

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE

THE IRISH ITINERANTS:  
SOME DEMOGRAPHIC,  
ECONOMIC AND  
EDUCATIONAL ASPECTS

M. DEMPSEY and R. C. GEARY

*BROADSHEET No. 18*

*MAY, 1979*

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Price £2.50

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M. Dempsey is Assistant Director (Administration) and R. C. Geary is Research Consultant with The Economic and Social Research Institute. The paper has been accepted for publication by the Institute, which is not responsible for either the content or the views expressed therein.

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INSTITUTE, DUBLIN, 1979  
ISBN 0 7070 0023 8

### *Acknowledgements*

The authors wish to emphasise that the use of the generic term "itinerants" in their study is not in any sense derogatory. They felt that the common term "travellers" was less specific. The authors are indebted to Mr V. H. Lennox, Mr George Bowles, Sister Colette Dwyer, Mrs Joyce Sholdice and Staff of the Department of the Environment for supplying valuable information, without which this study could not have been undertaken and for their comments on the text. Our thanks are also due to Mr T. J. Baker, Mr V. E. H. Bewley, Dr I. Hart and Rev. G. T. Fehilly for valuable comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

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### *General Summary*

SOME selected characteristics of Irish itinerants are discussed in this paper. An account is given of some of the problems faced by itinerants based on factual material obtained from Irish official publications, books and articles on Irish itinerants, discussions with people who work with itinerants and the findings of unpublished censuses of itinerants taken by Local Authorities. The study does not involve social or psychological analysis but tries by the presentation of facts assembled together to "help, if in a small way, those who are trying to improve the lot of itinerants".

The problem of itinerancy is seen by the authors as part of the problem of poverty. Itinerants are or were, on the whole, the dispossessed—poor, homeless, illiterate, despised. Some, particularly the roadside traders (whom many would not regard as itinerants), are reasonably well off but the great majority according to Patricia McCarthy (1975) were regarded as "marginal people in every sense . . . living a primitive and harsh existence." They are conscious of their poverty, avoid integration with the settled community, and have a low self esteem because of their dependence on charity and social welfare.

Itinerant family numbers have increased by 63 per cent during the period 1960-77. Urbanisation has become more pronounced. A marked increase has taken place in the number of families living in Dublin, from 85 in 1960 to 341 in 1977, an increase of 301 per cent. Although percentage changes are not so dramatic in the case of Cork and Galway, actual numbers are relatively high with 225 families in Galway and 130 in Cork.

The 1963 Report of The Commission on Itinerancy is described in Chapter 1. Most of the report is based on censuses, taken in 1960 and 1961, at which time the itinerants' existence was grim. About 12 per cent of children born alive



died before reaching two years of age; a significant number of itinerants suffered from respiratory illness; only 23 per cent were aged over 30 and the numbers in the higher age group fell rapidly. In contrast, the 1956 Census figures for Ireland indicated that 50 per cent of the settled population was over 30 years of age and the spread in each age group was relatively even. The Commission made recommendations on specific issues, e.g., housing, education, employment. In addition general recommendations were made:- (i) to bridge the gap between the social and economic standards of itinerants and the settled community; (ii) to encourage settlement; (iii) to establish a central body to deal with the problems of assimilation; and (iv) to finance the transition of families from the roadside to settled accommodation by public assistance.

Chapter 2 deals briefly with experience in other countries, principally The Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, Britain. Interchange of experience with other countries has been useful in dealing with Irish problems of itinerancy. The basic economic and social problems arising from poverty and educational deprivation are experienced everywhere. Solutions applied in one country may be capable of adaptation to problems elsewhere.

The financial aspects of itinerants' rehabilitation projects are discussed in Chapter 3. Funds for this purpose are provided mainly from public but some also from private sources. The salaries of social workers employed by voluntary groups or Local Authorities are reimbursed up to 90 per cent by the Department of the Environment (formerly D/LG). A national co-ordinator for rehabilitation and housing and a national co-ordinator for education employed by the National Council for Travelling People have 90 per cent of their salaries reimbursed from Central Government funds. During the period 1965 to 1977 the Department of the Environment spent a total of £1.80m on capital expenditure programmes, £0.98m at constant (Nov. 1968) prices. Standard housing has been provided, also chalets on serviced sites, trailers on authorised sites and some hardstanding serviced halting places.

Approximately 90 per cent of the possible labour force

among itinerants are unemployed and never have been gainfully employed. The principal source of income for families is Unemployment Assistance. Due to the efforts and guidance of the social workers, all, or almost all, itinerants are now getting the benefits to which they are entitled. The economic circumstances of itinerants have therefore improved considerably over the past twelve years; rentals charged for serviced sites and chalets are small—about 50 pence a week on a serviced site and around £4 a week for a chalet, many being considerably less, while those living on unauthorised ground are free of rent. Local Authorities apply the sanitary services laws to move families from unauthorised roadside to serviced sites and chalets where these are available.

Social assistance payments naturally vary according to family size, but it is possible to estimate the incomes in a range of family circumstances, e.g., where the husband is in receipt of unemployment assistance the average family income of husband, wife and five children amounts to £35.85 per week (from April 1978) if living in an urban area; for those living in a rural area the amount is 60p a week less. Children's allowances are additional. While these amounts cannot be described as affluence they are still a great improvement on the absolute poverty which prevailed when itinerants were unaware of their entitlements or unable for a variety of reasons, particularly illiteracy, to claim them. Social welfare assistance corresponds to take home pay of those at work and is not subject to deductions for income tax and social welfare contributions.

The 1977 Census of Itinerants taken under the aegis of Dublin Corporation attempted to obtain some basic facts in addition to a count of families and housing conditions. The results are given in Chapter 4 and a copy of the questionnaire is appended to the study.

The numbers of itinerant families increased between 1973-77 by an average annual rate of 13.8 per 1,000 population, nearly twice the national marriage rate during those years.

The average size of an itinerant family in Dublin in 1977 was 6.23 persons. The 1971 Census averages for the whole population in private households was 3.96 for the Republic

and 3.71 for Dublin. Nearly one-third of itinerant families are in units of nine or more, accounting for over one-half of all persons. An outstanding result of the inquiry was that 61 per cent of all persons are aged under 15 years compared with 31 per cent for the State as a whole and 34 per cent for Dublin at the time of the 1971 Census. Ninety per cent of the males were unemployed. An inference drawn from the fertility rates shown by the Dublin census is that the infant mortality among itinerants may be four or five times higher than the national average.

Chapter 5 deals with education. A Department of Local Government Report (November 1975) comments that generally "the educational problems of itinerant children are similar in many respects to those of backward children aggravated by social disabilities and a vagrant way of life". This is not taken to mean that itinerant children are generally mentally handicapped but that their educationally deprived conditions and environment impose severe problems even when such children attend school, and almost always involving the necessity for remedial teaching at least in the initial stages of their education.

Sr Colette Dwyer, national co-ordinator for the education of travelling people, issued two reports on provision for the needs of travelling children (1975 and 1978). According to the 1975 Report, 2,719 children were attending school while "the realistic figure for travelling children of school age who are at present not in school is probably in the region of 4,000". Of those at school "it must be noted that the level of education they are receiving varies considerably . . . It is dependent on the regularity of their attendance as well as on the conditions prevailing in the school". In addition "the fact that a child's name is 'on the rolls' does not, by any means, necessarily imply that he or she is receiving education". School attendance, is difficult to maintain where there are problems of continual movement from place to place, lack of sustained parental support, getting to school in time, facilities for study and even difficulties in obtaining water for washing. The 1978 Report stated that where settlement was good, education made satisfactory progress. The quality of education had

improved and 3,002 children attended school regularly. In contrast to the situation three years previously when 95 per cent of teenagers were said to be illiterate the 1978 Report found that more than one-third could read and about one-quarter could write. Almost all adult itinerants were, and still are, illiterate; programmes have been initiated to cope with the problem but progress is slow.

Finally, the paper attempts to place the itinerant problem in perspective. In 1977 itinerant families represented approximately 0.3 per cent of the population of the Republic; even on a population basis the percentage is 0.4. In four years, 1973-1977, the number of itinerant families in standard housing more than doubled (from 302 to 734). In the same period the number on the roadside increased slightly. Probably the majority of itinerants receive social security income and have small outgoings for accommodation. Nearly two-thirds of itinerant children living on the roadside are deprived of education and thus condemned to a lifetime of poverty. The authors think that, while people may choose to live by the roadside, they have not the right to impose such conditions on their young children nor to deprive them of the opportunity of education. The sad plight of the children is one of the outstanding features of the itinerant way of life.

## *Introduction*

THE problem of itinerancy has attracted much publicity; some of it unfavourable. Such publicity is disproportionate to the actual size of the problem since statistically the itinerant population is only about 0.4 per cent of the total population of Ireland. The problem is grave because of the deprivation and poverty associated with the itinerant population in the past. Living standards are low but improving. There has been a marked and steady increase in numbers of families in recent years—from 1,461 in 1973 to 1,953 in 1977, an increase of about 34 per cent. The number of itinerant families housed in standard housing from 1973 to 1977 increased by 143 per cent (from 302 to 734 families) but despite this, families living by the roadside increased by 8.4 per cent during the same period (from 788 in 1973 to 854 in 1977). Other worrying features are the almost total unemployment and the high rate of illiteracy and non-attendance of children at school.

It is hoped that the present mainly factual paper will help, if in a small way, those who are trying to improve the lot of itinerants. We were fortunate to have been allowed access to the 1977 census returns for Dublin, which give details at the individual and family level. The difficulties of obtaining a comprehensive census of itinerants are numerous; the fact that the returns were completed by people involved in social work with the itinerants helped to make the information more realistic although obviously even they had problems. The results of the census, therefore, have to be treated with caution but they are at least an improvement on complete lack of information.

