

London Gypsies & Travellers

Mildmay Community Centre, Woodville Road, London N16 8NA Tel: +44 (0)20 8533 2002 | info@londongandt.org.uk www.londongypsiesandtravellers.org.uk

Submission to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) on the rights of Gypsies and Travellers in London:

Adequate housing is the keystone for other rights

113th session (5-23 August 2024)

Report compiled by:

London Gypsies and Travellers

A community-based organisation 1 July 2024

In this report:

- Summary
- Introduction: Racial discrimination with regards to the right to adequate housing in London
- The right to culturally appropriate accommodation: Discrimination against Gypsies and Travellers with regards to their recognized protected characteristics
- Recommendations

Summary

The fulfilment of the right to housing, in London, discriminated against racially minoritized groups. No additional Gypsy or Traveller site has been built in London since 1996, and there has never been a dedicated transit site for nomadic Gypsy and Traveller families. This neglect forced Gypsies and Travellers to live in culturally inappropriate "bricks and mortar" housing, or in unauthorized encampments, where they ran afoul of discriminatory laws. Urgent investment is required in adequate specialist accommodation, and laws and decrees must be brought into conformity with human rights legislation.

London Gypsies & Travellers

Mildmay Community Centre, Woodville Road, London N16 8NA Tel: +44 (0)20 8533 2002 | info@londongandt.org.uk www.londongypsiesandtravellers.org.uk

 Introduction: Racial discrimination with regards to the right to adequate housing in London

The fulfilment of the right to housing, in London, is structurally discriminatory against racially minoritized groups.

1. The housing crisis in London is a result of accumulated governmental policies that give rise to discrimination against racially minoritized groups. Among these groups, Gypsies, Roma and Travellers are acutely affected.

Social housing is provided in the UK by local authorities. According to the National Audit Office (NAO), central government funding for local authorities fell in real terms by more than 50% on a like-for-like basis between 2010-11and 2020-21.1 As a result, local authorities cut spending on housing, planning and development services by more than 35%.2 Government figures for 2020 showed that in London, White British households were less likely to rent social housing than households from all other ethnic groups.3 The Office for National Statistics (ONS) analysed in 2023 that Gypsies and Travellers are more than twice as likely than the national average to live in accommodation rented from local authorities (42.3% compared with 16.6%).4 Of the 1,264 Gypsy and Traveller households who live on caravan pitches in London, 655 are tenants in sites provided by local authorities.5 Therefore, racially minoritized groups and especially Gypsies, Roma and Travellers are more likely to be affected by the cuts to local authorities' funds, resulting in inadequate housing.

2. Statutory homelessness and poor standards of temporary accommodation in London are violations of the right to adequate housing.

The NAO has calculated that, since 2010, private sector rents have increased eight times as much as median earnings in London (and three times as much as median earnings in England overall).6 People living in poverty in London cannot afford to rent from the private sector, and must apply for social housing (which cannot be supplied due to the funding cuts mentioned above). For too many people, and especially for members of racially minoritized groups, the cost of living and the lack of social housing leads to statutory homelessness. While 31% of people experiencing homelessness in England and Wales are from recognized racially minoritized communities, these communities make up only 14% of the total population. Homeless households in London have an average stay in temporary accommodation five times longer than elsewhere in England.8 Around 50% of temporary accommodation in London was found to contain safety hazards and vermin infestations, and most are overcrowded.9 One in 23 children in London live in temporary accommodation.¹⁰ Twelve babies and young children died in London, with temporary accommodation a contributing factor in their death, in 2019-2024.11 London Gypsies and Travellers' research with 56 Gypsy, Roma and Traveller households experiencing homelessness in inner London found that in 2022-23, half were driven into homelessness because of inadequate housing provision, and four said that they had experienced direct discrimination on racial grounds in their access to housing services.¹²

London Gypsies & Travellers

Mildmay Community Centre, Woodville Road, London N16 8NA Tel: +44 (0)20 8533 2002 | info@londongandt.org.uk www.londongypsiesandtravellers.org.uk

