

INTRODUCTION

The background to the counts

Gypsies/Travellers have been a small but distinctive element of the Scottish population through hundreds of years. From the 1890s to the mid-1930s a number of government inquiries addressed aspects of their presence, generally within a wider context of other disadvantaged groups. The changing environment of the second half of the 20th century, made the difficulties facing these communities more evident. The Scottish Office commissioned detailed national counts of these communities in Scotland for the first time in 1969 as part of a major study¹, covering not just their numbers and distribution but also their lifestyles, problems and needs. In the light of the study's findings new policies were developed by the Scottish Office, aimed in particular at provision of a network of places where they might legally stay while enabling them to follow their traditional work and seasonal movement patterns but also to improving their access to many of the other forms of service, such as education and health, generally available to the wider Scottish population. Associated with this was the establishment of an Advisory Committee to maintain an overview on progress on all matters affecting Scotland's Travelling People.

During the 1970s and 1980s a number of individual Scottish Councils and other agencies made sporadic localised counts. No further comprehensive count across Scotland was undertaken until the spring of 1992².

In 1997, with a view to establishing a more effective long-term Scottish information base the Advisory Committee piloted a new system of twice-yearly counts. In the summer of 1998 these counts were introduced by the Scottish Executive on a regular basis involving a return from each Council providing information on number of households and other aspects of use for official council sites, privately-owned sites and unauthorised

encampments at the end of January and July respectively. The reports on these counts summarise the data from the returns and set these in the wider all-Scotland context. This summary, the eleventh in the current series³, covers the January 2007 counts from the following perspectives:

- ★ The development of site provision over time, including both additions to and losses from the overall provision of pitches on council sites;
- ★ The nature and use of council sites and the people living on them;
- ★ Privately-owned sites used by Gypsies/Travellers;
- ★ The continuing use of unauthorised encampments; and, finally
- ★ An overview of the current situation in Scotland as a whole, with estimates of the total population of Gypsies/Travellers in January 2007

Each category of stopping place generates different levels of data detail and robustness and the consequent constraints are addressed in their respective sections within the report.

It must be emphasised that, since they were first introduced, the counts have never been intended to include those Gypsies/Travellers who have chosen to live in conventional housing, because of the problems of identifying them within the wider Scottish population. Nevertheless it is acknowledged that, since some within this category may adopt a travelling lifestyle for short periods during the year, they may therefore appear within the numbers recorded in on unauthorised encampments or possibly on privately-owned sites, most probably during the summer season.

1 Gentleman, H & Swift, S, *Scotland's Travelling People – Problems and Solutions*, HMSO, Edinburgh, 1971.

2 Gentleman, H, *Counting Travellers in Scotland – The 1992 Picture*, The Scottish Office, 1993.

3 This summary together with those for January and July counts from 2002 onwards can be found on the Scottish Executive Social Research Website (www.scotland.gov.uk/socialresearch), together with a comprehensive report on the first three years of the counts (RCS, *The Twice-yearly Count of Travellers in Scotland: The First Three Years*, Scottish Executive Central Research Unit, 2001). All of these are also available in printed form from the Scottish Executive Social Research Unit. Summaries for the counts from July 1998 to January 2001 were prepared by the Scottish Executive Social Research Unit.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

- ★ Over the last two years (both summer and winter) there has been an increased number of Gypsies/ Travellers recorded as staying on private sites and using unauthorised encampments. Numbers on official Council sites have remained broadly stable since 1999.
- ★ In January 2007 the number of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland was estimated at 551 households: 295 on Council sites, 159 on privately-owned sites and 97 using unauthorised locations. Comparable figures for January 2006 were 299 on Council sites, 107 on private sites and 119 on unauthorised encampments.
- ★ With a mean size of 3.0 persons on Council sites, the total population is estimated at 1653 people: 885 on Council sites, 477 on privately-owned sites and 291 using unauthorised locations.
- ★ Older people continue to account for a much smaller proportion of the total than in the Scottish population as a whole.
- ★ Although 37 Council sites were developed for Gypsies/Travellers between 1978 and 2002, five complete sites have subsequently been permanently closed, reducing the total to 29 all-year and three seasonal.
- ★ The loss over the years of five complete sites, together with a small number of individual pitches means that the overall pitch total has been reduced from 580 to 510. Of these only 473 are open throughout the year.
- ★ Of Council sites open in January, 66% of possible pitches were tenanted. Six out of ten of these had their tenants in residence on the count date. The others were temporarily away from the site.
- ★ Just under a quarter of Council sites had all their pitches let, but two were completely empty.
- ★ One in three tenants on Council sites had been based there for more than five years.
- ★ Only 14% of the lettable pitches on the Council sites had changed hands over the preceding six months.
- ★ Twelve Councils identified privately-owned sites sometimes available for Gypsies/ Travellers.
- ★ Eight of the privately-owned sites were operated specifically for Gypsies/Travellers, the others being holiday or touring sites occasionally accepting them at particular times of the year.
- ★ Of the 159 households recorded on privately-owned sites, nearly all (141) had been staying there for four weeks or more.
- ★ Twenty-six Councils indicated that unauthorised encampment by Gypsies/Travellers occurs within their areas, either regularly or occasionally.
- ★ At the time of the count, of 124 specified locations of unauthorised encampments, 20 were occupied by a total of 97 households.

The chronology of site development across Scotland

The 1971 study of Travelling People identified the principal problem as the availability of adequate places where they could stay legally, with access to services. Between 1971 and 1998 a Scottish Office grant scheme assisted Councils to provide properly serviced sites for Gypsies/Travellers.

Table 1 summarises, chronologically, the way in which a total of 37 sites developed under the first funding programme. Although funding was available from 1971, the first site was not achieved until 1978 and the network of sites subsequently grew slowly, often with uncertain progress and setbacks. While most sites had been provided by 1997, the last two were not opened until 2002.

Twenty-six Councils have provided sites (East and Midlothian Councils jointly operate a single site). Of the other six Councils, no requirement for site provision has been identified within any of the three Islands Councils and three mainland Councils (*East Ayrshire, East Renfrewshire and Inverclyde*) have never provided sites. Following site closures (see below) Moray and Renfrewshire no longer have any site provision.

Most sites are open throughout the year, but three Councils have developed sites to meet specific summer need and open only from April to September. Highland has a small seasonal site at Newtonmore, a main Gypsy/Traveller route between Edinburgh and the Inverness/Fort William areas. Another through route is that between Scotland and north-eastern England through the Scottish Borders and there is a small site, associated with a conventional tourist site near Peebles. In Aberdeenshire a 20-pitch seasonal site has been provided Banff which Gypsies/Travellers use as a base throughout the summer months, generally while working in that part of north-east Scotland

The original grant scheme also enabled some of the earlier sites to be upgraded to meet changing standards and needs, particularly in the light of site development guidelines developed by the Advisory Committee. In June 2005 the Scottish Executive announced new funding for sites over three years to 2005 March 2008. Grants have already been awarded for upgrading and improving facilities at 22 sites⁴. Fourteen of these had not previously been upgraded and although the other eight had some improvements under the original scheme, all dated from before 1990 and nearly all the earlier work had been undertaken some ten to fifteen years ago. By their nature, these

⁴ Argyll & Bute was offered funding for all its three sites but has decided to concentrate on the Lochgilphead and N. Ledaig sites and not to take up funding for the Dunoon site.

sites also lead a hard life not just in terms of general wear and tear but also, over the years, there have been many reports of damage and vandalism, particularly to the amenity units. Much of this has resulted from inter-family disputes or visiting groups of Gypsies/Travellers from other areas.

Column A in Table 1 shows that, on the basis of their intended (i.e. funded) size, the 37 sites which were developed provided a total of 580 pitches (including the 37 seasonal pitches);

Column B highlights three instances (Aberdeen City, North Lanarkshire (*Motherwell*) and Angus) in which upgrading projects also involved the provision of additional pitches, thus increasing the total number of available pitches to 599;

Column C shows that despite the growth in the number of sites over the years, there have also been significant losses. Over the past ten years, the following five complete sites have been permanently closed;

- ★ In North Lanarkshire two out of three sites (*Motherwell [26 pitches] and Coatbridge [16]*) have been closed following local problems, leaving that Council - initially with the highest pitch levels of all Scottish Councils - with only a single 16-pitch site at Airdrie, itself empty in January 2007.
- ★ The Paisley site in Renfrewshire [16], closed following major vandalism in 1998.
- ★ The site at Elgin [20] in Moray had a history of vandalism over a number of years. Although there were some repairs, it continued to function. However, it is now permanently closed as the land is required for Elgin flood alleviation works.
- ★ The most recent loss is that of the small North Ayrshire site on the island of Arran. Throughout its time it has never been fully occupied and for the last ten counts of its life occupancy ranged between none and three pitches. It has been officially closed over the past year.