Itinerancy may generally be associated with the problem of poverty; traditionally most of the itinerants were the very poor, no longer able to exist on meagre small holdings, dispossessed for failure to pay rents; or unemployed due to

the obsolescence of their trades. Many had been evicted by their landlords or had been forced into a life of vagrancy by famine. While some may have been able to earn enough money to emigrate or to return to a settled life, a number were unable to improve their conditions and remained on the roadside.

Patricia McCarthy (1975), who lived on an itinerant encampment while collecting data on a sociological investigation of itinerants, in her report argued that the itinerant way of life was a sub-culture of poverty. Itinerants were regarded as the lowest and most underprivileged class in Irish society; although some, particularly roadside traders, were better off in the material sense than others, there were significant barriers to upward class mobility intensified by their illiteracy. They were regarded by the settled community as "marginal people in every sense, existing on the fringes of settled Irish society living a primitive and harsh existence."

The concept of a sub-culture was defined as a life style containing some of the dominant cultural values of the surrounding society but also values and customs peculiar to itself. A sub-culture, in this context was a "response to environmental conditions"; externally imposed conditions and material resources were argued to be "prior to the culture or sub-culture of any human group". The sub-culture of poverty was defined as both an adaptation and a reaction of the poor to their marginal position in a capitalistic society including sociological, economic, psychological, social psychological and anthropological characteristics.

Itinerants, conscious of their poverty, avoid integration in activities of the settled community; they have a low self-esteem because of their position as social outcasts and their economic dependence on welfare and charity. They do not vote, belong to political parties, nor do they join trade unions, clubs nor associations; often they do not attend church on Sundays through fear of insult or ostracism by the public or through failure to understand the relevance of the ceremony. Circumstances such as these tend to resign them to feelings of inferiority and to consolidate family solidarity in a local orientated sub-culture. They tend to feel that the institutions

of the settled world do not include them and they accept their status almost fatalistically. Change is, however, coming. Among younger people there is a noticeable change of attitude especially among those who attend school regularly; these boys and girls are learning trades and aspiring to steady settled jobs and the kind of life style which they observe around them.

The question may be asked whether the movement of itinerant populations from the old predominantly rural setting to the environments of cities, particularly a movement to living in houses and integrating in a settled society, imposes social psychological problems for them and for the general population in accepting integration. In a later chapter on the statistical results of annual surveys, we find that an urbanisation of populations is taking place. The ultimate aim of the various Itinerant Settlement Committees and Local Authorities is to provide houses for the great majority of itinerants who wish to be housed; for the minority who prefer to travel around, the provision of serviced sites and properly developed halting sites is essential. There is no doubt that stress is caused in some cases both to itinerants and to the settled community during the settling-in period with resultant anti-social behaviour. Social workers, voluntary committees and Local Authorities work together with itinerant communities to smooth the transition, help with adjustment problems and cope with difficulties which arise at all stages of the change to settled living. We do not propose to enter the discussion on the merits or demerits of the policy of integration. We accept that most countries including Ireland regard integration of itinerants as a matter of desirable public policy, while realising that not everyone might agree with such a premise.

Table 1.1 shows the increase in the number of families since 1960 and 1961 to 1973 and 1977 by county. It may reasonably be assumed that the increase in numbers moving into large urban areas is due to economic considerations, accessibility to social welfare centres, greater opportunities for begging, trading or employment. There are also probably considerations of greater opportunities for the education of the children; perhaps too, integration into the settled com-

Table 1.1: Number and percentage of families by county and percentage increase by county 1960-1977

County	Number of families			Percentage in each county			Percentage change 1960-1977
	1960	1973	1977	1960	1961	1973	
Carlow	25	21	29	2	2	1	16
Cavan	32	16	16	3	2	1	-50
Clare	35	44	57	3	4	4	63
Cork	103	78	130	9	8	6	26
Donegal	32	41	48	3	4	2	50
Dublin	85	46	341	7	4	21	301
Dubway	142	135	225	12	13	11	58
Kerry	44	52	97	4	5	4	120
Kildare	20	34	31	2	3	1	55
Kilkenny	47	32	35	4	3	2	-26
Laois	21	26	25	2	3	1	19
Leitrim	23	18	20	2	2	1	-4
Limerick	78	51	120	5	5	6	54
Longford	25	24	66	2	2	2	164
Louth	28	26	67	2	3	4	139
Mayo	84	57	93	7	6	5	11
Meath	28	22	86	2	2	1	207
Monaghan	20	20	38	2	2	2	90
Offaly	45	33	62	4	3	4	38
Roscommon	46	26	47	4	3	3	2
Sligo	20	33	33	2	3	3	65
Tipperary	79	84	71	6	8	5	-9
Waterford	16	10	27	1	1	1	69
Westmeath	46	24	69	4	2	4	50
Wexford	55	51	88	5	5	4	60
Wicklow	19	19	29	1	2	1	53
<b>Totals</b>	<b>1,198</b>	<b>1,036</b>	<b>1,953</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>63</b>

Sources: 1960, 1961, Report of The Commission on Itinerary (1963) Stationery Office, Dublin.  
1973, 1977 Census taken by Local Authorities 1973 and 1977 (unpublished).



munity is easier in a highly populated area where people do not know each other to the same extent as in a smaller milieu. Thus anonymity helps integration. One cannot deny that problems may arise for the settled community and for the itinerants, particularly in the initial stages of settlement. Problems can be exacerbated by the too rapid urbanisation of people accustomed to a primitive rural existence. Such questions have been very competently dealt with in a study by Gmelch in 1977.

## Chapter 1

### *The 1963 Commission and Government Action.*

THE Commission on Itinerancy was established by the Irish Government in June 1960 and reported in June 1963.<sup>1</sup> The Commission's terms of reference were:

- (1) to enquire into the problem arising from the presence in the country of itinerants in considerable numbers;
- (2) to examine the economic, educational, health and social problems inherent in their way of life;
- (3) to consider what steps might be taken—
  - (a) to provide opportunities for a better way of life for itinerants,
  - (b) to promote their absorption into the general community,
  - (c) pending such absorption, to reduce to a minimum the disadvantages to themselves and to the community resulting from their itinerant habits,
  - (d) to improve the position generally;
- (4) to make recommendations.

At the time of the inauguration of the Commission very little information was available and it was necessary that data should be gathered from Government departments, Local Authorities and voluntary organisations dealing with the travelling people.

Censuses of the itinerants had been taken by the Garda in 1944, 1952 and 1956 and for the benefit of the Commission a census was taken in 1960 and another in 1961. Members of the Commission visited camp sites throughout the country and enquires were made directly from itinerants about their problems and living conditions.

<sup>1</sup>Report of The Commission on Itinerancy, 1963.

Information was obtained regarding the problems of itinerant populations in other countries, principally The Netherlands, France, Spain, Turkey, Western Germany, Portugal, England, Northern Ireland, Scotland. The only country at that time to have taken major steps to deal with the problem of itinerancy was The Netherlands. In 1957 legislation was introduced there to enable Local Authorities to set up camps in regions comprising several administrative areas so that any one particular Local Authority would not have to cope with all the problems involved. These camps normally had parking space for 75 caravans; accommodation included a school and pre-school classes, a small church, club room, study room, doctor's surgery, showerbaths, laundry room, toilets, an office for the camp manager, sports ground, electricity and water taps. A nominal daily fee was payable.

As a result of The Netherlands' policy itinerants tended to be stabilised in fairly large groups; their caravans reasonably well equipped dwellings; the groups large enough for the provision of teachers, social workers, health and welfare services on the site; the work of voluntary workers made easier for establishing and making contact with the itinerants.

The situation in Ireland at the time of the 1960 and 1961 Censuses was very different. The most usual living accommodation was the horse-drawn caravan although about a third lived in tents made of canvas or tarpaulin draped over hooped wire or willow branches. The tents had no floors and were often on damp or even sodden ground. The horse-drawn caravans were usually of about 250 cubic feet gross capacity; a completely inadequate provision for the large family units. The average number of children was six to seven per family, therefore the caravans housed eight or nine people.

The hardships of the itinerant mode of life were responsible for ill health particularly in the case of the men. "The apparent high death rate in the age-groups over 30 years and the fact that a significant number have been affected by respiratory diseases would indicate that the health of itinerants is seriously affected by the rigours of the way of life". The mortality of infants was high; according to the 1960 Census 12.5 per cent of children born alive died under the age of two

years; while the 1961 Census shows that 11.5 per cent died. From the available information, it appeared that, "the majority of deaths of these infants (under one year) was due to respiratory diseases rather than to other causes and in the opinion of the Commission the harshness and rigour of the living conditions were primary causes. The number of deaths in the 1-2 years age group would appear to be relatively high for the same reasons."

There was a progressive reduction in the number of travellers in the higher age groups. "While the 1956 census figures for the State indicated that 50 per cent of the settled population was over 30 years of age and that the spread in each age-group over 30 was relatively even, only 23 per cent of itinerants were over the age of 30 and the numbers in the higher age-groups fell rapidly." In fact, while the general population contained 15 per cent of people aged 60 and over, in the travellers' population only 2.9 per cent were in a similar category both in 1960 and 1961. The Commission could not ascertain definitely that the difference was due to early deaths among the travellers but considered it "reasonable to assume that a high death rate in the middle age-groups is a factor of importance".

