all of them were engaged in policy initiatives or activism and had relevant socio-political and cultural experience.⁵⁰ A senior official with Cambridgeshire County Council contended that, '[t]he participation of Gypsies and Travellers in the Advisory group was a key reason for the success of the CNA'. He pointed to the M.B.E.⁵¹ that had been recently awarded to Bridie Jones as national recognition of her work, including on the

⁴⁹ R. Home and M. Greenfields (2006) *Cambridge Sub-Region Traveller Needs Assessment 2005-2010*, pp. 50-51.

⁵⁰ R. Home and M. Greenfields (2006) *Cambridge Sub Region Traveller Needs Assessment. 2005-2010*, p. 56.

⁵¹ Medal awarded under the British Honours system, which has increasingly recognised those working to improve their local communities.

CNA. The Travellers who had been involved in carrying out interviews had been awarded certificates in community research from the Chilterns College and had gone on to other research projects and employment.⁵² The representative also pointed to the support of a local radio station as very important to ensuring understanding and goodwill towards the project.

The CNA provided the most comprehensive positive **interaction between Gypsies and Travellers and local authorities** in the CSR that had ever been undertaken. Previously most contact would have been through a Council Traveller Liaison officer whose role often involved mediating to resolve unofficial encampments. The participation of Gypsies and Travellers, including those conducting the survey, helped to ensure trust between the local authorities and the study populations on the purpose and use of the information collected. Gypsy and Traveller representatives involved in the CNA, including those employed in aspects of the project, were consistently favourable towards their participation, but also somewhat frustrated at the pace of implementation, since the assessment was undertaken. This frustration was most evident among Irish Travellers.⁵³

There is a focus in the CNA on **women and children**. Males constitute 46 per cent of the population in the CSR and females constitute 54 per cent. The CNA concluded that life expectancy is increasing among Gypsies and Travellers, albeit slowly. The main focus on children in the CNA is in relation to school attendance. The CNA showed that 50 per cent of English Gypsy and 45 per cent of Irish Traveller children were attending primary school at the time of the interview. Attendance at secondary levels was lower, with only 6 per cent of the children attending. Those in housing tended to have higher school participation rates. Of children in local authority sites, only 15 per cent of those eligible attended secondary school. Of those on private sites, 45 per cent of Irish Traveller children were at school and 5 per cent of English Gypsy children. The CNA put forward a possible explanation for this difference linked to how families were accommodated: 'We tentatively suggest that larger Irish private sites allow a concentration of children at a particular school, enabling both parents and children to feel willing and supported to remain in education. No "roadside" children receive a formal education'.⁵⁴ Only 10.9 per cent of those surveyed were over 65 years of age (12.9 per cent of English Gypsies and only 5 per cent of Irish Travellers).

The main focus on **elderly people, women and people with disabilities** in the CNA is in relation to health and impact on accommodation, for example support for the elderly and concerns about their isolation and transport issues. Seven per cent of respondents had a disabled relative and 11 per cent of all respondents

⁵² Interview with a local authority representative, Cambridge, 10.04.2009.

⁵³ Interviews with Gypsy/Traveller respondents, 22.03.2009.

⁵⁴ R. Home and M. Greenfields (2006) *Cambridge Sub-Region Traveller Needs Assessment 2005-2010*, p. 46.

reported difficulties with physical arrangements or access and lack of disabled access to some sites.⁵⁵

The following **difficulties and limitations** were encountered:

- Gaps and weaknesses in existing data, including the six-month Council count of Gypsies and Travellers and the absence of separate ethnic categories in the ten-year national Census;
- Negative or virulent tabloid media coverage that mocked the cost and purpose of the CNA, while other media coverage, including that provided by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), for example, was largely fair and balanced;
- The limitations of the survey methodologies in reaching nomadic families: ‘The responses are weighted towards more settled respondents, especially on Council sites. The generality of the findings is thus reduced.’⁵⁶

While there has been no **independent assessment or evaluation** undertaken in relation to the CNA, it has been widely acknowledged in many studies as being the benchmark or good practice for similar needs assessments. For example, the review of academic studies undertaken by the Equality and Human Rights Commission highlights CNA as a good example of a GTAA.⁵⁷ NGOs representing Gypsy and Traveller organisations in Britain, such as the Irish Traveller Movement in Britain, also highlight the Cambridge Model as best practice and are critical of some other GTAAs that have not adopted key elements of the Cambridge Model (see section 2.3 for more discussion).