Apart from the loss of these complete sites, on other sites that have been occasional losses of individual pitches, mostly to provide some community facilities in response to changes in local circumstances (*two in Stirling; one in Highland [Inverness]*)

Table 1 – Chronology of Gypsy/Traveller site provision in Scotland since 1971

(Sites now permanently closed are shown in italics)

Date opened	Site	Date upgraded	Date closed	Initial capacity A (*1)	Pitches added B (*2)	Pitches lost C (*3)	Current net pitches D (*4)
SITES INTENDED FOR ALL-YEAR USE							
1978	Argyll & Bute (Lochgilphead)	1992	-	14	-	-	14
1980	Angus	2002	-	15	3	-	18
1981	W. Dunbartonshire	1992	-	20	-	-	20
1982	Aberdeen City	2003	-	20	10	-	30
<i>1982</i>	<i>N. Ayrshire (Arran)</i>	<i>1993</i>	<i>2007</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>1982</i>	<i>N. Lanarkshire (Motherwell)</i>	<i>1996</i>	<i>1996</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>-</i>
1982	Perth & Kinross	1993	-	20	-	-	20
1983	Edinburgh	1994	-	20	-	-	20
1984	Argyll & Bute (Dunoon)	1996	-	10	-	-	10
1984	Clackmannanshire	1997	-	16	-	-	16
1985	Falkirk	2002	-	15	-	-	15
1985	Highland (Inverness)	2002	-	20	-	1	19
1987	S. Lanarkshire (Larkhall)	-	-	22	-	-	22
1988	Fife (Cupar)	-	-	20	-	-	20
1989	Highland (Spean Bridge)	2002	-	15	-	-	15
1989	N. Ayrshire (Irvine)	-	-	16	-	-	16
<i>1989</i>	<i>N. Lanarkshire (Coatbridge)</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>2003</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>1989</i>	<i>Renfrewshire</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>1998</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>-</i>
1989	S. Ayrshire	1999	-	8	-	-	8
1990	S. Lanarkshire (E. Kilbride)	-	-	6	-	-	6
1990	Glasgow	1990	-	10	-	-	10
1991	Argyll & Bute (Lorn)	-	-	8	-	-	8
<i>1991</i>	<i>Moray</i>	<i>2002</i>	<i>2004</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>-</i>
1991	W. Lothian	-	-	23	-	-	23
1992	Dundee	-	-	20	-	-	20
1993	Dumfr. & G/way (Dumfries)	-	-	18	-	-	18
1993	Highland (Kentallen)	2002	-	12	-	-	12
1994	East & Midlothian **	-	-	20	-	-	20
1995	Dumfr. & G/way (Glenluce)	-	-	14	-	-	14
1995	Fife (Kirkcaldy)	-	-	18	-	-	18
1996	Stirling	-	-	20	-	2	18
1997	N. Lanarkshire (Airdrie)	-	-	16	-	-	16
2002	E. Dunbartonshire	-	-	15	-	-	15
2002	Fife (Kelty)	-	-	12	-	-	12
n = 34	Totals : all-year sites	n = 16	n = 4	543	+ 19	- 89	= 473
SITES INTENDED FOR SEASONAL USE ONLY <i>(closed at time of January counts)</i>							
1982	Scottish Borders	1994	-	10	-	-	10
1989	Aberdeenshire	-	-	20	-	-	20
1994	Highland (Newtonmore)	-	-	7	-	-	7
n = 3	Totals : seasonal sites	n = 1		37	+ 0	- 0	= 37
n = 37	TOTALS : ALL SITES	n = 17	n = 4	580	+ 19	- 89	= 510
* Note 1	Column A = Initial capacity of site as originally designed and funded.						
* Note 2	Column B = Additional pitches provided (generally at time of site upgrade).						
* Note 3	Column C = Pitches lost from lettable potential (see text for reasons for individual sites).						
* Note 4	Column D = Net number of pitches provided and theoretically lettable in January 2007 (A + B - C = D).						
**	A joint return is made for East Lothian and Midlothian Councils.						
Excluded from the table: Mainland Councils with no site provision:				E. Ayrshire; E. Renfrewshire; Inverclyde.			
Councils with no identified demand:				Comhairle nan Eilean Siar; Orkney; Shetland.			

Column D of the table shows the net effect of these changes. Despite the addition of 19 pitches to give a total of 599, the loss of five complete sites with a total of 85 pitches and the loss of four individual pitches has now reduced pitch provision for Gypsies/Travellers in Scotland to 510, of which only 473 are available through the winter months.

Who lives on the sites ?

Within the returns as a whole, it is the Council sites which provide the richest and most robust data, drawn from site management records and enhanced by site managers' extensive experience of local situations and events. Data includes numbers and size of households. While no information is given on individual households, the number of people on the site and duration of stay on the site are available at a level of

detail not possible on private sites or unauthorised encampments. Patterns of movement on and off sites over the six months since the previous count can also be assessed. As well as data on household totals it is possible to assess their structure in terms of numbers of people within different age bands (*NB - no individual household or person is identified within the count*). From this, mean household size and population profiles can be built up for each site.

In January 2007, just over half (56%) of all recorded Gypsy/ Traveller households lived on one or other of the 27 official Council sites tenanted at the time (this excludes the empty Glasgow and N. Lanarkshire sites and the summer-only sites). This represents a total of 295 households or 885 people with a mean household size of 3.0.

These figures are almost identical to the previous year's pattern. While mean household size across the Council site population has hovered between 3 and 3.3 over number of years, it varies markedly between individual sites, ranging in 2007 from a single individual on one site up to a mean of 4.5 people on another.

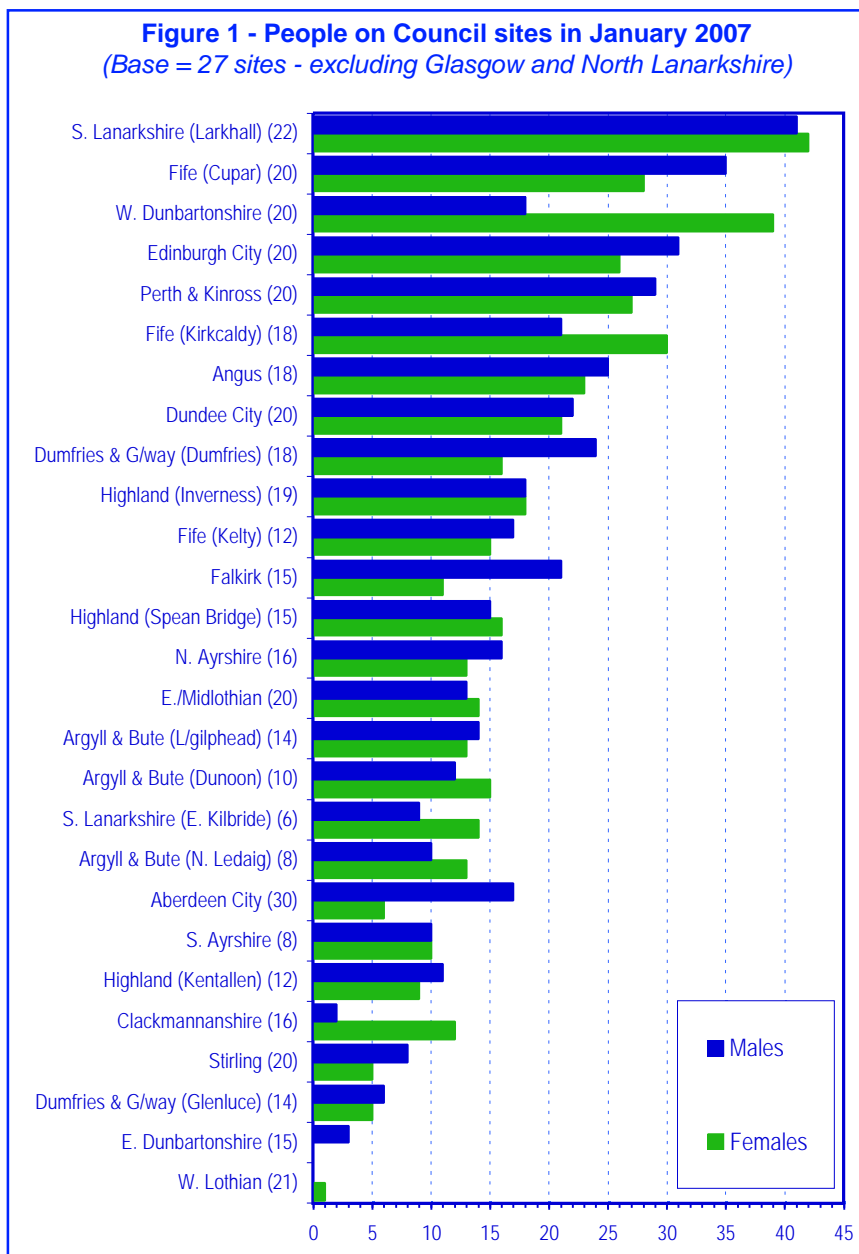


Figure 1 shows the numbers of people on each of the 27 sites.