At the time of the Commission's report in 1963, most of the itinerants' caravans and tents were located on roadsides. Such camping was usually in contravention of the Sanitary Services Act, 1948 and the enforced movement of travellers was carried out in accordance with the provision of the Act. "The emphasis is on moving itinerants out of the district rather than on the eradication of the problems associated with their camping in unsatisfactory and unsuitable places". Local communities objected to itinerant camping on the roadside in their localities, forcing the authorities to move them on. Such continual harassment exacerbated the problem and increased hostility between itinerants and settled community, often culminating in anti-social behaviour.

Questions were asked in the 1960 and 1961 Censuses whether the travellers would prefer to settle in houses if they were made available rather than continue the travelling way of life.

Approximately 78 per cent of families said they were in favour of settling. In fact the Commission found that many travellers had rented houses from Local Authorities or purchased houses and settled down. It was, however, realised that there were dangers in placing too much reliance on the answers obtained, but it was made clear to the members of the Commission in interviews that itinerants, generally, were satisfied that their way of life was becoming more and more difficult and accepted the inevitable of having to leave the road sooner or later.

Local Authority housing was available to itinerants but the Councils' conditions for the assessment of suitable applicants frequently mitigated against actual placement. The regulations usually provided that in making a letting the Housing Authority would have regard to "the character, industry, occupation, family conditions and existing housing conditions of the applicants." Itinerants qualified as regards overcrowding and living in unfit conditions but they usually were eliminated on the other requirements of character, industry or occupation.

The procedure of applying for housing was usually by public advertisement, therefore travelling families, unable to read and write, were at a great disadvantage. Local Authorities were naturally reluctant to allocate houses to travellers who often did not make good tenants, taking little care of their houses and often damaging them. The Report states, however, "in not less than 124 cases, dwellings had been let to families who were itinerants. Of these lettings at least 90 were still in occupation by the itinerant families at the date of the reply to the Commission and satisfactory results were being obtained in many cases".

Almost all itinerants were completely illiterate. In November 1960 only seven per cent of children between the ages of six and 14 were attending school regularly. In consequence of such illiteracy, the itinerants could not read street signs, road signs and instructions, could not shop in supermarkets, nor use buses. They were severely restricted in the jobs which they could take up both because of inability to follow written instructions of the simplest kind, and also because they were

unaware of the availability of jobs and could not apply for them even if they became aware. According to the Report, "the itinerants' lack of elementary education makes it virtually impossible for them to avail of the present system of vocational education". Furthermore, out of a total of 3,167 itinerants over the age of 14 years in the 1960 Census, 2,252 or 71 per cent stated that they would not like to learn a trade or craft of their own choosing. Of the 866 who stated that they would like to learn a trade, fewer than 500 specified a particular trade. Among those selected were carpentry (136), domestic work (84), dressmaking and knitting (88), building generally (37), mechanical work (49), tinsmith (53).

The difficulties of children attending school, when they are constantly moving from place to place, are obvious. If the authorities wished to enforce the provisions of the School Attendance Act which provide for the compulsory education of children of school-going age, they could commit such children to industrial schools for non-attendance at school but, apart from the inadvisability of such action, most of the itinerants would have decamped before the committal orders were served.

The Commission considered that little could be done about the problem of illiteracy among adults. They recommended that where itinerants settle in houses or on approved camping sites, instruction should be made available in elementary carpentry, repair and servicing of machinery and plumbing for men, and in cooking, needlework and "other domestic knowledge" for women.

At the time of the 1960 and 1961 Censuses many of the itinerants depended for transport on donkeys and horses. They were also dealers in horses and donkeys. There was then little sign of the trend in other countries to motorised transport; this might reflect the poorer state of the Irish travellers who could not afford tax, insurance, oil and petrol, whereas a horse or donkey cost practically nothing to keep. The animals entered and grazed on farmers' property causing damage to crops and great annoyance to the settled population. "It is very clear that the trouble and injury that itinerants cause to the rural community by trespass and damage to

crops etc. would diminish substantially if they changed over to motor transport”.

The majority of travellers were dealers and collectors of scrap although some claimed to be sweeps, odd job men, seasonal agricultural workers, tinsmiths. The Commission was not satisfied that the trade of tinsmith could, of itself, provide a sufficient income for an itinerant family due to changes in demand for cheaper plastic than for tin containers. It was thought possible that the skill of tinsmith could be adapted to metal work generally or to machinery repair and maintenance.

The Commission Report comments on the social and ethical behaviour of itinerants, particularly their tendency to keep aloof from the settled population, their seeming lack of “respect for the law”, lack of interest in exercising franchise, failure to register births, deaths and marriages and their disregard for the property rights of others which is regarded as “one of the most serious problems”.

Age at marriage of the majority of itinerants was very young. About 75 per cent of male itinerants were married before age 25 compared with less than 22 per cent of the settled population of that age; while about 38 per cent of the female itinerants were married under the age of 18 years, compared with only 1.4 per cent of women in the settled population. Many itinerants stated that they were unwilling to allow their children to emigrate unless they were married before going.

Much of the food and clothing was obtained by begging which is always done by the women; most families would be reduced to starvation level (at the time of the 1963 Report) without the income in cash or in kind received from this source.

While itinerants may have been guilty of committing offences such as damage to property, petty larceny, pilfering, fighting, trespass, there is no evidence that they were any more guilty of serious crime than the settled population.

In addition to making recommendations on specific issues, e.g., housing, education, employment, the Commission made several general recommendations:- (i) the bridging of the gap

between the social and economic standards of the itinerants and of the settled community; (ii) encouragement of the itinerants to leave the road and settle down; (iii) the recognition that the absorption of itinerants into settled society will take time and patience; (iv) the establishment of a central body to deal with problems and practical difficulties involved in reaching the objective of "essential absorption of the itinerants into the general community"; (v) the financing of the transition of families from the roadside to settled accommodation by public assistance. Itinerant families should not be forced to resort to begging but should have "adequate home assistance" available to them; such assistance or part of it should be in "vouchers exchangeable for goods rather than in cash".

These recommendations were comprehensive and reflect at several points the official thinking in several other European countries. The policy of absorption of itinerants into the settled community has been adopted in most countries as the optimum long-term solution to the problem of itinerancy.



## Chapter 2

### *Experience in Other Countries*

IT is not easy to make a comparison between travellers from different countries as some authorities are interested in gypsies only, others include nomads who travel around in search of water and grazing for flocks, while others include all itinerant people. In most countries travelling show-people and entertainers are excluded from the category of itinerants. Countries which took a recent census have a reasonably accurate knowledge of the size of the itinerant population but where censuses are not taken, only very rough estimates are made. In countries with itinerant populations various measures have been introduced to deal with problems consequent on a travelling way of life.

The Sub-Committee of The Council of Europe was set up by the Committee of Ministers in 1972 to discuss mutual experiences and to prepare a draft resolution on the economic and social conditions of gypsies and other travellers in Europe. Members of the Committee came from Belgium, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Ireland, Italy, The Netherlands, Norway, Sweden. The problems considered were those of nomads attempting to lead a settled life but who had social problems stemming from the nomadic way of life as well as of those who continued to travel.

In 1973 when the sub-committee reported,<sup>2</sup> numbers of nomads in the states participating in the report were as given in Table 2.1.

The recommendations of the sub-committee were incorporated into Resolution (75)13, adopted by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe in May 1975, which

<sup>2</sup>The Situation of Gypsies and Other Travellers in Europe: *Sub-Committee's Report to the Social Committee*. Council of Europe, Strasbourg 1973.

noted that industrial and urban development and extension of town and country planning had adverse effects on the situation of nomads in Europe. Consideration was given to the prejudices of the settled population against nomads and

Table 2.1: *Numbers of nomads in some European countries*  
1972/73

<i>Country</i>	<i>Number</i>
Belgium	5,500
France	50,000 to 60,000 (plus 40,000 to 50,000 settled)
Federal Republic of Germany	30,000
Italy	150,000
The Netherlands	30,000
Norway	100
Sweden	3,000 to 4,000
Ireland	1,400 families

the circumstances of their lives which impede them from full integration into society; particular emphasis was placed on the necessity for education of the children.

Questions of general policy, camping and housing, education, vocational guidance and vocational training, health and social welfare, and social security were on the agenda. It was agreed that discrimination against nomads should be controlled within the framework of national legislation. More information should be given to the settled population about nomads' living and economic conditions; they should be encouraged to participate in the "preparation and implementation of measures concerning them"; housing should be provided for those who wished to settle and for those who did not, there should be camping sites "equipped so as to promote safety, hygiene and welfare". The ideal schooling recommended was integration into the normal school system; in addition there should be adult literacy programmes and vocational guidance and training.

Families should be helped to know and use health, social welfare and social security benefits by the co-operation of medical and social services. "Action on behalf of nomads should . . . give them the opportunity to integrate into

the educational, cultural, professional and recreational organisations open to the general population”.

The situation in Czechoslovakia is interesting, where a population of approximately 262,000 gypsies, are not permitted to maintain a nomadic existence. Identification is possible as, in spite of compulsory settlement, they still maintain a distinct identity and continue to practice their old customs and way of life. They are regarded as socially retarded and have not become integrated into normal society. The State has introduced measures to overcome this “social retardment” by increasing social benefits and opportunities in favour of the gypsies, improving the quality of their children’s education, improving sanitation and hygiene in the areas where they live and generally introducing socio-economic measures which favour them.

Efforts are chiefly concentrated on (i) increasing the social services for the itinerant population; (ii) making places available in educational institutions for the children; (iii) an endeavour to increase employment particularly employment opportunities for women; (iv) reserving of special places in crèches for the children of itinerants; (v) development of the cultural and educational activities of itinerant children by extra-curricular educational activities and by voluntary clubs and societies; (vi) improvement of education in hygiene particularly in the area of child care and of home hygiene.