The ONS found in 2023 that women, young people and people from ethnic minority backgrounds are more likely to experience hidden homelessness (meaning that they do not access support from local authorities at all, however inadequate it may be). Data for London for 2021/22 shows that Black African, Caribbean, White Other, Roma and Gypsy Traveller groups are all disproportionately more likely to be sleeping rough.¹³ In the inner London study for 2022-23, London Gypsies and Travellers found one 23-year-old single man living in his caravan on an unauthorized pitch for 15 months, whose hidden homelessness was inadequately solved by his being compelled to sell his caravan and move into temporary "bricks and mortar" accommodation.¹⁴

 The right to culturally appropriate accommodation: Discrimination against Gypsies and Travellers with regards to their recognized protected characteristics

Gypsies and Travellers have the right to live in specialist housing aligned with their cultural heritage and preference for nomadism, yet no additional Gypsy or Traveller site has been built in London since 1996, and there has never been a dedicated site for nomadic Gypsy and Traveller families. This neglect forced Gypsies and Travellers to live in inappropriate "bricks and mortar" housing, or in unauthorized encampments, where they ran afoul of discriminatory laws.

1. Specialist accommodation for Gypsies and Travellers in London is insufficient. Gypsies, Roma and Travellers are members of recognised ethnic groups which are protected from racial discrimination. These ethnic groups (Gypsies, Roma and Travellers being in themselves umbrella terms for a number of different groups) share a protected characteristic, which is a culture and heritage of nomadism, legally recognized in 2020 in the judgment that the "Gypsy and Traveller community have an enshrined freedom not to stay in one place but to move from one place to another". 15 Nomadism is a lawful activity, and its exercise and expression are especially protected by human rights legislation as part of Gypsies and Travellers' right to private and family life, and from protection from discrimination, which in this report is analysed with regards to the provision of adequate housing. One aspect of adequacy is that the accommodation be culturally appropriate. ¹⁶ For thousands of Gypsies and Travellers in London, providing culturally appropriate housing entails the construction of specialized sites with adjustments for nomadic culture. The last assessment of the housing needs of Gypsies and Travellers living in London was published in 2008.¹⁷ It found then that 1,626 Gypsy and Traveller households required a pitch on specialized sites to be provided by the local authorities in the period 2007-2017 because they were living in overcrowded conditions or in culturally inappropriate housing.¹⁸ No additional site was built, therefore London's pitch capacity has been constrained (with each pitch designed to house one household), despite demand increasing in line with natural population growth. Local authorities closed at least one site, Springtide Close in south

London Gypsies & Travellers

Mildmay Community Centre, Woodville Road, London N16 8NA Tel: +44 (0)20 8533 2002 | info@londongandt.org.uk www.londongypsiesandtravellers.org.uk

London, in 2020, which still stood empty in 2024.¹⁹ Another site, Thurston Road in southeast London, was closed in 2009, and the Traveller residents were still waiting, as of June 2024, for the six pitches to which they were meant to be relocated.²⁰

In January 2024, 377 Gypsy and Traveller caravans were standing on unauthorized sites in London,²¹ reflecting some of the unmet need for specialist accommodation.²² Gypsies and Travellers in London had the highest percentage of households suffering from overcrowding (32.6% in contrast to 19.6% average for London).²³ London Gypsies and Travellers' research into homelessness in 2022-23 found three generations of a family living in one caravan, with parents and a 3-month-old baby forced to sleep on the floor.²⁴ The overcrowding also reflected the need for more, and adequate, accommodation.

2. Existing sites suffer from neglect and exposure to pollution.

There are 30 Gypsy and Traveller sites provided by local authorities in London, most of which lack basic amenities such as rainwater drainage, road maintenance, access to communal and green spaces, and regulation of noise and air pollution.²⁵ The only local authority in London to utilize the government's Traveller Site Fund was the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea, which spent £78,909 (USD 100,143) in 2022 on refurbishing a communal space at the Stable Way Traveller Site, while £485,000 (USD 615,513) from the available fund were not spent at all. 26 Stable Way Site is overcrowded, wedged under a dual carriageway overpass where seven major roads and a railway line intersect.²⁷ The Old Willow Close Site in east London is delineated by a triangle between three train lines, and consequently subjected to constant loud railway noise, and Trewint Street Caravan Site in south London is situated immediately adjacent to a waste disposal facility.²⁸ Bashley Road Site in west London is located within an industrial estate and next to a highspeed railway construction site; the resulting intolerable levels of air and noise pollution rendered the site "not fit for purpose".²⁹ The government-appointed railway construction company held a public meeting in 2021 at which it explained that it would suppress the dust for the benefit of its workers but not for the Traveller residents.³⁰ Pitches on the Star Lane Site in southeast London have had no running water for more than two years.31 Environmental racism, whereby accommodation for minoritized groups is situated in polluted environments that damage their health, has been researched with regards to Gypsies and Travellers in the United Kingdom: of 291 sites provided by local authorities analysed in the study, 54% were found to be within 100 metres of major pollutants.³²