There is strong evidence of **impact on law and policy**:

- The CNA helped to shape and inform the ODPM final Guidelines on Traveller Needs Assessments published in 2006.⁵⁸
- The Royal Town Planning Institute has incorporated key components of the Cambridge Model in the guidance it issues to planners on best practice to developing needs assessments for Gypsies and Travellers. The Cambridge Model is the only GTAA referenced in its Good Practice Guide.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ R. Home and M. Greenfields (2006) *Cambridge Sub-Region Traveller Needs Assessment 2005-2010*, p. 41-46.

⁵⁶ R. Home and M. Greenfields (2006) *Cambridge Sub-Region Traveller Needs Assessment 2005-2010*, p. 57.

⁵⁷ S. Cemlyn, M. Greenfields, S. Burnett, Z. Matthews and C. Whitwell (2009) *Inequalities Experienced by Gypsy and Traveller Communities: A Review*, Manchester: Equality and Human Rights Commission, p. 9.

⁵⁸ S. Cemlyn, M. Greenfields, S. Burnett, Z. Matthews and C. Whitwell (2009) *Inequalities Experienced by Gypsy and Traveller Communities: A Review*, Manchester: Equality and Human Rights Commission, p. 23.

⁵⁹ Royal Town Planning Institute (2007) *RTPI Good Practice Note 4: Planning for Gypsies and Travellers. Part B: Accommodation Needs Assessment*.

There is evidence of **mainstreaming** good practices that have emerged from the CNA, for instance in the Government Guidelines on needs assessments. Furthermore, Dr Margaret Greenfields, co-author of the CNA, has been involved in eight subsequent Traveller Needs Assessments in England.

According to a representative of New Buckingham University the most important feature of the CNA is the **sustainability** of the model: ‘A key dimension of the model is that in medium to long term it should actually save local authorities money, for example through less legal costs and should result in considerable less friction between Gypsies and Travellers and the local settled community’. It was further noted that the Cambridge Model also contributes to ‘[a]n efficient planning process that is front loaded, so that there should be less chances of pitches and sites being refused planning permission because the consultative process has been sufficiently robust.’⁶⁰ The senior official with the Cambridgeshire County Council also noted that the CNA had resulted in efficiencies in legal and planning costs and human resources.⁶¹ The added benefit of the study is the skills and employability it has given Gypsies and Travellers involved in the initiative who have participated in many subsequent needs assessment in other areas and other projects.

In further support to the CNA approach, the Royal Town Planners Institute (RTPI)⁶² *Good Practice Guidance on Gypsy and Traveller Needs Assessment* (drawn in large part from the CNA) states: ‘A sensitively and effectively implemented accommodation needs assessment can be an important mechanism for establishing long term stake-holder relationships, which in turn will save resources and produce enhanced outcomes’.⁶³

In regards to **transferability**, the Cambridge Model, or elements of the model, have now been adapted by many other local authorities, including eight other Traveller Needs Assessment exercises directly undertaken by the expert from New Buckingham University. One possible limitation is that the expertise and commitment given by key individuals involved in a needs assessment such as those involved in the CNA is not always entirely transferable. The role of ‘champions’ to drive the process forward within the local authority is an important reason for the success of the CNA.

The **most important lessons learned** from the CNA are that:

- The ‘front-loaded’ investment in terms of resources and methodology in an initial needs assessment can make a significant impact on improving the

⁶⁰ Interview with a representative of New Buckingham University, 08.04.2009.

⁶¹ Interview with a local authority representative, Cambridge, 10.04.2009.

⁶² The RTPI is the professional body for town and country planners. In 2006 the RTPI published a good practice note detailing a series of recommendations and examples of best practice in consulting with Gypsies and Travellers and planning for site provision.

⁶³ Royal Town Planning Institute (2007) *RTPI Good Practice Note 4: Planning for Gypsies and Travellers. Part B: Accommodation Needs Assessment*, p. 3.

pace and provision of Traveller/Gypsy-specific accommodation in a local area;

- A balance must be struck between collecting information to develop good services ‘and respect for equality and privacy boundaries’;⁶⁴
- Adequate accommodation for Gypsies/Travellers reduces friction with local settled communities and can significantly reduce negative media coverage related to Gypsy/Traveller accommodation;
- While the main focus is on Gypsies and Travellers, the process can also be inclusive of other groups including those who have a tradition of nomadism, such as show people;
- There is a need for better data.⁶⁵ The absence of disaggregated data from the census is a real problem and the six-month counts on Travellers need to be better resourced and more thorough than they are at present.