A census of caravan dwellers in The Netherlands was taken by Local Authorities in April 1977. There were 4,730 households of caravan dwellers comprising 16,870 persons; most were of Dutch extraction and about five per cent were of gypsy origin.

There were approximately 200 caravan centres, of which 45 had a capacity for more than 40 caravans; the largest had space for 150 caravans. The remaining 155 sites were small. Experience has shown that small sites were more suitable than large sites both from the point of view of the welfare of the itinerants and of the State aims of integration with the settled population. The Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Recreation and Social Welfare recommend the establishment of small centres, preferably not larger than 15 caravan sites

in, or adjacent to, built-up areas. Local Authorities tend to try to place the centres away from populated areas because of local objections. Many centres are larger than desirable because Local Authorities do not agree to the provision of caravan centres within their jurisdiction, consequently numbers must be accommodated where they are permitted.

Difficulties in obtaining locations for caravan centres and in improving existing centres can be exacerbated by the lack of agreement on whether it is desirable to improve existing centres or to re-establish them elsewhere. If the decision is for re-establishment, expropriation of land is often necessary, which can involve a different land use from that planned, e.g., land originally planned for agricultural use being used for a caravan centre. Citizens can lodge an appeal against such expropriation and changes of land-use planning and thereby delay or prevent the construction of caravan sites.

Caravans can be purchased by means of a 90 per cent Public Assistance loan carrying a low rate of interest. A direct subsidy is not made for the purchase of caravans but loans are in fact repaid very irregularly and debts sometimes run into very large amounts.

To cope with the special educational problems of a mobile population, special schools were set up on 47 of the medium-sized sites. Policy is aimed, however, at bringing all children into the ordinary educational system.

Social Welfare workers had originally been appointed to assist with the problems of caravan dwellers but, as in the case of education, present policy is aimed at integration of the itinerants into local welfare schemes.

Unemployment and partial unemployment are the norm for caravan dwellers. A survey made during 1970 found that 20.7 per cent were totally unemployed; while among the 79.3 per cent who had some occupation, most were only partially employed and were in receipt of supplementary benefit as their jobs did not provide a minimum income. Of those working, about 30 per cent were dealers in scrap and metals, 9 per cent second-hand car dealers, 15 per cent worked in various local jobs, the remainder being self-employed, e.g., scissors-grinders, chair menders, second-hand car wreckers.

In Britain the Caravan Sites Act 1968 legislated for the provision by Local Authorities of caravan sites for gypsies although some boroughs were not required to provide accommodation for more than fifteen caravans at a time. The Act prohibited the stationing of caravans by gypsies for residential purposes on (i) any land situated within the boundaries of a highway, (ii) any other unoccupied land, (iii) any occupied land without the consent of the occupier.

There were approximately 5,600 traveller families in England and Wales according to counts taken between 1971 and 1973 by various organisations "ranging from the police and the local authority to Gypsy Support Groups" (Adams *et al.*, 1975). The last official census was in 1965 when families numbered 3,400 (HMSO, 1967). The large increase cannot be fully explained but could be due to the high natural increase of the gypsy population, immigration from Ireland, people from the settled population taking to the roads or to a decrease in the numbers settling in houses. Total population was about 26,000. As official policy regarding the provision of sites was based on a considerably smaller population, many families were still without legal sites.

Most of the sites provided by the Local Authorities have water supply, sanitation, electricity and refuse disposal facilities; some have communal baths or showers. The sites are usually provided with hard surfaces. Rents are around £4 a week.

A large number of traveller children do not receive any education, due in many cases to lack of interest by parents in the educational needs of their children. Where the children are enrolled at school, attendance is often irregular. The majority attend State schools, although there are some schools sponsored by independent groups where the special needs of itinerant children are predominant while some of the State schools provide special classes and remedial teachers.

Itinerants' occupations are mainly in self-employed categories such as scrap collection, dealing in second-hand goods and cars, knife grinding, fortune telling, hawking, horse dealing, tarmacking; they also work in seasonal agriculture, e.g., fruit picking, hop tying. Increasingly, families resort to

social security support because of the higher rents on equipped sites and the restriction on storage of scrap, rags, etc.

A report of a Commission of Inquiry on the working of the Caravan Sites Act 1968 published in May 1977 (HMSO), recommended that: (i) Central Government funds should be available to complete sites needed in a five-year programme, (ii) quotas for the provision of sites should be fixed with local authorities, (iii) an advisory committee on gypsies would be set up with representation from Central Government, Local Authorities and the gypsies themselves. If implemented, these recommendations could further alleviate the housing, education and employment problems of the itinerant population.

Interchange of experience with other countries in dealing with itinerants' problems has been useful to Ireland. At first sight it might appear that conditions of itinerant populations varied greatly from country to country, nevertheless the basic economic and social problems arising from poverty and educational deprivation are experienced everywhere. Solutions applied in one country seem capable of adaptation to somewhat varying but basically similar problems in other countries.

## Chapter 3

### *Financial Aspects of Itinerancy*

**I**<sup>N</sup> Ireland finance of itinerants' rehabilitation projects is provided partly from private sources but mainly from State subsidy. Since publication of the 1963 Report funding from public funds has progressively increased. In the early stages all finance was provided by voluntary contributions; this has now changed and, either directly or indirectly, subsidies and grants of various kinds are provided by the Departments of the Environment (formerly Local Government), Education and Social Welfare. It is difficult to arrive at an accurate total figure for Government expenditure on itinerants as they are not specifically classified and therefore indistinguishable from the settled population in statistics of unemployment, disability pensions, children's allowances, education (if integrated in the ordinary school system). It is fairly certain that in the early 1960s a reasonably large proportion of itinerants did not receive many of the benefits to which they were entitled whether of social welfare, health, education but it is equally certain that at the present time, due principally to the efforts of social workers and voluntary groups, all or almost all are taking up the benefits available to them.

In 1965, as a result of the Report of The Commission on Itinerancy, 1963, an Advisory Committee on Itinerancy was set up by the Minister for Local Government,<sup>3</sup> to advise Government departments on measures to promote the rehabilitation of itinerants and their absorption into the community.

Voluntary groups became interested in the problems of itinerant families and set up local committees to assist in the settlement of families; professional social workers were

<sup>3</sup>Programme for the Settlement of Travellers, Department of Local Government, November 1975. The Committee according to one of its members, met only two or three times and did not really function.

employed to help with rehabilitation and settlement problems. The first national group formed was the Irish Council for Itinerant Settlement which later became the National Council for Travelling People. Ninety per cent of salaries of social workers employed by voluntary groups or Local Authorities is reimbursed by the Department of the Environment. The National Council for Travelling People employs a national co-ordinator who has overall responsibility for the rehabilitation and housing of itinerant families and 90 per cent of whose salary is reimbursed by the Department also.

Local Authorities continue to take responsibility for the provision of housing accommodation for families who wish to settle in houses. They also provide serviced sites with chalet accommodation, designed as a half-way measure in the rehabilitation process from roadside to settled housing. Some hard surface halting sites are provided and many more are planned.

It was considered necessary to make special provision for the educational needs of travellers because of the difficulties involved in regular attendance at school. A national co-ordinator for the education of travellers was appointed, 90 per cent of whose salary is paid by the Department of Education, and whose task it is to supervise itinerants' educational facilities throughout the country. A special camp school has been organised on the site at Labre Park and there are now pre-school classes on eight sites. Special vocational training centres have been established which give training in woodwork and metalwork for boys, and in sewing, cookery, crafts, household management for girls; unfortunately the work of vocational training is greatly hampered by the illiteracy of the students. The general aim is to integrate travelling children into the normal educational system but in the interim, because of the special circumstances of itinerants there is need of a school system geared to meet these special needs.

Between 1966-67 and 1969-70 the Department of Local Government reimbursed Local Authorities 66 $\frac{2}{3}$  per cent of the cost of site development for housing itinerants. Two sites were provided by Local Authorities at Rathkeale, Co. Limerick and at Newbridge, Co. Kildare.



Increased financial assistance for the provision of camping sites and chalets was provided in 1970 by means of a 100 per cent subsidy on loan charges, payable where "an accommodation unit of a certain standard for each family is provided."<sup>4</sup> During the period covered by the Report serviced camping sites were provided in eight areas at the 66 $\frac{2}{3}$  per cent rate of subsidy:-

<i>Location</i>	<i>Families provided for</i>
Labre Park, Ballyfermot, Dublin	39
Avila Park, Finglas, Dublin	20
Mahon Peninsula, Blackrock, Cork	6
Loughrea, Co Galway	8
Galway Corporation	17
Kerry County Council	19
Clare County Council	4
Dublin County Council	4
	<hr/>
	117

At the 100 per cent subsidy the following were provided:-

Cavan County Council	3
Dundalk County Council	22
	<hr/>
	25

A national school erected on the Ballyfermot site by the Department of Education, has been operational since December 1968.

A Department of Local Government Report (1974) stated that Local Authorities were requested to give priority to the needs of tent-dwelling families, who should be provided with "caravans or other dwelling units pending full settlement". Financial assistance towards the provision of accommodation was payable to Local Authorities by means of subsidy and loan charges as follows: (i) serviced site with chalet accommodation, 100 per cent, (ii) renovated houses 100 per cent, (iii) caravans on serviced sites 66 $\frac{2}{3}$  per cent, caravans 50 per cent. A Local Authority could recoup up to two-thirds of expenditure incurred by voluntary committees in providing accommodation for itinerant families; half of such Local

<sup>4</sup>Report of Department of Local Government 1967/68 and 1970/71, Stationery Office, Dublin (1971).