3. Nomadic and semi-nomadic ways of life are suppressed and criminalized by disproportionate injunctions and laws.

The same outdated accommodation assessment, in 2008, identified the need for 40 transit pitches in London,³³ and there was still no transit site in 2024. Several London local authorities stated that they had no intention of providing transit sites or short-term caravan standing places.³⁴ Fifteen London local authorities have tried to institute bans on Gypsies and Travellers stopping in their localities.³⁵ The stated reason was that visiting Gypsies and

London Gypsies & Travellers

Mildmay Community Centre, Woodville Road, London N16 8NA Tel: +44 (0)20 8533 2002 | info@londongandt.org.uk www.londongypsiesandtravellers.org.uk

Travellers were expected to engage in prohibited waste disposal,³⁶ an expectation that in itself betrayed racist attitudes. Under the power of the ban in just one local authority in east London, on 12 April 2021, Traveller families in eight caravans were evicted from Bretons Outdoor Recreation Centre, and eight additional caravans were stopped by the Metropolitan police which reported that the evicted Travellers were "in the majority, amicable" and "keen to find out where they could go without being moved on"; and on 8 June 2022, Traveller families residing in three caravans were evicted within hours from Upminster Rugby Fields.³⁷ Such blanket bans, referred to as wide injunctions against persons unknown, were found in 2020 by the Court of Appeal to be inadmissible because they fail to meet welfare and housing needs.³⁸ In 2023 the Supreme Court judged that injunctions violated Gypsies and Travellers' rights when issued in the context of the absence of transit sites.³⁹ Nevertheless, at least one London local authority continued to maintain such an injunction in 2024.⁴⁰

4. The Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Act that became law in 2022 (Police Act 2022) criminalized nomadism in unjustifiably disproportionate ways.

The Police Act 2022 gave the police powers, in addition to existing anti-trespass laws, to ban Gypsies and Travellers from an area for up to 12 months (increased from three months), alongside powers to fine, arrest, imprison Gypsies and Travellers on roadside camps, and impound their homes. According to *Travellers Times*, a Gypsy, Roma and Traveller newspaper, the new powers were used at least 10 times in the summer of 2023,⁴¹ during the season when Gypsies and Travellers journey to community-specific fairs. On 17 July 2023, the Police Act was used to evict Traveller families from empty land behind a supermarket on Brigstock Road in south London.⁴²

Wendy Smith, a Romany Gypsy living on an unauthorised encampment with the owners' permission in Yorkshire, placed a legal challenge to the Police Act in 2023. She drew attention to the "chilling effect" of the new offence,⁴³ which had the consequence of suppressing Gypsies and Travellers' nomadic way of life. On 14 May 2024, the High Court of Justice judged that specific sections of the Police Act were incompatible with human rights legislation, because the prohibition on returning to an area for 12 months would disproportionately and unjustifiably affect Gypsies and Travellers.⁴⁴ However, most of Part 4 of the Police Act, including additional powers introduced in 2022, remains in force unchallenged. Part 3, sections of which have also been found to violate human rights law with regards to the right to peaceful protest, was subject to a separate challenge.⁴⁵

London Gypsies and Travellers' Recommendations

There are some 40,000 Gypsies and Travellers living in London, and though these communities are relatively small in numerical terms, the multiple challenges they face are enormous. ⁴⁶ In the context of Gypsy, Roma and Traveller social exclusion, members of these communities suffer suicide rates many times higher than the national average. ⁴⁷ London Gypsies and Travellers proposes that resolving the shortage of adequate accommodation adjusted to nomadic life is the keystone for building a path out of decades of discrimination.