Within the total population, the age-structure is almost identical to that in the previous winter and remains broadly as in previous counts. Once again there is little difference in pattern between males and females:

- ★ 113 children (13%) of pre-school age;
- ★ 140 children (25%) of school-age (*aged 5-16*);
- ★ 496 adults (58%) (*aged 16-64/59*);
- ★ The smallest group, 55 (6%) are older people (*aged 65/60+*).

These returns continue to emphasise the differences in population structure between Gypsy/Traveller communities and the general Scottish population. These are most marked in the much higher share in the former of pre-school and school-age children and the very small proportion of older people (*aged 64/60+*), though the proportion in the 'adult' or working age population is only marginally lower.

How are sites used ?

The original funding scheme envisaged that sites of around 15 pitches would provide the most effective balance between need and the costs of development. In practice, site size varies depending on the scale of local need identified in each area at the outset and while many are around the original notional size, some have only a handful of pitches (*East Kilbride in South Lanarkshire (6); S.Ayrshire and N. Ledaig in Argyll & Bute (each 8)*), whereas the largest (*Aberdeen City*) has 30.

Sites are based on individual pitches, each normally able to accommodate a large residential trailer caravan together with space for a lorry or other vehicle. Each pitch has its own amenity unit with bath/shower and toilet facilities together with space for domestic appliances and household storage. Pitches also allow for trailers to be connected to both mains electricity and water.

Sites usually include a manager's office and, in a few cases, residential provision for the manager on or adjacent to the site. Over recent years there has been increasing provision of some kind of community facility on a few sites, sometimes taking over one or two pitches for this purpose where demand for residential pitches has allowed.

Sites are managed through a variety of Council departments, generally housing, social, community or environmental services. Depending on the availability of vacant pitches, any Gypsies/Travellers coming to an area may apply for a tenancy on a site, provided they are not already tenants elsewhere.

Although each pitch is intended for one household, in practice occasional variations occur as a pragmatic and generally short term response to local circumstances; a very large household may have to spread across two adjacent pitches, though constituting a single tenancy; alternatively, two closely related households may have joint tenancy on a single pitch or visitors staying with tenants may lead to more than one household being recorded on a single pitch at the time of a count. Occasionally more than one caravan may be allowed on a pitch, for example if a large household needs separate sleeping accommodation for some of its members or where it is needed for travel off-site for short periods, while part of the household remains on the site.

A total of 28 sites, providing 473 pitches were officially open for use in January 2007. The proportion of these pitches falling into each of four categories at the time of the count gives a measure of how effectively the sites are being used. Occupancy levels on these can be summarized as follows:

- ★ Of 473 pitches on 28 sites, 314 (66% of the total) were tenanted at the count date;
- ★ Of these tenanted pitches, 289 (61% of the total) were currently occupied by their tenants;

- ★ 25 pitches (5% of the total) were let but with their tenants temporarily absent;
- ★ Most of the untenanted pitches (92 or 19%) were still classed as 'vacant (available)';
- ★ 63 pitches (13%) were classed as 'not available'.

Overall occupancy levels were lower than the previous winter (71%) but closer to the 2005 figure (63%). However, within this mean figure, levels vary markedly from site to site.

Table 2 groups occupancy levels on individual sites under five headings: Full; High, Medium and Low Occupancy and, finally, Empty sites, based on descending proportions of tenanted pitches (Column A) (*Within this it identifies the proportions of tenants actually present at the count date (Column B) and those temporarily off-site (Column C)*). The two remaining columns show the proportion of empty pitches either available for prospective tenants (Column D) and those which for some reason, discussed further below) are not available for use (Column E).

At one end of the spectrum, seven sites were fully tenanted. While most of these were medium to large-sized sites they also included two of the smallest sites (*E. Kilbride in S. Lanarkshire and S.Ayrshire*). A further 11 sites had at least three quarters of their pitches tenanted. At the opposite end of the spectrum a number of sites had low occupancy levels including West Lothian with only one of its 21 pitches tenanted at the time, while two sites were completely empty.

Overall one in five pitches (19%) were vacant but still available for prospective tenants. However, on this occasion there was a substantially higher proportion (13%) than in the previous year (4%) of pitches classed as unavailable. Two sites were completely empty at the time of the count but while the Glasgow site was in a position to take on tenants, none of those on the remaining North Lanarkshire was said to be available for use.

To a large extent the levels of 'unavailable' pitches reflects the on-going programme of upgrading across a number of sites as a result of the grant funding made available in 2005 by the Scottish Executive. However, as comments made by site managers below reveal, it continues to include the results of vandalism on some sites.

Occupancy levels on sites can be very volatile, sometimes changing very rapidly. Inter-family disputes, arrival of new and perhaps unwelcome family groups or sudden vandalism often lead tenants to move elsewhere. When the situation has been resolved they may eventually begin to drift back to the site and take up tenancies again though some have led to lengthy or even permanent closure of sites. Comments from site managers at the time of the 2006 winter's count suggested that the higher levels of occupancy on that occasion reflected quieter and more settled conditions over preceding months following a number

Table 2 - Occupancy of Council sites in January 2007 (Percentage pitch status) (Base = 29 sites)					
	A Pitches tenanted %	B Tenants present %	C Tenants. absent %	D Vacant (available) %	E Not available %
FULLY OCCUPIED SITES					
Angus (18)	100	100	-	-	-
Fife (Cupar) (20)	100	100	-	-	-
S. Ayrshire (8)	100	100	-	-	-
S. Lanarkshire (E. Kilbride) (6)	100	100	-	-	-
W. Dunbartonshire (20)	100	100	-	-	-
Falkirk (15)	100	87	13	-	-
Fife (Kirkcaldy) (18)	100	83	17	-	-
HIGH OCCUPANCY SITES					
S. Lanarkshire (Larkhall) (22)	95	95	-	-	-
Fife (Kelty) (12)	92	83	8	8	-
Argyll & Bute (Dunoon) (10)	90	90	-	-	10
Dumfries & G/way (Dumfries) (18)	89	89	-	-	11
Argyll & Bute (N. Ledaig) (8)	88	88	-	-	13
Highland (Spean Bridge) (15)	87	60	27	-	7
Highland (Kentallen) (12)	83	75	8	17	-
Edinburgh City (20)	80	80	-	-	20
Perth & Kinross (20)	80	80	-	-	20
Argyll & Bute (L/gilphead) (14)	79	71	7	21	-
Dundee City (20)	75	70	5	25	-
MEDIUM OCCUPANCY SITES					
E./Midlothian (20)	65	35	30	30	5
Highland (Inverness) (19)	58	42	16	42	-
N. Ayrshire (16)	50	50	-	-	50
LOW OCCUPANCY SITES					
Aberdeen City (30)	43	37	7	27	30
Clackmannanshire (16)	38	38	-	-	63
Dumfries & G/way (Glenluce) (14)	29	29	-	71	-
Stirling (20)	25	25	-	65	-
E. Dunbartonshire (15)	20	13	7	60	20
W. Lothian (21)	5	5	-	95	-
EMPTY SITES					
Glasgow City (10)	-	-	-	70	30
N.Lanarkshire (16)	-	-	-	-	100
MEAN OCCUPANCY	66	61	5	19	13

of incidents over a couple of years, involving vandalism and violence, leading to tenants leaving sites and being afraid to return. Equivalent comments in 2007 suggest a resurgence in problems on some sites causing tenants to move off and in some areas even a reluctance on the part of some Gypsies/

Travellers to come on to sites at all.

'A definite lack of interest in the site - still stemming from the belief/superstition that the site is jinxed'.

'Disputes between families. Assault on staff member.'

'Family causing disruption on site with their anti-social behaviour towards manager and other tenants - now under eviction notice. Two [amenity] units under survey procedures for subsidence.'