Authority outlay was reimbursed from Central Government funds. Ninety per cent of salary and expenses of about 30 social workers employed on itinerant rehabilitation work was refunded by the State.

From 1 April 1974 an adviser to the Minister for Local Government was appointed to promote and co-ordinate the settlement programme with particular reference to the following:

- (i) to review with Local Authorities the results achieved to date;
- (ii) to advise and assist the Local Authorities in preparing new programmes for their areas;
- (iii) to liaise with councillors, managers and local committees in promoting schemes and in overcoming local opposition;
- (iv) to improve the organisation and effectiveness of the local committees;
- (v) to facilitate meetings and exchanges between Local Authority social workers assisting itinerants;
- (vi) to establish liaison with Government departments and other bodies concerned;
- (vii) to report to the Minister on the progress made and to identify general aspects where further action may be needed.

The Department of Local Government reported in 1975 that the subsidy to Local Authorities towards the provision of halting places was increased from July 1975 to 100 per cent of approved expenditure from the previous 50 per cent. Permanent accommodation was provided at the rate of about 100 families a year. The Department also arranged to recoup 50 per cent of grants made by Local Authorities to help with the purchase of houses by itinerants, subject to a maximum £250 recoupment in each case.

According to the 1976 Report, where prospects of settlement were good, housing was provided by the Local Authority either under the normal housing programme for which normal housing subsidy was available or through the purchase, repair and reconstruction of older houses, for which the subsidy was equivalent to 100 per cent of the loan charges.

Total capital expenditure paid by the Department of Local Government from 1965 to 1977 amounted to approximately £1.80m an average of £138,000 a year over the 13-year period. The greatest input of finance occurred since 1972 when the average was £224,000 a year whereas the first six years from 1965 to 1971 averaged £40,000. (Appendix A shows expenditure at current and constant prices.) Provision has been made in the 1978 Budget for a grant of £370,200 to assist Local Authorities with settlement programmes. The Department of Education paid teachers in special schools and training establishments. The 1965/66 to 1977 Department of the Environment capital expenditure amounting to £1.80m included grants for residential sites, purchase and renovation of old houses, caravans for tent-dwelling families, and halting places. Housing was also provided to many itinerant families under the Local Authorities' regular housing programmes for which the usual housing subsidies were payable.

Much progress has been achieved in providing standard housing, chalets on serviced sites, halting sites, caravans on approved sites. Finance was made available by Central Government for all projects planned. Official policy has been to expedite the settlement of itinerants and to press for maximum activity in achieving such settlement.

Table 3.1: *Housing of itinerant families for the years 1973 to 1977*

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
Standard housing	302	468	569	673	734
Chalets on serviced sites	225	300	287	253	258
Trailers on authorised sites	146	63	74	117	107
Roadside	788	859	860	831	854
<i>Total</i>	1,461	1,690	1,790	1,874	1,953

Source: Census of Travelling People taken each year for the Department of the Environment.

About a third of those on the roadside show little interest in settlement; some are the relatively prosperous roadside traders dealing in carpets, radios and other consumer goods. It is hoped that families who do not wish to settle will use

the hard standing serviced halting places planned for development and discontinue camping on unauthorised sites. The proposed halting places will be equipped with sanitation, lighting, water and refuse disposal facilities.

Approximately 90 per cent of the possible labour force among itinerants are unemployed and never have been gainfully employed. The principal source of income for families is unemployment assistance. Due to the efforts and guidance of the social workers, all, or almost all, itinerants are now getting the benefits to which they are entitled.<sup>5</sup> The economic circumstances of itinerants have therefore improved considerably over the past twelve years; rentals charged for serviced sites and chalets are small—about 50 pence a week on a serviced site and around £4 a week for a chalet many being considerably less, while those living on unauthorised ground, are free of rent. Local Authorities apply the sanitary services laws to move families from unauthorised roadside to serviced sites and chalets where these are available.

Social assistance payments naturally vary according to family size, but it is possible to estimate the incomes in a range of family circumstances, e.g., where the husband is in receipt of Unemployment Assistance the average family income of husband, wife and five children amounts to £35.85 per week (from April 1978) if living in an urban area; for those living in a rural area the amount is 60p a week less. Children's allowances are additional.

A family of husband and wife, two unemployed children over 18 years and three children under 18 years, who qualify for the dependants' rate would receive a weekly income of £53.85 from unemployment assistance plus £2.81 in children's allowances making a total of £56.66 a week. While these amounts cannot be described as affluence, they are still a great improvement on the absolute poverty which prevailed when itinerants were unaware of their entitlements or unable

<sup>5</sup>The fact that itinerants on unauthorised sites may be forced to move might appear to present qualification difficulties for obtaining Unemployment Assistance. Actually they usually move within short distances. We have been reliably informed that in the Dublin area, families rarely cross the Liffey but keep to North Dublin or South Dublin. This development may have occurred because of the expediency of remaining in a particular employment exchange area.

Table 3.2: *Weekly family income from unemployment assistance and children's allowances payable from April 1978 (husband and wife plus children)*

	<i>No children</i>	<i>1 child</i>	<i>2 children</i>	<i>3 children</i>	<i>4 children</i>	<i>5 children</i>	<i>6 children</i>	<i>7 children</i>
Unemployment assistance	20.30	23.95	27.60	30.35	33.10	35.85	38.60	41.35
Children's allowances*	—	0.58	1.60	2.81	4.03	5.24	6.45	7.66
<i>Total</i>	20.30	24.53	29.20	33.16	37.13	41.09	45.05	49.01

\*Payable monthly but translated into weekly amounts.

for a variety of reasons, particularly illiteracy, to claim them.<sup>6</sup> Social welfare assistance corresponds to take home pay of those at work and is not subject to deductions for income tax and social welfare contributions.

<sup>6</sup>The help of social workers and voluntary committee members, in putting itinerant families in touch with their social benefit entitlements, has been of primary importance.

## Chapter 4

### *Statistics of Itinerants*

FOR the comment that follows the statistics of the itinerant censuses of December 1960 and June 1961<sup>7</sup> have been averaged and the result ascribed to "1960-61". Censuses taken by Local Authorities for the Department of the Environment (formerly Department of Local Government) provided the statistics 1973-77 inclusive. The detailed Dublin Census (1977) was taken by Dublin Corporation Community and Environment Department for the Department of the Environment. A copy of the schedule used is given in Appendix B.

Between 1960-61 and 1977 (say, 16½ years) the number of itinerant families in the Irish Republic increased from 1,117 to 1,953, or at the rate of 3.4 per cent a year. In 1973 the number was 1,461 so that the increase in 1973-77 was at the rate of 7.5 per cent a year, compared to 2.2 per cent in the period 1960-61 to 1973; since 1973 the annual rate of increase in the number of itinerant families has multiplied nearly fourfold compared with the 12½ years up to 1973.

It seems unlikely that the increase in families in the four years 1973-77 was due to natural growth within the itinerant population itself. As Table 3.1 shows, the average annual increase in number of families was 123 in a population averaging about 10,000, or a rate of 12.3 per 1,000 population. This rate would be nearly twice the national marriage rate during these years. Some immigration from outside the Republic or drop-out from the settled classes may have occurred: we lack data to enable us to make a firmer statement.

About one-third of the increase in the number of families between 1960-61 and 1977 occurred in Dublin (City and County)—see Table 4.1.

<sup>7</sup>Report of The Commission on Itinerancy, 1963 Stationery Office, Dublin, Pr.7272.

Table 4.1: *Number and percentage of itinerant families in six regions, 1960-61 and 1977*

Region	Number		Percentage	
	1960-61	1977	1960-61	1977
Dublin City and County	66	341	5.9	17.5
Other Co. Borough Counties	172	277	15.4	14.2
Rest of—				
Leinster	338	587	30.2	30.0
Munster	169	226	15.1	11.6
Connacht	292	420	26.1	21.5
Ulster	80	102	7.2	5.2
<i>Total</i>	1,117	1,953	100.—	100.—

Source: 1960-61 Report of The Commission on Itinerancy, 1977 Census taken by Local Authorities for The Department of Local Government.

The percentage for Dublin in 1977 was three times its level in 1960-61, all the Dublin percentage increase being taken from the other five regions. In fact, the percentage comparison strongly suggests that the change in geographical distribution was influenced by relative economic trends throughout the country.

Table 4.2: *Number and percentage of itinerant families (i) housed, on serviced and approved sites (HSA) and (ii) on roadside (R) 1973-1977.*

Year	HSA	Number R	Total	R as % of total
1973	673	788	1,461	53.9
1974	831	859	1,690	50.8
1975	930	860	1,790	48.0
1976	1,043	831	1,874	44.3
1977	1,099	854	1,953	43.7

Source: Yearly censuses of itinerant families; Department of the Environment.

Table 4.2 shows that by far the greater part of the increase in the number of families was in the serviced classes, the roadside number, presumably the least satisfactorily circumstanced, remaining almost steady; the problem of improving amenities of this class remains unsolved. One might infer that



the great improvement in the amenities officially provided is a main cause of the large increase in the number in the serviced (HSA) class in three years. The Local Authority policy of accelerating the provision of accommodation for those families waiting for settlement or already in the process of settlement obviously was successful. Progress tends to be inhibited, however, by local opposition to the siting of serviced sites and other amenities for itinerants.

Table 4.3: *Particulars of Table 4.2 for Dublin City and County, 1973-1977*

<i>Year</i>	<i>HSA</i>	<i>Number R</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>R as % of total</i>
1973	145	168	313	53.7
1974	160	227	387	58.7
1975	180	178	358	49.7
1976	196	163	359	45.4
1977	209	132	341	38.7

*Source:* Yearly censuses of itinerant families. Department of the Environment.