London Gypsies & Travellers

Mildmay Community Centre, Woodville Road, London N16 8NA Tel: +44 (0)20 8533 2002 | info@londongandt.org.uk www.londongypsiesandtravellers.org.uk

Recommendations to the United Kingdom's national authorities:

- Immediately invest in social housing including specialist housing for Gypsies and Travellers, so that the homelessness crisis is fixed.
- Ensure that the Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Act 2022 complies with human rights legislation, and repeal Sections 60C, 61 and 62A of Part 4 in particular.
- Reform the regulation of the rental sector so that affordability, decent accommodation standards, and security of tenure are instituted without discrimination on racial grounds.
- Ensure that housing provisions allow for temporary accommodation to be accessed only as a last resort and within the statutory limits.

To the Greater London Authority:

- Establish sites in the four corners of London that will accommodate at least 40 pitched caravans for short-term stays.
- Lead on the formation of regional negotiated or permitted stopping arrangements so as to accommodate nomadic Gypsy and Traveller families in caravans.
- Introduce a moratorium on evictions of nomadic Gypsy and Traveller families until there are sufficient permitted stopping places.
- Ensure that government funding is ringfenced for the refurbishment of permanent Gypsy and Traveller sites in London.
- Ensure that environmental standards are applied without discrimination on racial grounds.

To local authorities in London:

- Suspend wide injunctions against persons unknown until all conditions stipulated by the Court of Appeal in 2020 and the Supreme Court in 2023 are met, especially the establishment of suitable permitted stopping places and transit sites.
- Act urgently on the duty to provide adequate specialist housing for Gypsies and Travellers in the form of new sites designed in consultation with Gypsy and Traveller communities living in the area.
- Do not close existing Gypsy and Traveller specialist accommodation until new sites are opened.
- Invest in the maintenance of decent standards of existing Gypsy and Traveller accommodation without discrimination.



London Gypsies & Travellers

Mildmay Community Centre, Woodville Road, London N16 8NA Tel: +44 (0)20 8533 2002 | info@londongandt.org.uk www.londongypsiesandtravellers.org.uk