'Internal feuding within the travelling community throughout the central belt has caused low tenancies on this site.'

'Once again due to feuding between Scots and Irish Travellers we have had mass exit from site.'

'Travellers frightened to move back on to site in case they get caught up in any disputes.'

'Severe vandalism putting six pitches out of use.'

Length of stay on sites

Over the life of the counts, the tendency for many tenants on Council sites to stay for longer and longer periods has become clearer. With the introduction of more detailed tenancy bands from July 2006 onwards this can be illustrated more easily. Up to January 2006, 'long-term' tenancy was defined as 'more than two years' and at that date accounted for just over half of all tenancies (54%). While the January 2007 proportion is similar (57%), the new bands show that more than half these were now in a new 'very long term' category with a substantial proportion more or less static having been on site for more than ten years. Across the 27 tenanted sites in January 2007 length of tenancy is summarized below:

Very long term

- ★ 12% of tenants had been there for more than ten years;
- ★ 20% had been there for between five and ten years;

Long term

- ★ 25% had been for between two and five years;
- ★ 15% had been there for between one and two years (16%);

Medium term

- ★ 13% had been for between six months and a year (15%);
- ★ 7% had been there for between three and six months (12%);

Short term

- ★ 8% had been there for three months or less (13%).

At a more detailed level, Table 3 shows the pattern across all the tenanted sites in descending order of very long term tenancies, i.e. those of five years or more. Within this category, certain sites stand out both in terms of high occupancy levels and particular tenancy longevity, i.e. percentage over 10 year duration. These are mostly larger and longer established sites with a history of stability and a population which has settled on a long-term basis, often now ageing. Examples include Fife (Kirkcaldy), Perth & Kinross and West Dunbartonshire with between 56% and 40% of 10-year-plus tenants, and South Lanarkshire (East Kilbride), Edinburgh City, and Argyll & Bute (Lochgilhead) with between a fifth and third of such tenancies. However, it must be remembered that the other end of the scale sites with higher proportions of short or medium-term tenancies may have suffered from some of the upheavals which occasionally occur or, in the case of Fife (Kelty) and East Dunbartonshire, are the newest of all the sites.

Tenant Movement

As shown above, some tenants on Council sites have become much more settled than perhaps was envisaged at the time the council site network was proposed and which assumed more continuous movement from area to area within Scotland. Nevertheless, it has also always been assumed that a degree of movement should be possible without sacrificing a tenancy. From an early stage, tenancy conditions have generally permitted temporary absence of up to 12 weeks in the year.

Absence is more common in summer months, traditionally a time of greater mobility, though it may occur at other times of the year for a variety of reasons, whether seeking work, visiting relatives or just simply 'travelling'. In January 2007 only five percent of tenants were 'off site' in this way, slightly below the previous year's figure. Eighteen sites had no absent tenants and of the 11 which did, with the exception of two (*Highland [Spean Bridge] and E. Midlothian*), none had more than a quarter off-site at the count date. The returns also record the numbers of tenants having availed themselves of this option during the previous six months but here, even so, four sites recorded no such absences and on two thirds of all sites absence was only in single figures.

Tenancy change

Although, as shown above, many tenants stay for increasingly long periods with occasional absences, some move off the site and relinquish their tenancy. This happens for a variety of reasons, such as work pressures or to be near to other family members. As noted earlier, other permanent moves may be triggered by changes in the mix of tenants on a site or by events within the wider Gypsy/Traveller community. Occasionally too, a household may leave or be asked to go for breaching tenancy conditions. As with waiting lists, other factors, such as the perceived desirability of particular sites may encourage both outward and inward movement.

Table 3 – Tenancy duration on individual sites in January 2007
(Bracketed figures beside site names show number of tenancies at the count date)

	Very long term %->	Long term %->	Medium term %->	Short term %->
Highland (Kentallen) (9)	89	11	0	0
Fife (Kirkcaldy) (18)	78	17	6	0
S. Ayrshire (8)	75	0	25	0
Perth & Kinross (16)	69	31	0	0
Angus (18)	56	44	0	0
W. Dunbartonshire (20)	55	45	0	0
Edinburgh City (16)	50	44	6	0
Clackmannanshire (6)	50	33	17	0
S. Lanarkshire (Larkhall) (21)	43	33	14	10
Argyll & Bute (N. Ledaig) (6)	33	50	17	0
S. Lanarkshire (E. Kilbride) (6)	33	33	33	0
Argyll & Bute (L/gilphead) (11)	27	55	18	0
Dumfries & G/way (Glenluce) (4)	25	50	25	0
Fife (Cupar) (20)	20	60	10	10
Highland (Inverness) (11)	18	45	36	0
E./Midlothian (13)	15	38	23	23
Dundee City (15)	13	33	53	0
N. Ayrshire (8)	13	63	13	13
Aberdeen City (13)	8	15	62	15
W. Lothian (1)	0	100	0	0
Dumfries & G/way (Dumfries) (16)	0	88	6	6
Argyll & Bute (Dunoon) (9)	0	56	22	22
Highland (Spean Bridge) (13)	0	54	31	15
Falkirk (15)	0	40	53	7
E. Dunbartonshire (3)	0	33	0	67
Fife (Kelty) (11)	0	18	36	45
Stirling (5)	0	0	80	20
MEAN PERCENTAGE	31	40	21	8
<i>(NB Percentages across may total more than 100 due to rounding)</i>				

Out of a total of 406 usable pitches (*i.e. those either currently tenanted or available for prospective tenants*), only 57 had (14%) had changed hands over the previous six months. Of the 29 sites, 12 recorded no changes of tenancy. On the others changes were minimal, accounting for only between one and five pitches in each case, with the exception of eight on the Highland (Inverness site) and ten on the Aberdeen site. However, even the small numbers could be substantial as a proportion of a site's usable pitches, particularly on the small sites.

Waiting lists for pitches were recorded on only 15 sites, a total of 118 applicants. Although this figure was higher than in the two preceding winters (82; 62), comment about such lists from one site manager highlighted the probability that in some ar-

eas, applicants might be on the waiting list for more than one site, expressing a preference for being within a general area rather than necessarily a specific site. At the same time, a small number of sites appear to have a high desirability level, tying in with the earlier comments about tenancy duration, which leaves few probabilities of vacancies arising. Most notable amongst these is Larkhall in S. Lanarkshire with a waiting list equivalent to more than 150% of the site's capacity, while others apparently in great potential demand include Edinburgh City, North and South Ayrshire, Perth & Kinross, Kirkcaldy in Fife and Falkirk, all of which frequently are high on the waiting list scale, generally being seen as stable sites with few of the local difficulties that affect some other places.

PRIVATELY-OWNED SITES

Some Gypsies/Travellers stay on privately-owned sites. Council site managers are generally aware of the existence of such sites in their areas, though in practice they are not always easy to identify. The twice-yearly counts seek information about such sites but levels of information depend on the extent to which managers have been able to develop contacts with private site-owners who have no obligation to provide information and may be reluctant to provide it. The official for one Council completing his return and identifying the existence of a private site in his area noted that *'I do not visit this location as the Travellers do not wish their origin to be known'*.

With no formal records available, information for the count generally depends on observation/estimation of caravan numbers. In order to generate population estimates for private sites the count adopts a rule of thumb measure of one 'caravan' equating with one 'household'. Mean household size generated from the Council sites can then be used in conjunction with caravan numbers to provide an estimate of population on private sites. Any variations from this measure probably balance out, given the small number of sites involved. The other kinds of information which Council sites provide, such as length of stay and turnover patterns, are not sought for private sites, as it is unlikely to be feasible to obtain.

In January 2007 more than a quarter of all Gypsy/Traveller households (29%) were recorded on this kind of location. These may be summarised as follows:

- ★ A total of 159 households, higher than the previous year (107);
- ★ An estimated population of 477 people (332)
- ★ 141 of the households were classed as long-stay (99);
- ★ 18 households were classed as short-stay of up to four weeks (2006 = 8);

The numbers of households using privately-owned sites has fluctuated widely over the nine winter counts since January 1999 (108; 59; 139; 97; 86; 116; 90; 107; **159**), possibly reflecting the more uncertain availability of holiday/touring sites accepting them, or their reluctance for it to be known or even just the extent to which individual authorities were aware of their presence.