2.3. Reflections

South Cambridgeshire became the focus of national media attention in Britain in 2003/2004 as a consequence of a large encampment of Irish Travellers established in an area known as Smithy Fen in Cottenham. The land had been bought by Irish Travellers who understood they were following the approach encouraged under the 1994 legislation when Travellers and Gypsies became responsible for their own accommodation needs. The site they bought was long associated with English Gypsies.⁶⁶ As was the case with many who purchased land for this purpose, once they bought the land, the Irish Travellers were then denied planning permission. When the local authority tried to evict the Travellers they appealed under the Human Rights Act, which incorporates the European Convention on Human Rights into national law. They eventually won their case in the European Court of Human Rights. However many Travellers have now left the site because of deteriorating conditions.⁶⁷

The Smith Fen site brought unwelcome media attention to the area. The Travellers felt aggrieved because they contended they were looking after their own accommodation needs, but at the same time being denied their rights. The locals felt aggrieved because they had concerns about the size of the site (over 100 caravans) and concerns (subsequently unfounded) about a massive growth in the size of the site to 5,000 or 6,000. The far right, through the British

⁶⁴ Royal Town Planning Institute (2007) *RTPI Good Practice Note 4: Planning for Gypsies and Travellers. Part B: Accommodation Needs Assessment*, p. 3.

⁶⁵ Interviews with two representatives of the local authorities, Cambridge, 13.04.2009.

⁶⁶ Interviews with Gypsy/Traveller respondents, 23.03.2009.

⁶⁷ Interviews with Gypsy/Traveller respondents, 23.03.2009.

National Party, was also tried to play on peoples' fears and to stir up feelings of racism.⁶⁸

The cause of the friction could be simplistically attributed to Travellers on the one hand or local residents on the other. Rather, existing Gypsy and Traveller accommodation policy in England had failed to address the concerns of both Travellers and local settled residents.

The process of the CNA was innovative, using new and culturally appropriate research techniques. The research was fully informed by a Gypsy and Traveller Advisory Group (elders and community activists) and also involved local people and those drawn from outside the local area. The process further involved the provision of training to interviewers, including Gypsy and Traveller interviewers. Interviewees were drawn from a variety of ages and ethnicities, including English Gypsies and Irish Travellers of both genders, and also those who were literate and those unable to read and write. Support and team building was also a key feature of this process; additionally, the strengths and expertise of the community team were recognised.

The questionnaires were administered to 313 respondents and both quantitative and qualitative data were used with quality control processes built-in. Interviewers received professional training and adequate terms and conditions, and around one third of the total budget of the CNA went to Traveller/Gypsy participants. All received accreditation as experienced 'community interviewers' at the end of the project.

In an interview with another representative of Cambridgeshire County Council for this study it was evident that while significant progress had been made, there was still much to be done: 'More sites are needed. We are trying to get new sites. Out in the Fenlands, the ones we have now are full up and overflowing. It is not that easy to accommodate people.'⁶⁹

The senior official of the Cambridgeshire County Council said that their approach was to support building smaller family-run sites owned by Travellers with an ideal size of five or six pitches and to avoid replicating the larger sites such as Smithy Fen. He also contended that the role of the media has been very unhelpful at times: 'The *Daily Mail* heard about the needs assessment and ran a story to the effect that Travellers were being paid £90k to talk to each other'.⁷⁰

The senior official stated that one of the big advantages of the CNA was that it anticipated many problems and allowed the relevant Councils to plan ahead. He cautioned against needs assessments that take short-cuts. He said that these could potentially lead to flawed outcomes, including underestimating the need

⁶⁸ A. Gillan (2004) 'Fenland villagers battle to evict Irish Travellers', in: *Guardian* (13.04.2004).

⁶⁹ Interview with a representative of the local authority, Cambridge, 13.04.2009.

⁷⁰ Interview with a representative of the local authority, Cambridge, 10.04.2009.

to provide investment for existing pitches that were located in remote areas in order to improve access to shops and key services. In terms of outcomes, the CNA has led to a very significant increase in planning permissions for pitches and will form part of the regional planning process.⁷¹

A representative of the East Cambridgeshire District Council had more mixed views about the worth and outcomes from the CNA. She contended that her district council had already built up a good knowledge of Traveller accommodation needs in the area and were familiar with needs prior to the CNA. However, she acknowledged the CNA has provided a more strategic approach to accommodation in the region and it has been used to set planning targets for the Regional Development Agency. The representative also acknowledged that accommodation was probably a bigger issue for neighbouring District Councils which have a larger Gypsy/Traveller population.⁷²