The recent trends for Dublin, shown in Table 4.3 are much the same as for the whole country in the period 1973-77, though the percentage increase in the HSA<sup>a</sup> class was greater in the rest of the country (69 compared to Dublin's 44 per cent). The 1977 data for Dublin show that the decline in the roadside (R), absolute number and fraction of families, continues. The marked decline in roadside families in Dublin in 1977 is not reflected in the figures for the rest of the country.

#### *Dublin 1977*

The rest of this chapter is based on statistics of families and individuals in Dublin (City and County) in 1977, which have been made available to us. They were collected at the same time as the Census of Families by Dublin Corporation and furnished to the Department of the Environment. The 341 family returns contain 65 described as in Standard Housing. There remain 276 and, in principle, the statistics are based on these. No particulars at all were forthcoming from 52, presumably because of absences or refusals; nearly

<sup>a</sup>See Table 4.2.

40 of these were on sites of two or more so there may have been some collusion in non-compliance. Even in the returns deemed usable there were often gaps, e.g., failure to answer such questions as "How long has family been in Dublin area?" Out of 224 families, 41 failed to answer this particular; the statistics were based on the remaining 183. As regards statistics relating to the 1,396 individuals, age was not stated for 165 of these. One does not know what biases are introduced due to these omissions. The statistics, of course, are percentages etc., based solely on the returns with data.

The average size of an itinerant family in Dublin in 1977 was 6.23 (=1,396/224), a substantial increase (actually nearly one person) on the 1960-61 average of 5.26. Averages for each type of accommodation and location were:-<sup>9</sup>

<i>Accommodation:</i>	<i>Trailer</i>	<i>Chalet</i>	<i>Caravan, tent, hut</i>	<i>Total</i>
	6.16	6.50	5.19	6.23
<i>Location:</i>	<i>Roadside</i>	<i>Private ground</i>	<i>Serviced site</i>	<i>Total</i>
	5.82	6.28	6.45	6.23

The outstanding feature is the near constancy of the family size figure, though somewhat lower, as one might expect, for the small number (8 per cent of all persons) of caravan etc., people. The 1971 Census averages for the whole population in private households were 3.96 for the Republic and 3.71 for Dublin.<sup>10</sup>

Average family size amongst Dublin (and probably all Irish) itinerants seems much larger than in some other countries, e.g., in The Netherlands in 1977, average size was 3.57.

### *Families*

In Tables 4.4 and 4.5 family characteristics of Dublin itinerants are analysed. While, as already stated, the calculations in principle are based on 224 families, information on many was lacking, so that often the results (percentages in

<sup>9</sup>Numbers of families and persons were "blown-up proportionately in each category for missing, before establishing the averages.

<sup>10</sup>Contrary to what might appear, these contrasts are not due, as we show later, to high fertility but mainly to the age distribution of itinerant married women.

Table 4.4 and chi-squared inferences in Table 4.5) were based on fewer numbers. In consequence, any references to Table 4.4 should be read in rounded-off terms such as that "half the families were in the Dublin area for ten years", "half the families are on the present site for less than a year".

Table 4.4 is so simple that it will not be necessary to spell out what it shows. That nearly one-third of the families are in units of nine or more assumes the great significance in terms of persons, of whom over one-half live in these conditions. The contrast between the proportions for characteristics 3 and 5 indicates frequent change of location

Table 4.4: *Percentage distributions of itinerant families in Dublin in 1977 according to certain characteristics. Number of families: 224*

Characteristic	Code: for key see below								
	1,	2,	3,	4,	5,	6,	7,	8,	9
1 Accommodation	48	44	8						
2 Location	29	21	50						
3 Time in Dublin area	7	15	29	49					
4 Where before	90	10							
5 Time on present site	45	29	26						
6 Apply to LA for housing ?	37	63							
7 Ever housed by LA ?	25	75							
8 Accept a LA house ?	45	55							
9 Live on developed site ?	65	35							
10 Size of family	5	12½	12½	8	9	10	5	7	31

*Codes for family characteristics*

- 1 Accommodation: 1 trailer, 2 chalet, 3 caravan, hut, tent.
- 2 Location: 1 roadside, 2 private ground, 3 serviced site.
- 3 Time in Dublin area (years): 1 less than one, 2 one to four, 3 four to ten, 4 ten or more.
- 4 Where before: 1 elsewhere in Republic, 2 outside.
- 5 Time on present site (years): 1 less than one, 2 one to four, 3 four to ten.
- 1 Yes 2 No classification:—
  - 6 Apply to LA for housing ?
  - 7 Ever housed by LA ?
  - 8 Accept LA house ?
  - 9 Live on developed site ?
  - 10 Size of family: as code, except 9, nine or over.

Source: Census of Itinerant Families for Dublin (City and County) 1977.

within the Dublin area, inimical to any possibility of regular schooling.

As to Table 4.5, lack of relationship as adjudged by chi-squared (i.e., with symbol 0) is general. This lack has some interest, e.g., that application for Local Authority housing (6) is unrelated to any other characteristic when surely one

Table 4.5: *Dublin itinerant families 1977. Significance of relationship between pairs of characteristics*

	Code									
	1,	2,	3,	4,	5,	6,	7,	8,	9,	10
1	X									
2	4	X								
3	0	0	X							
4	0	0	3	X						
5	4	4	4	-	X					
6	0	0	0	0	-	X				
7	1	3	0	0	-	-	X			
8	0	2	0	0	-	-	-	X		
9	4	4	0	0	-	-	-	-	X	
10	4	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	X

Notes: For key characteristics code see Table 4.4. Significance code is as follows:-

Chi-squared null hypothesis probability (NHP)	Code
$\geq .1$	0
$\geq .05, < .1$	1
$\geq .01, < .05$	2
$\geq .001, < .01$	3
$< .001$	4

Source: As Table 4.4. - significance not tested.

would have expected roadside dwellers (2) at least to be the more assiduous. Some of the "significant" relations are self-evident, for instance between characteristics 1 and 2: we find nearly all the roadside families are in trailers and nearly all the service site people are in chalets. As to the strong relationship between characteristics 2 and 5, roadside and private ground families are far shorter on site than are the service site families. The "where before" characteristic (4) has only one significant relation, in fact with 3: very few of the "out-side" families were a long time in the Dublin area.

Family size (10) is significantly related only to characteristics 1 and 7. It is not easy to rationalise the former, i.e., the 10 x 1 relation. As regards the other, large families are much more likely to have previously been housed by Local Authorities than are smaller families.

There have been incidental references to numbers of persons in what has gone before. We now confine ourselves exclusively to analyses of these numbers in Dublin in 1977.

### *Persons*

As already stated, persons number 1,396, data were often missing, the percentages in Table 4.6 being usually based on substantially fewer than this total.

Table 4.6: *Percentage distributions of itinerant persons in Dublin in 1977 according to certain characteristics*

*Number of persons: 1,396*

<i>Characteristic</i>	<i>Code: for key see below</i>								
	1,	2,	3,	4,	5,	6,	7,	8,	9
1 Sex	52	48							
2 Age	18	24	19	10	23	6	1		
3 Stated avocation	24	1	0	15	1	34	19	7	
4 Accommodation	48	44	8						
5 Location	27	21	52						
6 Time in Dublin (years)	7	15	29	49					
7 Where before	90	10							
8 Time at present site (years)	45	29	26						
9 Size of family	1	4	6	5	7	9½	6	9	53

#### *Codes for individual characteristics*

- 1 Sex 1: male, 2: female.
- 2 Age 1: 0-4, 2: 5-9, 3: 10-14, 4: 15-19, 5: 20-44, 6: 45-69, 7: 70 or over.
- 3 Stated avocation 1: unemployed, 2: "trader, dealer, scrap," 3: other job, 4: housewife, 5: old age pensioner, 6: at school, 7: below school age, 8: not going to school.
- 4 Accommodation 1: trailer, 2: chalet, 3: caravan site.
- 5 Location 1: roadside, 2: private ground, 3: service site.
- 6 Time in Dublin area (years) 1: less than one, 2: one to four, 3: four to ten, 4: ten or more.
- 7 Where before 1: elsewhere in Republic, 2: outside.
- 8 Time on present site (years) 1: less than one, 2: one to four, 3: four to ten.
- 9 Size of family as code, except 9, nine or over.

Source: As Table 4.4.

Not only are numbers of males and females nearly equal but their age distributions are strikingly similar. The outstanding result of this whole inquiry is that at 2: 61 per cent of persons are under 15 years of age. This compares with 31 per cent for the State as a whole and 34 per cent for Dublin at the Census of 1971. Accommodation and location percentages were:-

<i>Accommodation:</i>	<i>Trailer</i>	<i>Chalet</i>	<i>Caravan, tent, hut</i>	<i>Total</i>
	65	57	58	61
<i>Location:</i>	<i>Roadside</i>	<i>Private ground</i>	<i>Serviced site</i>	<i>Total</i>
	64	64	58	61

While chi-squared shows that the age distributions for these two characteristics are statistically significant, (NHP for accommodation/age 3, for location/age 4—see Notes to Table 4.5) it is true for each of these classes that the percentage of children is twice the national average.

As to characteristic 3, information was supplied only in respect of 69 per cent of the population: note that in the classification a place could be found for *all* individuals and not only the gainfully occupied. Confining attention to males 15 or over, numbers and percentages are:-

	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
1 Unemployed	168	89.8
2 "Trader", "dealer", "scrap"	8	4.3
3 Other job	2	1.1
4 Old age pensioner	7	3.7
5 At school	1	0.5
6 Stated not going to school	1	0.5
Total males aged 15+	187	100.-

Nearly all the men were stated to be unemployed.