Endnotes

- ¹ National Audit Office, *The local government finance system in England: overview and challenges*, 10 November 2021, https://www.nao.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/The-local-government-finance-system-in-England-overview-and-challenges.pdf, p.13, accessed 10 June 2024.
- ² National Audit Office, *The local government finance system in England,* previously cited, p.27, accessed 10 June 2024.
- ³ Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, *Renting social housing*, 4 February 2020, housing/latest/#by-ethnicity-and-income accessed 10 June 2024.
- ⁴ Office for National Statistics, *Gypsy or Irish Traveller populations, England and Wales: Census 2021*, 13 October 2023, https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/ethnicity/articles/gypsyoririshtravellerpopulationsen glandandwales/census2021 accessed 10 June 2024.
- ⁵ Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities, *Official Statistics: Traveller caravan count: January 2024*, 5 June 2024, https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/traveller-caravan-count-january-2024 accessed 10 June 2024.
- ⁶ National Audit Office, *Homelessness*, 13 September 2017, https://www.nao.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Homelessness.pdf accessed 10 June 2024.
- ⁷ Joseph Rowntree Foundation, *What's causing structural racism in housing?*, https://www.jrf.org.uk/housing/whats-causing-structural-racism-in-housing, p.4, accessed 10 June 2024.
- ⁸ London Assembly Housing Committee, *Temporary Accommodation written evidence submitted in Sep-Oct 2023*, October 2023, https://www.london.gov.uk/media/105211/download (PDF download), p.34, accessed 10 June 2024.
- ⁹ London Assembly Housing Committee, *London's Temporary Accommodation Emergency*, March 2024, https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/2024-03/Housing%20Committee_Temporary%20Accommodation.pdf, pp.13-4, accessed 10 June 2024.
- ¹⁰ London Assembly Housing Committee, London's Temporary Accommodation Emergency, previously cited, p.7.
- ¹¹ All-Party Parliamentary Group for households in temporary accommodation, *Call for evidence findings: summary, analysis of themes and call to action*, January 2023 (updated by National Child Mortality Database in March 2024), https://householdsintemporaryaccommodation.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/APPG-Call-For-Evidence-Findings-Report.pdf accessed 10 June 2024.
- ¹² London Gypsies and Travellers with WSA Community, *Homelessness Experiences of Young Gypsy and Traveller People in Hackney*, report, July 2023, pp. 8 and 20.
- ¹³ Centre for Homelessness Impact, *Ethnic inequalities and homelessness in the UK,* December 2022, <a href="https://assets-global.website-
- $\label{linear_composition} \underline{files.com/59f07e67422cdf0001904c14/63e6476b4d417106be76eae5_CHI.Ethnic.Inequalities.homelessness.pdf, p.23, accessed 10 June 2024.$
- ¹⁴ London Gypsies and Travellers with WSA Community, *Homelessness Experiences of Young Gypsy and Traveller People in Hackney*, previously cited, p. 23; and interview with London Gypsies and Travellers staff on 22 June 2024.
- ¹⁵ The Court of Appeal, Bromley LBC v Persons Unknown and others [2020] EWCA Civ 12, judgment, 21 January 2020, para 109.
- ¹⁶ UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, *General Comment 4: The right to adequate housing (Article 11 (1) of the International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights),* 13 December 1991, https://www.escr-net.org/resources/general-comment-4, para 8(g), accessed 1 July 2024; and also *General Comment 21: Right of everyone to take part in cultural life (Article 15, para 1(a), of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights)*, 21 December 2009, para 16(e).
- ¹⁷ Greater London Authority, *London Boroughs' Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Needs Assessment (GTANA)*, March 2008, https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/london_boroughs_gypsy_and_traveller_accommodation_needs_assessment_-final_report_-2008_-fordham_research.pdf accessed 10 June 2024.
- ¹⁸ Greater London Authority, *London Boroughs' 2008 GTANA*, previously cited, p.162.
- ¹⁹ Southwark Traveller Action Group, *The Mystery of the Missing Traveller pitches*, 15 March 2024, https://www.southwarktravellersaction.org.uk/the-mystery-of-the-missing-traveller-pitches accessed 10 June 2024.
- ²⁰ Lewisham Local Authority, *Pool Court, Catford Preferred Traveller site*, 23 September 2022, https://lewisham.gov.uk/inmyarea/regeneration/travelling-community/pool-court-catford--preferred-traveller-site accessed 17 June 2024.
- ²¹ Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities, *Traveller caravan count: January 2024*, previously cited.
- ²² For reference, Gypsy and Traveller households lived in 655 caravan pitches rented from social housing providers and in 232 caravans on privately funded pitches in London in January 2024, according to the Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities, *Traveller caravan count: January 2024*, previously cited.

London Gypsies & Travellers

Mildmay Community Centre, Woodville Road, London N16 8NA Tel: +44 (0)20 8533 2002 | info@londongandt.org.uk

www.londongypsiesandtravellers.org.uk

- ²³ Office for National Statistics, *Gypsy or Irish Traveller populations, England and Wales: Census 2021*, previously cited, accessed 10 June 2024.
- ²⁴ London Gypsies and Travellers with WSA Community, *Homelessness Experiences of Young Gypsy and Traveller People in Hackney*, previously cited, p.15.
- ²⁵ Details on file with London Gypsies and Travellers.
- ²⁶ Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities, *Traveller Site Fund 2022/23*, updated 15 June 2023, https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/traveller-site-fund-202223 accessed 25 June 2024.
- ²⁷ Simon Ruston, *Hearing statement Gypsies and Travellers On behalf of the Stable Way Residents / Kensington and Chelsea Social Council*, 12 July 2023, https://planningconsult.rbkc.gov.uk/gf2.ti/f/1479298/168883685.1/PDF/-/M5-3b.pdf accessed 26 June 2024.
- ²⁸ As observed and noted on repeated London Gypsy and Traveller staff site visits, most recently in May 2024.
- ²⁹ Opinion Research Services, *West London Alliance Gypsy, Traveller and Travelling Showpeople Accommodation Assessment,* October 2018

https://www.ealing.gov.uk/download/downloads/id/18373/west_london_alliance_gypsy_traveller_and_travelling_showpeople_accommodation_assessment_october_2018.pdf , p.42, accessed 25 June 2024.