Privately-owned sites fall into two categories. One is the site established by a Gypsy/Traveller family wanting and able to have a more settled long-term base for themselves. Here an owner may have built a house on his own land and been able to get a site licence for additional caravans. Although these

are likely to be used principally for his extended family, sometimes access is allowed to other known families. Sites of this kind are likely to be available throughout the year. Compared with the formality of layout and provision of individual amenity facilities on Council sites, private sites generally are more informal with less rigid demarcation of individual pitches and a more centralised provision of toilet and washing facilities. Management styles are likely to be rather different, and whether or not a household is able to access such a site depends to a much greater extent on the personal say-so of the owner. The great majority of long-stay households were on the Gypsy/Traveller sites, mostly with fairly substantial numbers (15, 30). Only a few of these sites had any short-stay residents. All the Gypsy/Traveller sites were said to have been in continuous use over the preceding six months, probably in keeping with their more generally residential role.

The second type of privately-owned site is the conventional holiday or touring caravan site, on which owners will sometimes accommodate Gypsies/Travellers, but only at certain times of the year, perhaps at quieter times when the presence of Gypsies/Travellers will not be seen as affecting normal tourist trade. Here, restrictions on length of stay and on the presence of particular kinds of vehicle may be imposed and any form of apparent working from the site is more likely to be ruled out while, as with the other kind of site, access is more likely to depend on the applicant household's past links with the site or on the site owner's recent experience of other Gypsies/Travellers. Of the holiday/touring sites three were classed as having been in continuous use and five in occasional use, the other apparently not having been used at all over that period.

Private site numbers appear not to have varied a great deal in recent years. Across all the counts from 1998 to 2007, both in summer and winter, the average has remained around 20 sites, though the number recorded dropped in the summer of 2006. However, variations over the whole period reflect some missing returns, variable local knowledge of sites' existence, particularly where Council personnel change over time, or just uncertain readiness of holiday site owners to accept Gypsies/Travellers.

Table 4 summarises the private sites recorded in January 2007. Previous counts attempted to distinguish between sites for all-year use or for summer only (with the occasional site being identified as winter only). Given uncertainty about their respective status, they are now grouped together. Twelve Councils identified a total of 18 sites. All eight Gypsy/Traveller-owned sites were in use at the time of the count, generally with substantial numbers of households, most classed as long-stay residents (more than four weeks) but with two having a few shorter-stay households. Perhaps not surprisingly, given their holiday/touring nature and likely licence constraints five of the

nine other sites were completely unoccupied. Of the four with some Gypsies/Travellers present, one had as many as 12 long-stay households on the count date and two each had ten long-stay while the other had only a small number of short-stay households. One return referred to two locations which it felt

should be classed as private 'sites' since the occupants owned their land and were in process of trying to get planning permission/site licences for a family site and therefore did not really constitute unauthorised encampments.

Table 4 – Privately owned sites recorded in January 2007
(Base = 31 Councils)

	No. of private sites*	Site	Site type**	Estimated households		Use over previous six months***
				Short stay	Long stay	
S. Lanarkshire	3	a	G	5	30	A
		b	H	0	12	A
		c	G	7	13	A
Aberdeen City	2	a	G	0	5	A
		b	H	0	0	B
Highland	2	a	H	0	0	B
		b	H	0	0	B
Perth & Kinross	2	a	H	0	0	B
		b	G	0	5	A
Falkirk	2	a	G	0	4	A
		b	G	0	1	A
Angus	1	a	G	0	16	A
Dumfries & Galloway	1	a	H	0	0	C
E. Ayrshire	1	a	H	6	0	B
E. Renfrewshire	1	a	G	0	15	A
Fife	1	a	G	0	20	A
Moray	1	a	H	0	10	A
Scottish Borders	1	a	H	0	10	A
TOTALS	18		G = 8 H = 10	18	141	A = 12 B = 5 C = 1
<p>* No distinction is made here between all-year sites and summer only sites due to some uncertainty about interpretation within the returns</p> <p>** Site type : G = provided by or specifically for Gypsies/Travellers H = primarily for holiday/touring use</p> <p>*** Frequency of use over previous six months : A = Continuous B = Occasional C = Not at all</p> <p>The following Councils recorded no private sites of any kind : Aberdeenshire; Argyll & Bute; Clackmannanshire; Comhairle nan Eilean Siar; Dundee City; E./Midlothian; E. Dunbartonshire; Edinburgh City; Glasgow City; Inverclyde; N. Ayrshire; N. Lanarkshire; Orkney Islands; Renfrewshire; Shetland Islands; S. Ayrshire; Stirling; W. Dunbartonshire; W. Lothian</p>						

UNAUTHORISED ENCAMPMENTS

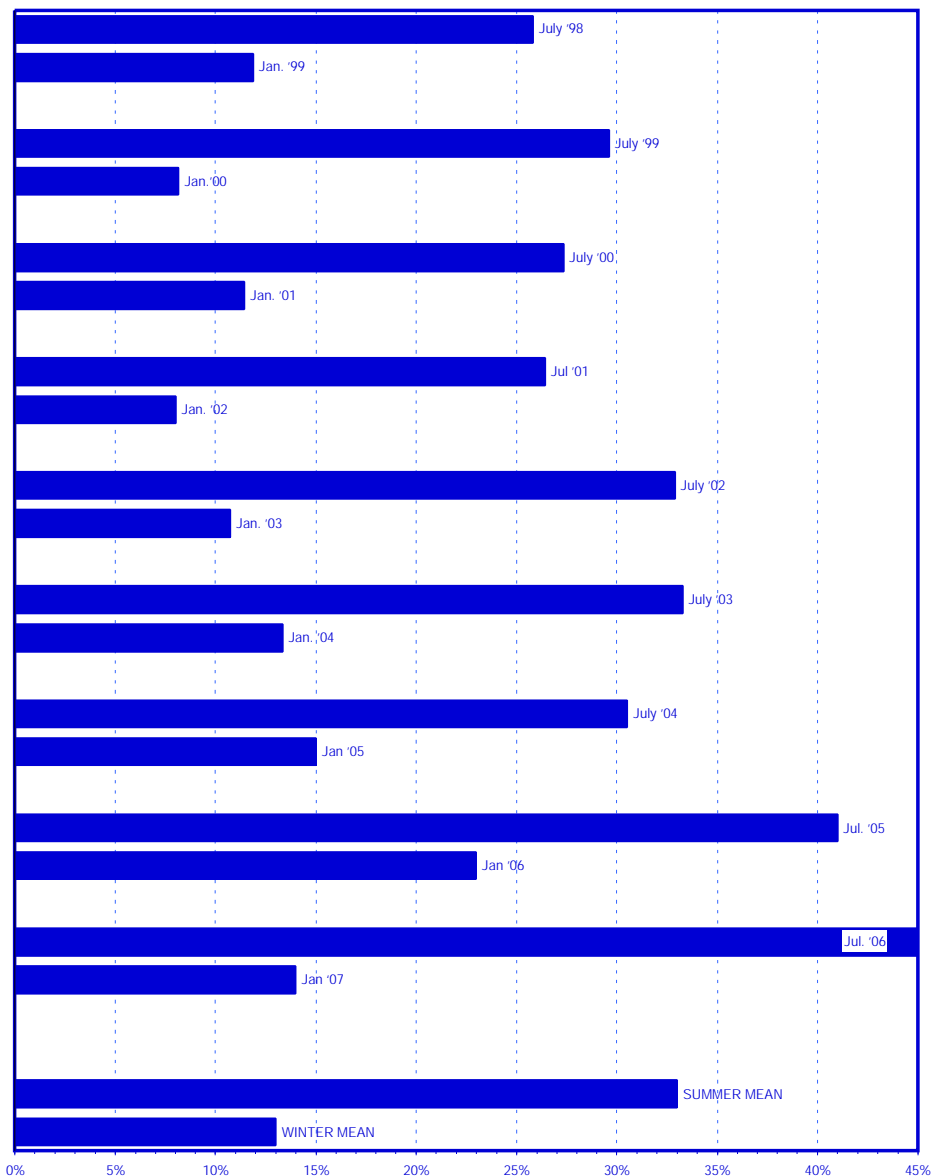
The Gypsy/Traveller population in Scotland continues to rely on unauthorised encampment. This is more marked in the summer, traditionally the time of greater mobility both of indigenous Scottish Travellers and seasonal incomers from south of the border or across the sea from Ireland. Use of this kind of stopping place also continues during the winter despite adverse weather, particularly in parts of the Highlands.

In summer returns over the past nine years unauthorised encampments have accounted for an average of one in three of all recorded households. In the winter over the same nine years it has averaged one in seven (Figure 2).

As with private sites, the rule of thumb measure of one 'caravan' being equivalent to one 'household' provides an estimate of the number of households and people. The January 2007 counts recorded a total of 97 'households' representing just under 300 people.