Following are some comparisons, relevant to fertility:-

	<i>Dublin itinerants 1977</i>	<i>Ireland 1971</i>
1 Married women aged 15-44 as per cent of all married women	82	52
Children aged 0-4 per:-		
2 Woman aged 15-44	1.07	0.58
3 Married woman aged 15-44	1.44	1.15
4 Married per cent of total women aged 15-44	75	50

Without any doubt the age—marital status of itinerant women is conducive to very high fertility compared with women generally. However, for the most significant Head 3, the apparent excess of effective itinerant marital fertility over the national average (1.44 compared 1.15) is illusory. A fairly elaborate calculation using 1971 Census of Population and vital statistics and the quinquennial age distribution of itinerant married women aged 15-44, but taking no account of mortality of children, results in an expected ratio at 3 of 1.67. The 1965-67 Life Table population (i.e.,  $L_x$ ) aged 0-4 to births ratio is 0.9752. The expected itinerant ratio of population aged 0-4 to married women aged 15-44, if national conditions obtained amongst the itinerants, would be 1.63 (= 1.67 x 0.9752). The actual ratio, to repeat, is 1.44. In our opinion the very large difference must be due almost entirely to excessive infantile mortality amongst the itinerants, perhaps four or five times the national average, not entirely unexpected having regard to the harsh conditions of life of these people.

Percentage at Heads 1-5 of Table 4.4 (i.e., for families) are very similar to the corresponding heads (for persons) in Table 4.6 as might be expected from similarity of family size for all classifications.

We have shown that the Dublin itinerant population is growing far more rapidly than the population of the State. The very high proportion of children and young persons is characteristic of a rapidly growing population. This does not seem to explain the dearth of elderly people amongst the itinerants—less than one per cent aged 70 or over, and 7 per cent aged 45 or over. Life on the road must be difficult for the elderly. We would like to have statistics relating to the health of itinerants and as to the extent that the elderly retire to ordinary housing, perhaps with relatives.

### *Education*

This is usually regarded as the most important aspect of itinerancy. For our 1977 Dublin analysis we confine attention to the age group 5-14, practically equivalent to that of compulsory attendance. The number stated to be at school in

this age group was 420 (48 aged 0-4, a mere 6 aged 15 or over, total at school 474).

These are estimated "blown-up" figures, to allow for data missing from the 224 family returns. Actually proportionate blowing-up led to some statistical anomalies, but not enough to falsify the following statements.

There are 603 in the age group 5-14, so that school children are about 70 per cent in all. Amongst the 97 chalet families school attendance, as stated in the census returns, is virtually complete.<sup>11</sup>

In accommodation other than chalets there are 329 children of whom 122, or 37 per cent are stated to be at school. The corresponding percentage for the 293 children in locations other than serviced sites is 28 per cent.

The "exact" figures quoted in this subsection, as blown-up estimates, will not be taken seriously; what is clear is that some 60-70 per cent of Dublin itinerant children living outside serviced sites do not attend school; through little or no fault of their own, they are condemned to a lifetime of poverty.

This statistical analysis tells us nothing about regularity of attendance of itinerant children allegedly attending school; this must be suspect owing to frequent changes of site.

<sup>11</sup>Sister Colette, National Co-ordinator for the Education of Travellers challenges the accuracy of the Dublin Census returns regarding school attendance. She states that the returns given in the census "were totally inaccurate, as the parents tended to say, when asked, that their children were going to school, when in fact they were not. For instance, I found the names of many children as going to my own school, St Kieran's, when in fact they had never darkened the doors of the school! In the same way, the sentence about school attendance amongst the chalet families being virtually complete is far from the truth. Many of the chalet families do not send their children to school with any regularity, and some not at all".



## Chapter 5

### *Education*

A Department of Local Government Report (November 1975) comments that generally "the educational problems of itinerant children are similar in many respects to those of backward children aggravated by social disabilities and a vagrant way of life". This is not taken to mean that itinerant children are generally mentally handicapped but that their educationally deprived conditions and environment impose severe problems even when such children attend school, and almost always involving the necessity for remedial teaching at least in the initial stages of their education.

Sr Colette Dwyer, national co-ordinator for the education of travelling people, issued two reports on provision for the needs of travelling children (1975 and 1978).<sup>12</sup> According to the 1975 Report, 2,719 children were attending school while "the realistic figure for travelling children of school age who are at present not in school is probably in the region of 4,000". Of those at school "it must be noted that the level of education they are receiving varies considerably . . . It is dependent on the regularity of their attendance as well as on the conditions prevailing in the school". In addition, "the fact that a child's name is 'on the rolls' does not by any means necessarily imply that he or she is receiving education". School attendance is difficult to maintain where there are problems of continual movement from place to place, lack of sustained parental support, getting to school in time, facilities for study and even difficulties in obtaining water for washing.

In 1975 there were two special schools for travellers in

<sup>12</sup>Report on Educational Provision For and Needs Of Travelling Children: January 1975, Sr Colette Dwyer. Three Years Later: Follow Up Report on Educational Provision for and Needs of Travelling People. Sr Colette Dwyer, January 1978.

Ireland, one at Labre Park Dublin, a national school exclusively for travelling children financed by the Department of Education. (Labre Park is a site with small "tigeens" originally planned to supplement family accommodation until houses in the settled community were available.) The other, also near an itinerant housing location, St Kieran's School for Travellers in Bray, was run by a voluntary committee and financed partly by grants from the Department of Education and partly by voluntary contributions. There were also special classes attached to National Schools in Dublin at Milltown, Finglas and Coolock, in Limerick, Cork, Ennis, Dundalk, Galway, Sligo, to cater for children who attend school for the first time at seven, eight or nine years of age and who need compensatory education to enable them to catch up with their own age-groups in a normal school setting. Pre-school classes were also established in a number of areas.

At the time of the report 95 per cent of the travelling teenagers were illiterate making their chances of obtaining employment minimal. Several special vocational training centres have been established since, the first being in Ennis and in 1976, St Kieran's Training Centre in Bray. At St Kieran's boys are taught woodwork, metalwork, welding, copperwork, caravan making and repairing and general "odd job" work. The girls learn the rudiments of cookery, dressmaking, crafts, child care, hygiene, budgeting. Both boys and girls attend literacy classes. There are facilities for 24 pupils, 12 boys and 12 girls. Illiteracy of the pupils is the great problem of the training centres, even the simplest figures, instructions or diagrams on the blackboard being incomprehensible to the majority of the 14-15 year olds; in order to cope with this impediment to learning, literacy classes were introduced side by side with vocational training. AnCO financed the rebuilding of the premises and pay the trainees; the Vocational Education Committee helped to equip the workrooms and pay the teachers; the remaining expenses are defrayed by voluntary contributions.

The 1978 report found that where settlement was good, education made satisfactory progress. There were 3,002 children attending school regularly. The quality of education

was improved since the 1975 Report, by the provision of further remedial teachers, special classes and pre-school classes. "The travelling children attending school today are learning far more than they were in 1975 when virtually 50% were sitting in large classes, learning very little and leaving school illiterate and innumerate". In fact, there are now nearly sixty special classes or schools spread throughout 19 counties. Training centres for teenagers and young adults are operative in five centres; plans for another five centres are at an advanced stage. "To cater for our 1,447 teenagers the vast majority of whom are not even literate, we need many more such centres as quickly as possible". In contrast to the situation three years previously when 95 per cent of the teenagers were illiterate, now more than one-third of them are said to be able to read and about a quarter to write.

Progress, it is stated, would be more rapid if greater stability in housing could be achieved. At present even in the case of authorised halts, families are moved on often outside the radius of the school bus. Parents, it is felt, should be compelled to send children to school, a basic right of children which is frequently denied to them. In fact education of the children particularly, might be considered (together with housing) as a predominant factor in improving the living conditions and working opportunities for the itinerants.

The report recommends more pre-school classes, remedial facilities for late school starters, special classes or special schools, post-primary education, training centres, literacy programmes for teenagers and adults almost all of whom are illiterate, youth facilities, better transport and the enforcement by attendance officers of a more rigorous control of absenteeism from school.

The Dublin Census 1977 encompassed a total of 1,396 people comprising 224 families (the number of usable census forms). Of these 848 were children from 0-14 years representing 61 per cent of the total itinerant population. We note again the implications of such large numbers of children relative to total population compared with the national 1971 Census for Ireland figures of 31 per cent children from 0-14 years in the country as a whole and 34 per cent for Dublin.

The number of children to be maintained by the itinerant population imposes an extraordinarily heavy burden on the adult population. In the Dublin itinerant population 1977, about 80 per cent of families had six children and over; while about 60 per cent had eight children and over. Average household size was 6.23 persons.

If the percentage of itinerant children in the Dublin area is approximately similar throughout the country, in October 1977 there were approximately 7,560 children. The total number of itinerants was about 12,500. The Dublin families included in our analysis were therefore about 11 per cent of total itinerant families which could be regarded as a reasonable sample from which to observe general trends. Of the children in the Dublin area about 70 per cent were aged 5-14, that is, of school age. (We realise, however, that ages given on the census forms may not always have been accurate.) Applying the Dublin population mix to the whole of the country, would result in a total of approximately 5,400 itinerant children aged 5-14. In the absence of a comprehensive census taken on a specified date, such approximations must necessarily be treated with caution. We are attempting to estimate the probable order of magnitude.

Of the 603 children aged 5-14 years in the Dublin Survey, 420 or about 70 per cent were stated to be at school. The question was not asked whether they were regular attenders nor do we know the number of years they remain in school. In the case of chalet families all the children were stated to attend school; in fact 48 children, mostly from chalets, attend pre-school classes in the under five age group. About 65 per cent of children living in accommodation other than chalets do not attend school. As families on the roadside are forced to move frequently, it may not cause great surprise that so many of the children are unable to avail of educational facilities.