Two Irish Travellers interviewed for this study had mixed views about the CNA. Both highlighted the importance of the CNA, the links and contacts they made as part of the initiative and the skills gained in relation to interviewing. One is now in full time employment working with Irish Travellers in the Cambridgeshire area. The respondent is critical of aspects of the follow through since the CNA was undertaken. She feels that Irish Travellers, particularly those on the Smithy Fen site, should have had greater benefit from the CNA than is the case. Many Travellers have now left the Smith Fen site and as far as she is aware have not have been offered pitches in the area.⁷³ One of the Travellers interviewed is presently involved in a project on the oral history of Travellers in Britain, using some of the skills she gained from the CNA, indicating that the CNA has contributed to further employment opportunities for those involved. Other Gypsy/Traveller representatives also agreed that participation in the study had led to further employment opportunities.

In relation to broader outcomes, the following should be noted:

- The CNA has been recognised as ‘best practice’ by Gypsies and Travellers;⁷⁴
- It has been recognised as best practice by the Commission for Racial Equality (now superseded by the Equality and Human Rights Commission);
- It has been recognised as best practice by the central government Department for Community and Local Government;
- It contributed significantly to the Royal Town Planners Institute’s *Guidelines on Traveller Needs Assessment*.

⁷¹ Interview with a representative of the local authority, Cambridge, 10.04.2009.

⁷² Interview with a representative of the local authority, Cambridge, 13.04.2009.

⁷³ Interviews with Gypsy/Traveller respondents, 23.03.2009.

⁷⁴ Available at:
<http://www.irishtraveller.org.uk/find-out-about-irish-travellers/resources-for-traveller-sites>
(10.11.2009).

3. Lessons learned

According to the RTPI guidelines on Traveller Needs Assessment, ‘[...] the Cambridgeshire model of assessment and capacity building is proving extremely popular with Gypsy and Traveller communities in areas where it has been adapted. With a lack of regulation from the top however, the findings of the assessments completed to date are regarded as very mixed, in terms of quality and accuracy, in reflecting community needs.’⁷⁵

The Cambridge Model of Traveller Needs Assessment has also contributed in a significant way to the renaissance in applied academic reports and studies on Gypsy and Traveller needs in England. The leadership role played by campaigners and academics over many years such as Lord Avebury, Ms Pat Niner and Dr Margaret Greenfields, the increasing interest of experts and specialised bodies in human rights and town planning and not least the work of national Gypsy and Traveller organisations, such as the Irish Traveller Movement in Britain have made a significant impact. There is also a growing group of ‘champions’ within local authorities, such as a senior official within Cambridgeshire County Council, who have been able to respond effectively to the changes in national policy, in particular the 2004 Housing Act.

This progress should not gloss over the challenges that remain in the Cambridgeshire Sub-Region, in particular, the historic deficit in the number and quality of Traveller-specific accommodation resulting from the inadequate policy of successive governments. It remains to be seen if the 2004 legislation will be able to overcome this deficit.

NGOs working at a national level contend that there is a very mixed picture in relation to Traveller Needs Assessments across England: ‘Some local authorities have been proactive in implementing Circular 01/2006 and have clear needs assessments in place in line with policy. Others are waiting for direction from the Regional Planning Body before they do anything. Others have undertaken needs assessments but have then turned around and questioned the validity of some of the data and findings that have emerged. In particular there are many Gypsies and Travellers who would prefer to live in sites or have their own pitches but are presently living in standard housing because they have waited for too many years and have become frustrated’.⁷⁶

Nevertheless, the evidence from this study indicates that the most effective and sustainable way of resolving tensions between settled and Gypsy/Traveller communities is through consultation and partnership. This would be greatly facilitated by an adequate legal and policy framework at the national and local level.

⁷⁵ Royal Town Planning Institute (2007) *RTPI Good Practice Note 4: Planning for Gypsies and Travellers. Part B: Accommodation Needs Assessment*, p. 3.

⁷⁶ Interview with Irish Traveller Movement in Britain, 15.05.2009.