In urban areas unauthorised encampments are usually on waste land, particularly associated with the fringes of industrial estates rather than close to housing, though the latter also occur and are often a cause for local complaints. In rural Scotland it may be in corners of farmland, roadside verges or cut-offs or on the shores of sea or loch. Many Gypsies/Travellers move via regular

Figure 2 – Gypsy/Traveller households recorded on unauthorised encampments as a proportion of all recorded households : winter and summer - July 1998 to January 2007



routes and know places where they can stop, sometimes traditional places which are returned to year after year or over generations. Some such places are either out of sight or may be tolerated by landowners for short periods or under certain conditions.

Compared with Council sites and even the private sites, where residents are likely to be fairly static, or movement patterns are known, the fact that the count is one day snapshot means that chances of unauthorised encampment at a known point on the count date can be low. By choice, such encampments may not be easily visible, particularly in rural areas. Alternatively, even if an encampment has been accepted by the authorities for a brief period, it may suddenly be vacant at the count date even though it may have been occupied for some time beforehand and subsequently. Over recent years the part of the count form dealing with such encampments has been modified to give a better idea of patterns of use of places known to be occupied at different times. Additionally, one or two Councils have started to provide supplementary lists of occupancy places and dates, sometimes also with numbers of households and duration of occupation which helps to build up a fuller picture (see below).

For some Gypsies/Travellers, unauthorised camping may be the only option. Three mainland Councils still have no official sites, though Gypsies/Travellers are known to frequent their areas. The three Island Councils have demonstrated little or no demand justifying permanent provision, though summer visits have occasionally been recorded in Orkney. Increasing levels of long-term tenancy on Council sites leads to few casual vacancies although in January 2007 one return noted that 'Travellers who cannot access our site are informed of other sites in neighbouring Council areas with vacancies, but for whatever reason they don't apply?'. The fairly small number of private sites, their generally small size and more restricted access also limits them as alternative options. Even where official provision exists, other reasons may inhibit access. Households with a history of rent arrears or other tenancy problems, either there or in another Council's area, are unlikely to be permitted on Council sites. Some will not be accepted by existing residents who otherwise will leave. Perhaps more than these, there are individual households or larger groups, particularly visitors from the south or from Ireland, who, by choice, will never use an official site. Others, passing through an area for work or personal reasons, may only be stopping only for a night or two and prefer to take their chance on an unauthorised place.

Such patterns have existed for many years and there has been a long-standing pressure from within Gypsy/Traveller communities for provision of some kind of accepted short-term stopping places as well as the official and increasingly residential sites. Again a comment in the current count notes this issue: 'Official site at (x) has been closed since 2004. (X) Council are looking for alternative locations within (local area) to provide transit sites'. These situations seem unlikely to disappear and,

with a view to assisting local authorities to manage the incidence of unauthorised camping, the Scottish Executive issued Guidelines in December 2004.

The picture of unauthorised encampment in the twice-yearly counts is constantly changing and depends on the quality of local knowledge built up by Council site managers or other Council staff which may be difficult to maintain in larger and more remote areas or where those people change over time. It also generally is dependent upon a variety of local contacts such as staff in other parts of a Council or perhaps from local police or other services. As with private sites, information for the twice-yearly count is more sparse than for Council sites, often just based on observation or the willingness/ability of a Council site manager or other official to make some kind of positive contact with those on unauthorised encampments. Here, much depends on the circumstances of their presence. Willingness to provide some information may be greater if they are trying to get access to a local Council site or, as sometimes happens, are accepted briefly on the place where they are stopping and assisted with a few basic services. Where individuals or groups are passing through or trying to spend as long as possible before being moved, they may be more reluctant to respond to approaches from officials who they see as a threat rather than a help. However, as noted above, more detailed information is beginning to be recorded by some Councils.

Table 5 summarises the position in January 2007:

- ★ The great majority of Councils (26) referred to unauthorised camping within their areas, either regularly or on a seasonal basis, between them identifying a total of 124 individual places;
- ★ Only five Councils (Clackmannan, Comhairle nan Eilean Siar; E. Renfrewshire; Orkney Islands and Shetland Islands) identified no unauthorised encampment within their areas.

Many of the same places are identified in successive counts, although some disappear and other new locations emerge. Again it was noted on this occasion by one Council that 'it appears the Travellers are finding and using new areas, where they have never camped previously. I am sure this is because of all the new houses that are being built in our area'. Consequently the gradually increasing number probably reflects better awareness and improved record keeping, perhaps in the context of Councils' changing approaches to handling this kind of encampment. More important, from the point of view of the counts, is the number actually occupied on the recorded date. In most cases such encampments are usually occupied for only short periods and the likelihood of this occurring on the day of an official count is therefore lower. In practice the number of places occupied in January 2007 (19) is lower than of the previous winter (24), but in one or two instances Councils noted that places had been occupied very shortly before. It seems

very likely that Gypsies/Travellers are quite aware of the count and either move – or perhaps are moved - beforehand.

In terms of their more general frequency of use over a longer period the majority seemed to be in very regular use:

Table 6 summarises the patterns of use of the 19 places actually occupied at the time of the January 2007 count. Of these:

- ★ Two had been in use for only a few days before the count;
- ★ Eleven had been in use for one or two weeks;
- ★ Six had been occupied for a longer period;

★ Thirteen were said to be used every few weeks;

★ Four appeared to be used every few months;

★ Two were more rarely used, perhaps only once or twice a year;

In terms of their use over the previous six months:

- ★ Three had been used once or twice in that time;
- ★ Fifteen had been used more frequently.

Numbers on individual encampments were generally small, ranging between one and nine caravans (households).

Table 5 – Places recorded in the January 2007 count as used at times for unauthorised encampment
(Base = 31 Councils)

	No. of places identified	No. of places occupied	Estimated h/holds	Usual use frequency*				Use over previous six months **			
				A	B	C	?	I	II	III	?
Aberdeen City	6	2	4	4	1	1	-	-	3	3	-
Aberdeenshire	5	-	-	1	1	3	-	4	-	1	-
Angus	4	2	23	-	1	3	-	1	3	-	-
Argyll & Bute	3	-	-	-	2	1	-	1	2	-	-
Dumfries & Galloway	3	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
Dundee City	5	-	-	2	1	2	-	-	3	2	-
E. Ayrshire	5	2	7	1	3	1	-	1	3	1	-
E. Dunbartonshire	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
E./Midlothian	6	1	9	-	2	4	-	-	5	1	-
Edinburgh City	2	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	1	-
Falkirk	2	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	1	-
Fife	6	1	3	4	2	-	-	-	2	4	-
Glasgow City	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-
Highland	4	4	16	3	1	-	-	-	-	3	1
Inverclyde	3	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	3	-	-
Moray	13	-	-	2	5	8	-	2	5	8	-
N. Ayrshire	6	3	19	3	3	-	-	-	-	6	-
N. Lanarkshire	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Perth & Kinross	18	2	5	3	1	14	-	6	4	4	4
Renfrewshire	6	-	-	-	3	3	-	2	3	1	-
Scottish Borders	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
S. Ayrshire	6	-	-	-	2	4	-	2	3	1	-
S. Lanarkshire	3	1	2	2	-	1	-	-	1	2	-
Stirling	4	-	-	1	3	-	-	-	3	1	-
W. Dunbartonshire	4	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	4	-
W. Lothian	6	2	9	3	3	-	-	-	-	6	-
TOTALS	124	20	97	31	44	50	1	20	46	51	9
* Usual use frequency: A = Every few weeks B = Every few months C = Once or twice a year											
** Use over previous six months: I = Not at all II = Once or twice III = More frequently											
Councils recording no unauthorised encampments in January 2007: Clackmannshire; E. Renfrewshire; Comhairle nan Eilean Siar; Orkney islands; Shetland Islands											

Table 6 – Characteristics of unauthorised encampments occupied in January 2007
(Base = 10 Councils recording occupied encampments)

Council	Encampment	Usual use frequency	H/holds estimated at count date	Period occupied up to count	Use over previous six months
Highland	1	A	1	b	iii
	2	B	5	b	?
	3	A	7	b	iii
	4	A	3	b	iii
N. Ayrshire	1	A	4	b	iii
	2	A	7	a	iii
	3	B	8	b	iii
Aberdeen City	1	A	2	b	iii
	2	C	2	c	iii
E.Ayrshire	1	A	2	c	iii
	2	B	5	b	ii
Perth & Kinross	1	A	4	c	iii
	2	A	1	c	iii
W. Lothian	1	A	4	b	iii
	2	A	5	b	iii
Angus	1	C	20	c	ii
	2	B	3	a	ii
E./Midlothian	1	C	9	a	ii
Fife	1	A	3	b	iii
S. Lanarkshire	1	A	2	c	iii
TOTALS	20 places	A = 13 B = 4 C = 3	97	a = 3 b = 11 c = 6	i = 0 ii = 4 iii = 15 ? = 1
Key to columns					
<i>Usual use frequency</i> A = Every few weeks B = Every few months C = Once or twice a year					
<i>Period occupied up to count</i> a = A few days b = One or two weeks c = Longer period					
<i>Use over previous six months</i> i = Not at all ii = Once or twice iii = More frequently					

Unauthorised Encampments - One Council's experience

Comprehensive information on individual unauthorised encampments has been shared by one Council. This illustrates the nature of this kind of use of stopping places over a six month period up to the January 2007 count, perhaps reflecting ways in which Councils are adopting more progressive policies and better managing such situations.