- ³⁰ HS2, *Community meeting Noise, Dust, Vibration Event*, 11 May 2021, https://assets.hs2.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/QA-with-responses-Noise-Dust-Vibration-Event-FINAL.pdf accessed 25 June 2024.
- ³¹ Testified by Star Lane residents to London Gypsies and Travellers staff in interviews in February 2022 and September 2023, on file with the organization.
- ³² Alice Bloch and Katharine Quarmby, Environmental racism, segregation and discrimination: Gypsy and Traveller sites in Great Britain, *Critical Social Policy Journal*, 2024, https://doi.org/10.1177/02610183241229053 accessed 25 June 2024.
- ³³ Greater London Authority, *London Boroughs' 2008 GTANA*, previously cited, p.8.
- ³⁴ Community Law Partnership, *London Borough of Bromley V Persons Unknown and London Gypsies & Travellers*, 17 May 2019, https://www.communitylawpartnership.co.uk/news/london-borough-of-bromley-v-persons-unknown-and-london-gypsies-travellers accessed 17 June 2024.
- ³⁵ Details on file with London Gypsies and Travellers.
- ³⁶ Havering Local Authority, *Havering Local Plan*, 7 April 2022,

https://issuu.com/haveringcouncil/docs/havering_local_plan_2016_2031_adopted, p.47, accessed 17 June 2024.

³⁷ Havering Local Authority, Further Evidence for Injunction, 12 July 2022,

https://www.havering.gov.uk/downloads/file/5750/further_evidence_bundle_-_12_july_2022.pdf, pp. A12 and B13, accessed 24 June 2024.

- 38 The Court of Appeal, Bromley LBC v Persons Unknown and others [2020], previously cited, para 104 (a-e).
- ³⁹ The Supreme Court, *Wolverhampton City Council and others (Respondents) v London Gypsies and Travellers and others (Appellants)*, Judgment given on 29 November 2023, https://www.supremecourt.uk/cases/docs/uksc-2022-0046-judgment.pdf accessed 19 June 2024.
- ⁴⁰ London Borough of Barking and Dagenham, *Gypsy and Traveller sites*, undated, https://www.lbbd.gov.uk/housing/gypsy-and-traveller-sites accessed 19 June 2024.
- ⁴¹ Travellers Times, *Police ramp up use of new anti-Traveller law*, 18 July 2023,

https://www.travellerstimes.org.uk/news/2023/07/police-ramp-use-new-anti-traveller-law accessed 24 June 2024.

- ⁴² Twitter account @MPSThornton [local police team], post, https://twitter.com/MPSThornton/status/1680992496531251200, 17 July 2023, accessed 24 June 2024.
- ⁴³ The Community Law Partnership, *Challenge to the New Police Powers of Eviction Against Gypsies and Travellers*, 20 July 2023, https://www.communitylawpartnership.co.uk/gypsy-and-traveller-news/challenge-to-the-new-police-powers-of-eviction-against-gypsies-and-travellers, accessed 24 June 2024.
- ⁴⁴ The High Court of Justice, *Wendy Smith v the Secretary of State for the Home Department*, judgment, https://assets.caselaw.nationalarchives.gov.uk/ewhc/admin/2024/1137/ewhc_admin_2024_1137.pdf accessed 24 June 2024.
- ⁴⁵ Administrative Court, *Liberty v the Secretary of State for the Home Department*, judgment, 21 May 2024, https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2024/05/National-Council-for-Civil-Liberties-v-Secretary-of-State-for-the-Home-Department-judgment.pdf accessed 24 June 2024.
- ⁴⁶ Office for National Statistics, *Gypsies' and Travellers' lived experiences, overview, England and Wales: 2022*, 7 December 2022

https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/ethnicity/articles/gypsiesandtravellerslivedexperienc esoverviewenglandandwales/2022 accessed 25 June 2024.

⁴⁷ NHS Race and Health Observatory, *Inequalities in Mental Health Care for Gypsy, Roma, and Traveller Communities*, report, September 2023, https://www.nhsrho.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/05/Inequalities-in-mental-health-care-for-Gypsy-Roma-and-Traveller-communities.pdf accessed 25 June 2024.