Annexes

Annex 1 – Statistical data and tables

Table 1 – Summary of main legislative and policy initiatives impacting Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation in England 1968-2008

Date	Act/initiative	Main aims / Focus on law/initiative
1968	Caravan Sites Act	Statutory duty on local authorities to provide accommodation but no timescales, inadequate enforcement and increased eviction powers
1994	Criminal Justice and Public Order Act	Seeks to eliminate all unauthorised encampments, removal of statutory duty in 1968 Act, Gypsies and Travellers expected to find own accommodation
2000	Race Relations (Amendment) Act (2000)	Places statutory duty on local authorities to consider race relations in their functions including homelessness
2003	Anti Social Behaviour Act	Increased eviction powers to police where sites are not provided in local area
2004	Parliamentary Committee Report	Major review of law and policy undertaken by House of Commons Committee
2004	Housing Act (2004)	Current framework for Gypsy/Traveller accommodation brought in because of failure of 1994 Act and increased unauthorised encampments. S.225 sets out the statutory requirement for needs assessment, amending S.8 of the Housing Act (1985)
2006	Circular 01/2006 and <i>ODPM</i> Guidance in needs assessments	Framework approach to planning for Gypsy/Traveller accommodation needs, resulting in increased granting of planning permission through appeals and <i>ODPM</i> guidance on accommodation assessments
2006/7	Independent Task Group on Site Provision and Enforcement	Independent group set up by the Dept. of Communities and Local Government reports on site provision and enforcement, makes series of recommendations
2008	Housing and Regeneration Act	UK legislative response to the 2004 ECHR judgment <i>Connors v UK</i> . The act amends the Mobile Homes Act (1983) to extend security of tenure to Gypsies/Travellers who were previously excluded from the 1983 Act.

Table 2 – Caravan Count, January 2007: Location of Gypsy and Traveller Caravans in England

Caravans on socially rented site	Caravans on authorised private sites	Caravans on unauthorised encampments	Caravans on unauthorised developments (Gypsies' own land)	Total Caravan Count in England, January 2007
1286	2,252	6,564	6,509	16,611
8%	14%	39%	39%	100%

Source: Department for Communities and Local Government (2007) The Road Ahead: Final Report of the Independent Task Group on Site Provision and Enforcement for Gypsies and Travellers.

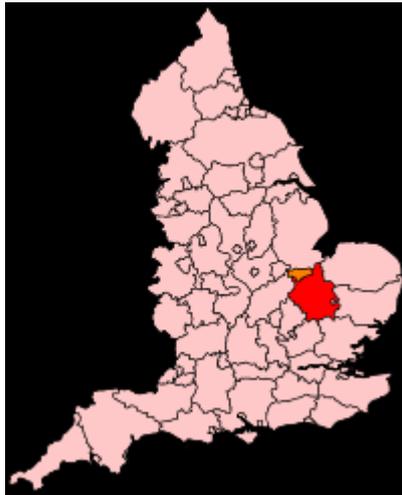
Table 3 – Council Owned Traveller and Gypsy Sites in 2005

District	Site Location	Pitches	Capacity	Date opened (Upgraded)
East Cambs	Earith Bridge	13	38	1987, 1995 (2001)
	Burwell	8	24	1995
	Wentworth	8	24	1987 (2001)
Fenland	Fenland Way, Chatteris	12	24	1987
	Newbridge Lane, Wisbech	24	92	1971
	Sandbank, Wisbech St Mary	20	20	1991
	Turf Fen Bridge, Parson's Drove	8	24	1982 (transit)
	Seadyke Bank, Murrow	12	36	1995
Huntingdonshire	Cambridge, St. Neots	20	36	1983 (1999)
Peterborough	Oxney Road	24	48	1978
	Norwood Lane, (Paston Ridings)	38	76	1985 (20 of 50 transit 1998)
South Cambs	Blackwell, Milton	15	30	1996 (15 transit 1988)
	New Farm, Whaddon	14	28	1986 (1999)
King's Lynn & West Norfolk	Saddlebow	27	50	1991 (1996)
Forest Heath	Beck Row	35	70	1993 (2002)
Total		278	620	

Source: R. Home and M. Greenfields (2006) Cambridge Sub-Region Traveller Needs Assessment 2005-2010, p. 23.

Annex 2 – Maps and photo documentation

Map 1 – Location of Cambridgeshire, England



Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cambridgeshire>

Map 2 – Map of Local Authority Areas involved in the Cambridge Sub-Region Traveller Needs Assessment (South-East England)



Source: Map reproduced by kind permission of Dr Margaret Greenfields.

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European Commission

European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights

Case study

A Model of Traveller Needs Assessment, United Kingdom

Luxembourg: Publications office of the European Union, 2010

2010 - 30 pp, - 21 x 29.7 cm

ISBN: 978-92-9192-586-5

doi: 10.2811/67925

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ISBN 978-92-9192-586-5



9 789291 925865

TK-80-10-319-EN-N



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