A total of 34 separate unauthorised encampments were recorded by this Council at some point during the six months on 13 separate locations, in turn grouped across five general localities within that Council's area. These are only part of a greater number of locations known to be used at other times over recent years. Seven encampments were on private land, the rest council-owned. Overall, they involved 48 families (133 adults, 99 children), 69 caravans and 89 vehicles*.

Most places were used only occasionally within the period and ten only once. In contrast, two places, both within the council's main town, accounted for ten and seven encampments respectively and another location for four. Most visits were in the later summer: August/September, or occasionally October. A few instances occurred later in the autumn or even the beginning of the new year, emphasising the greater summer predominance of such use. The great majority involved very small groups, just one or two families, but with one instance of three families and two instances of four. Only one large group (of Irish Travellers) was recorded, involving seven caravans and nine vehicles, though how many families this comprised is unclear and their stay was for only a couple of days.

Apart from two or three instances where people were allowed to remain for long periods, the duration of most stays reflected the essentially transitory nature of such encampments. Reasons for the visits were not always available, but in most cases referred to *'passing through'*, or *'visiting'*. A few were seeking to settle locally, e.g. *'want a long stay; have submitted a housing application.'* or *'intending to seek permanent location in this Council's area'*. Some were classed as *'local Traveller'* (and presumably familiar to Council staff) or as *'seasonal Traveller'* (therefore likely to be moving on elsewhere). Only in a few instances were there references to work, e.g. *'looking for a place to stay while working locally'* (the large Irish group) or *'gathering whelks'* (two families of Scottish Gypsies/Travellers). Movement patterns are sometimes suggested, e.g. *'from Montrose area, passing through'*; *'from Fife'*; *'from Newcastle, heading towards Inverness'*; *'Just returned from Skye'*; *'moved away to Arbroath'*; *'moving back to England'*; *'returning to Edinburgh'* etc., but there were occasional indications that individuals or groups had already been there earlier in the year,

Duration varied widely, but can be summarized as 12 encampments used, either by choice or being allowed, for just a few days (up to four or five); ten encampments for a week/ten days; and a further four for around a fortnight. At the opposite end of the spectrum three encampments had been allowed to remain for around seven weeks between last August and September/October (one awaiting a house and the others *'visiting'*) while another person had stayed for as long as ten weeks from November to early January, in this instance seeking a house to be near parents housed locally.

References to *'community complaints'* about the presence of Gypsies/Travellers are fairly rare. For nearly two-thirds of encampments no complaints were indicated, the great majority of these (16) being on Council land, though four were on private land. In five instances a few complaints (1-3) were mentioned, or in a similar number are referred to as *'numerous'*. The basis for complaint generally appears fairly minor, e.g. *'dog barking'*; *'Alsatian attacking a member of the public'*; *'youths shouting at him'*, the last of which one suspects might well have not been made had it not involved *'Gypsies/Travellers'*. In some instances investigation by Council staff suggested the complaints were unfounded. A few of the complaints referred to amounts of rubbish left behind or just the fact that *'they [i.e. the Gypsies/Travellers] were there'*, a not uncommon complaint in such circumstances.

The final item recorded was the site condition once vacated. Here, all but a very few of the encampments were *'clean and tidy'*, sometimes with added comment such as *'... as always following this family'*, or even *'spotless'*, while two Traveller families respectively themselves *'...expressed disgust concerning the state of the place as left by the previous incumbents'* and *'...disappointment that the place had been so badly treated by the previous Travellers'*. Down the scale, there were a couple of references to *'slight mess'*; *'a bit of a mess left'*; *'a lot of rubbish left'* or, in one instance where although the rest of the ground had been left clean and tidy *'portaloo's (which the Council had provided) have been up-ended'*. The worst site condition, not caused by the occupants themselves but possibly a reflection of local reaction to unauthorised encampments and an incentive for them to leave, was on private ground near housing where it was noted that the *'Travellers moved on to Skye after having farmyard manure etc. dumped at their caravan doors'*.

** This Council's data also provides the first real evidence of continuing use of traditional 'bender' tents as supplementary accommodation. There has been little reference to these in counts, other than occasionally anecdotally but, as well as caravans, here a single tent was recorded on four encampments and another two noted the use, if not the number, of tents.*

THE OVERALL PICTURE

The twice-yearly counts illustrate patterns of Gypsy/Traveller presence across Scotland in winter and summer and, within the total, the proportions using each of the three categories of stopping place: Council sites, private sites and unauthorised encampments. The counts confirm the differences between the two seasons with lower total numbers and decreased mobility in winter. In contrast the higher summer figures are likely to include visiting households from other parts of the British Isles as well as some who are normally settled in houses but choose to travel for part of the year.

Figure 3 summarises winter patterns from January 1999 to January 2007, together with the mean for the period. Over the nine years the counts confirm the differences between summer and winter seasons with lower total numbers and less mobility in winter. Higher summer figures are also contributed to by the presence of Gypsies/Travellers from other parts of Britain and also of those who may choose to live in houses for part of the year.

In January 2007 the total population of Gypsies/Travellers in Scotland is estimated at 551 households, amounting to 1653 people. The household total is slightly higher than the previous

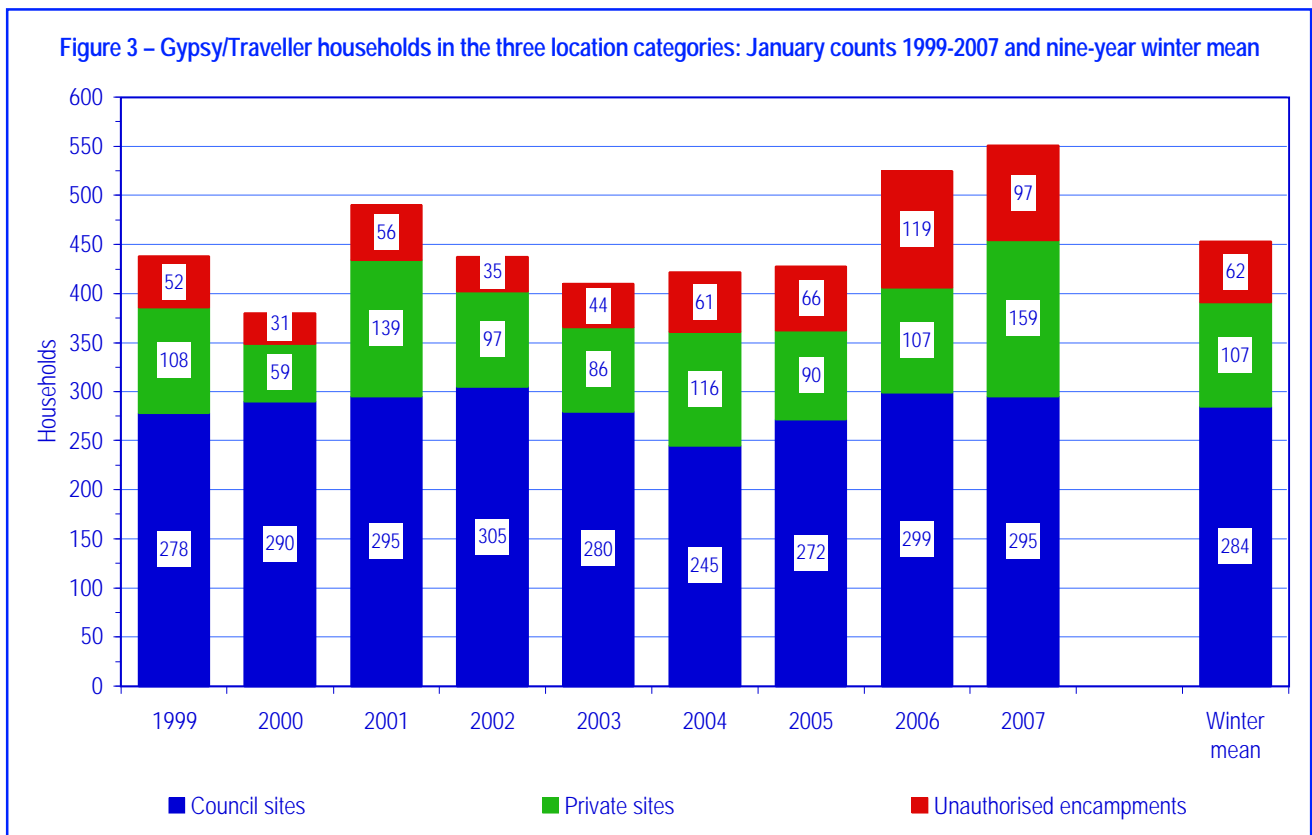
winter there are differences in the share on each of the three types of stopping place.