Children from itinerant families may present special problems, primarily because of the continual moving of habitation. Some are completely neglected, run away from their families and wander around urban areas getting into trouble. The Task Force on Child Care Services (Interim Report,

1975) recommended the provision of small residential centres to cater for problem itinerant children. Such children tend to run away from home and to wander around urban areas living rough, frequently with resultant delinquent behaviour. This is not unexpected when one considers the pressures which arise from overcrowded and unhealthy conditions. In the case of the Dublin sample, 53 per cent of people belonged to families of nine or more persons; when families of such size live in a small caravan or tent or even in a chalet with its small rooms (usually three bedrooms, kitchen and bathroom) their difficulties with day-to-day living are inevitable. The report expressed the opinion that while the majority of travelling children in need of residential care were assimilated into existing institutions, some might have difficulties which existing residential centres do not meet. It was envisaged that children might come to the special centres voluntarily or through the courts by use of probation recognisance conditions, fit person orders or committal orders. Since the report appeared, Trudder House, Co Wicklow has been opened as a residential centre for itinerant children with special needs. Plans have also been made for the establishment of pilot day-care programmes each catering for 20 children in the Dublin area, and one day-care centre for children was opened in December 1977 with financial assistance from the Department of Health. Rapid implementation of plans is essential as the problem of children running around without supervision is acute. The provision of day-care centres could well be the means of preventing serious social problems of vandalism, thieving and violence from developing among itinerant children in need of special care.

## Chapter 6

### *Conclusion*

THE problems of itinerancy are matters of much concern in Ireland. Our impression is that these problems are in good hands and we do not presume to offer any specific solutions. We hope only that our factual paper will help Central Government, Local Authorities, social workers and voluntary committees in devising policy.

The problem should not be exaggerated. In 1977 there were about 1,900 itinerant families but 0.3 per cent of the more than 700,000 families in the Republic; even on a population basis the percentage is only 0.4 per cent. The problem is further mitigated by the fact that in 1977, fewer than half the families (in fact 44 per cent) were on the roadside; the rest were better circumstanced, in standard housing, chalets on serviced sites or trailers on authorised sites. In the four years 1973-1977 the number of families in standard housing has more than doubled (from 302 to 734). In the same period the number on the roadside has increased slightly.

Itinerancy generally as we have argued may be regarded as one aspect of the problem of poverty and deprivation; an aspect which has received a great amount of publicity in press and special reports. It has also received a lot of attention from social workers, almost certainly with the effect of itinerants being aware of, and obtaining, all they are entitled to by way of State and charitable payments. As Geary (1973) has shown, social security payments in the Republic are comparatively generous in relation to national income. Probably the majority of itinerants receive social security income which, having regard to their standards, must make these amounts, eked out by trading, jobs, begging, enough for a tolerable way of life. We have pointed out that a family of seven, only a little greater than the 1977 Dublin itinerant

average, could be in receipt of £41.09 a week from State payments and a family of seven, consisting of an unemployed father, housewife mother, two unemployed children aged over 18 and three young children, would get £56.66 a week. We have also shown in Chapter 3, that expenses on the road can be considerably lower than in settled housing.

We do not suggest that social services and payments to itinerants are overdone but rather that the same kind of attention should be given to the vastly greater number of settled poor.

In one vital respect the condition of itinerants can differ widely from that of the settled poor. Itinerancy can be unjust, namely, in the matter of children's education. We have shown that, while this seems formally adequate for children on settled sites, only one-third of children on the roadside go to school. This situation pertains to Dublin in 1977 according to the census, but we assume that it exists widely.

Bluntly, this means that deprived children are condemned to a lifetime of poverty. Their equally deprived parents are unable to envisage for them a future other than a perpetual condition of itinerancy like their own. This is intolerable. In a free society, people are entitled to take to the road if they wish but they have no right to impose this condition on their young children.

The Irish Constitution accords a primary place to the family, in particular to the rights of parents in regard to their children. One of these rights is very properly reserved: parents are compelled by law to send their children aged 6-15 to school. This law extends to itinerants who in not conforming are breaking the law. Recall that children can now have free transport to school. As parents are poor, fines, if any, will be small and non-deterrent. Frequent moves, which often are involuntary, are a part of the itinerant way of life, making regular schooling difficult. We think the only way to cope is by unremitting persuasion (to children as well as parents) on the part of social workers and teachers whom the itinerants must have come to respect because they have done so much for them. The provision of more serviced halting sites for those who do not wish to live in houses or who choose

the itinerant way of life would vastly improve the living conditions of those now on the roadside and could lead to less frequent movement and permit children to obtain some uninterrupted education. It is arguable that some itinerants make a very good living as traders in spite of complete lack of education; these are a small proportion. Could it be that they would all become much better business people if they had educational advantages in addition to natural business aptitude? Illiteracy is regarded by itinerants as a handicap imposing feelings of inadequacy and inferiority even on the better-off; it is difficult to imagine that they would deprive their children of the chance to improve their status except in exceptional circumstances. Frequently, parents in such circumstances need support to enable them to appreciate and avail of opportunities which are so new to their own experience.

We realise that there are many questions raised by this paper which we do not attempt to answer, and many aspects that we have not discussed. We are convinced that itinerancy is a problem and an aspect of poverty, that educational deprivation is acute, that movement into settled society is what the majority of itinerants themselves want. We realise that there are problems of high infant mortality rates, apparently early death rate, rapid urbanisation without adequate social support, large population of dependent children. We know very little about what happens to itinerants once they are settled in houses. Do many of them return to the travelling life? We do not know. Are they just as much social outcasts in settled housing conditions as they were when travelling? We do not consider social psychological problems of itinerant conditions and life styles. These we leave for others more expert.

The feasibility or even desirability of a policy of integration of itinerants in the settled community seems to us to be problematical. People engaged in the welfare of itinerants appear to have divergent views on integration. To quote one reader of an earlier draft of this paper, ". . . there is nothing wrong with the travelling way of life and if people choose this way of life they must be allowed to pursue it but in con-



ditions that befit human dignity". The same critic also comments that should travellers wish to become part of the settled community they should be helped to do so but "whether settlement in and amongst the settled community will ever lead to full absorption is a matter of conjecture". Another critic states that while "the majority of travellers appear to want to live in houses or on chalet sites, all may not automatically want to be integrated". He distinguishes three main categories:-

1. Those who wish to settle and to lose their identity as travellers and become completely integrated into the settled community.
2. Those who wish to have the advantages of settled living conditions but who wish to keep their identity as travellers.
3. Those who have no wish for either settlement or integration and find the travelling way of life viable.

All three categories want to feel accepted, which is not necessarily the same thing as integration".

On the other hand, a third critic considers that "those itinerants who prefer their present life style are entitled to follow it; but not at the expense of the neighbours". The same commentator in drawing up a Programme for Settlement of the Travelling People in 1975 stated: "Settlement of the travelling people is a first necessary step towards their social progress and ultimate integration. Settlement on its own is not sufficient and must be supported by a suitable programme of education, social work and community development" and "The establishment of a site is a step towards solution of a social problem . . . Delay in settlement is only delaying the resolution of the problem".

### Appendix A

*Capital expenditure on itinerant programmes by the Department of the Environment (formerly D/LG) at current and constant (Nov. 1968) prices (£000)*

<i>Year</i>	<i>Current prices</i>	<i>Constant prices</i>
1965	4.9	5.5
1966	Nil	—
1967	37.8	40.2
1968	21.2	21.5
1969	50.9	48.2
1970	55.4	48.4
1971	55.4	44.5
1972	274.2	202.5
1973	194.6	129.1
1974	84.8	48.1
1975	224.3	105.2
1976	277.6	110.3
1977	513.5	179.6
<i>Total</i>	1,794.6	983.1
<i>Average 1965/77</i>	138.1	75.6

## Appendix B

A

THE TRAVELLING PEOPLE  
"ITINERANT" CENSUS—YEAR 1977

Reference No.    Location \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_Name \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_Wife's Maiden Name \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

B

	Name	Agt	Code	Sex	Occupation	Code	Situation	Code
H.			<input type="checkbox"/>			<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
W.			<input type="checkbox"/>			<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
1st			<input type="checkbox"/>			<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
2nd			<input type="checkbox"/>			<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
3rd			<input type="checkbox"/>			<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
4th			<input type="checkbox"/>			<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
5th			<input type="checkbox"/>			<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
6th			<input type="checkbox"/>			<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
7th			<input type="checkbox"/>			<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
8th			<input type="checkbox"/>			<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
9th			<input type="checkbox"/>			<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
10th			<input type="checkbox"/>			<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
11th			<input type="checkbox"/>			<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
12th			<input type="checkbox"/>			<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>

C

TYPE OF ACCOMMODATION

Total Number in Family  

- a.  1 On Roadside  2 On Private Ground  3 On Service Site
- b.  1 Trailer  2 Horse Drawn Caravan  3 Hut  4 Tent

D

1. How long has family been in Dublin Area? \_\_\_\_\_ weeks
2. Where were they prior to this? \_\_\_\_\_
3. How long have they been at present site? \_\_\_\_\_ weeks
4. Where were they before this? \_\_\_\_\_
5. Have they ever applied to a local authority for housing?  1 YES  2 NO
6. Were they ever housed by a local authority?  1 YES  2 NO
7. Would they accept a Corporation (house)?  1 YES  2 NO
8. Would they live on a developed site?  1 YES  2 NO

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