Within the overall total, the actual numbers occupying pitches on Council sites were at the high end of the nine-year range (278; 290; 295; 305; 280; 245; 272; 299; **295**), accounting for just over half the total households (54%).

The number of households using private sites in January 2007 was the highest over the nine years period (108; 59; 139; 97; 86; 116; 90; 107; **159**), at 29%, above the mean of 23%.

Households recorded on unauthorised locations were also the second highest recorded over the same period (52; 31; 56; 35; 44; 61; 66; 119; **97**), a drop from the previous winter, though still a much lower share of the total than in the summer which reached a peak in July 2006.

Table 7 provides an overall summary of the counts for each Council for January 2007, with comparative figures for the two preceding winter counts ⁵, giving the numbers of households for each of the three elements of the count: Council sites, private sites and unauthorised encampments. It also provides an



⁵ It should be noted that minor discrepancies may be noticed between some of the figures in this Overview section and in the earlier sections dealing with particular aspects of this January count. This is due to there being missing data for an individual Council in a particular count. Here, in order to allow for year on year comparisons, it is occasionally necessary to impute data, generally from the closest previous count for that Council at the same season. The overall effect of this imputation is very small, amounting at most to only a handful of households.

estimate of the total number of people that these represent.

Since 1996, the loss of five Council sites, four of them large and two within one Council (North Lanarkshire), has reduced the total pitches available for letting compared to the original levels of provision envisaged. Three mainland Councils still provide no site, even though there is a Gypsy/Traveller presence within their areas. The availability of pitches in the winter is also lower with the absence of the three seasonal sites. However, although the population on Council sites is higher than in the previous two winters, its share of the total population this winter is lower than in recent years. Even among the active sites a number of pitches continue to be untenanted either because they have been vandalized – though in a few cases, more positively, because they are being upgraded - or because possible tenants choose not to move on to them but prefer to take their chance by unauthorised camping even in the winter months.

On the positive side, many sites continue to show high tenancy levels and longevity and their apparent security and stability

makes them attractive to prospective tenants, though at the same time it makes the likelihood of a vacancy occurring less. More troublingly, levels of unrest and feuding within sections of these communities continue to be noted in a number of Council returns, emphasising that sites can be volatile communities and personal comment from managers over the years indicates that it can take little to empty sites, not just individually but possibly with knock-on effects to adjacent sites, if there is a sudden incident.

With the completion of the January 2007 count, data is now available for a run of nine successive years, enabling assessment of consistency or change over time. Within the total of Gypsy/Traveller households 'on the road' in Scotland in winter (*i.e. excluding housed families*) these proportions inevitably vary from year to year, just as they do between summer and winter. However, the increasing longevity of stay on many sites, coupled with greater ease of travel out from a base location when seeking work, may nowadays tend to reduce overall mobility and change what were traditional patterns of movement.

Acknowledgements

The part played by Council staff throughout Scotland in these counts is acknowledged. Councils with their own official sites, have site managers who provide the principal underpinning to the returns, through their site management records, the information which they hold on any local private sites and through their knowledge of their own local 'patch' plus their networks of local contacts which enable information to be gathered on unauthorised encampments, generally scattered and often used only sporadically, in remote and not easily identifiable locations. For the few Councils without official sites, staff in a variety of departments provide information which helps to build up a picture of occasional private sites and of occasional unauthorised encampment. The Traveller Site Managers Association, the main co-ordinating and training body for Scottish site managers is also a valuable source of information, particularly of changes in site staff and contact points. Without the assistance of all these people, this picture of Gypsy/Traveller presence in Scotland could not be generated.

Table 7 – Households and population by type of stopping place for winter counts : January 2005 to January 2007, with three-year mean

This Table provides a breakdown by Council. For each count these are shown in terms of households on each Council's official site(s) (**Column A**); households* (*both short stay and long stay*) on privately owned sites (**Column B**); households* on unauthorised encampments (**Column C**); together with a total for the three categories (**Column D**).

COUNCIL	January '05				January '06				January '07				Winter mean			
	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
Councils with multiple sites																
Highland (4 sites**)	19	0	0	19	19	1	4	24	27	0	16	43	22	0	7	29
Argyll & Bute (3 sites)	12	0	0	12	23	0	0	23	26	0	0	26	20	0	0	20
Fife (third site opened summer '02)	35	20	23	78	44	20	10	74	45	20	3	68	41	20	12	73
S. Lanarkshire (2 sites)	26	32	5	63	26	38	2	66	27	67	2	96	26	46	3	75
Councils with single sites																
Aberdeen	7	0	0	7	7	0	0	7	11	5	4	20	8	2	1	11
Angus	18	16	7	41	18	16	2	36	18	21	23	62	18	18	11	46
Clackmannanshire	7	0	0	7	7	0	0	7	5	0	0	5	6	0	0	6
Dundee City	19	0	0	19	17	0	31	48	14	0	0	14	17	0	10	27
E. Dunbartonshire (opened 01/03)	6	0	0	6	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	2	3	0	0	3
E. & Midlothian	12	0	0	12	13	0	18	31	7	0	9	16	11	0	9	20
Edinburgh City	16	0	8	24	15	0	9	24	16	0	0	16	16	0	6	21
Falkirk	9	5	0	14	10	0	0	10	13	5	0	18	11	3	0	14
Glasgow City	3	0	0	3	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
North Ayrshire***	17	0	0	17	19	0	3	22	8	0	19	27	15	0	7	22
North Lanarkshire	0	0	5	5	0	0	5	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
Perth & Kinross	16	0	4	20	16	0	5	21	21	0	5	26	18	0	5	22
S. Ayrshire	8	0	0	8	8	0	0	8	8	0	0	8	8	0	0	8
Stirling	6	0	0	6	11	0	0	11	5	0	0	5	7	0	0	7
W. Dunbartonshire	19	0	0	19	20	0	0	20	21	0	0	21	20	0	0	20
W. Lothian	8	0	0	8	5	0	4	9	1	0	9	10	5	0	4	9
Seasonal sites (closed in winter)																
Aberdeenshire	0	0	8	8	0	0	11	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	6
Scottish Borders	0	0	0	0	0	15	0	15	0	10	0	10	0	8	0	8
Councils with sites now closed																
Moray (site now closed)	0	0	1	1	X	0	2	2	X	10	0	10	X	3	1	4
Renfrewshire (site now closed)	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	X	0	0	0
Councils with no site provision																
E. Ayrshire	X	1	5	6	X	1	7	8	X	6	7	13	X	3	6	9
E. Renfrewshire	X	16	0	16	X	16	0	16	X	15	0	15	X	16	0	16
Inverclyde	X	0	0	0	X	0	3	3	X	0	0	0	X	0	1	1
ALL COUNCILS (n)	272	90	66	428	299	107	119	525	295	159	97	551	289	119	94	501
Categories as % of total	64	21	15	100	57	20	23	100	54	29	18	100	58	24	19	100
Population ****	870	288	211	1370	927	332	369	1628	885	477	291	1653	894	366	294	1568

NOTES

* For consistency throughout, on privately-owned sites and on unauthorised locations, one caravan is equated with one household.

** One Highland site (Newtonmore) is open only in the summer (this has the effect of reducing the mean figure)

*** From 2006 N. Ayrshire (Arran) site permanently closed, therefore for 2007, this Council has only one site.

**** Population is an **estimate** based on the number of families x mean household size (on Council sites) for each year.

X No official sites are provided by East Ayrshire, East Renfrewshire or Inverclyde

NB The three Islands Councils are **excluded** from the table as they do not provide official sites and record nil values for the private and unauthorised categories at each count.