



UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

Why Are We Settling? The Gypsy, Roma and Traveller
Communities from Their Own Perspective

Shirley Barrett

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the
degree of

Doctor of Sociology

The University of Leeds

School of Sociology and Social Policy

November 2024

Declaration

I confirm that the work submitted is my own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

The right of Shirley Barrett to be identified as the author of this work has been asserted by Shirley Barrett under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

© 2024 The University of Leeds

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my thanks to everyone who has given their time and support to undertake this journey. To the interest panel who gave me so much valuable advice and were always on call if I wanted to discuss something with them. To the participants who gave me their time together with their experiences and knowledge, over endless cups of tea.

To my supervisors Bobby and Angharad, the late Ian Law and Diane Harding from Student Support for your guidance.

To Senit and Judith for your support and guidance throughout this process to make my dreams come true.

To Sean, David and Cate for making me laugh when I felt like crying and for the unwavering support and kindness given so freely.

Finally, to my family, my two daughters Jenny and Laura and my husband Ken. To my son-in-law Ryan and my grandchildren Issac and Freya for just being you. Thanks to my brothers Tom and Frank and sister Bet.

In memory of my late parents, Tom Miley – I wish I had known you better – and my mother Betsy Miley, who brought me up to believe I could be anything I wanted to be and to be proud of who I am.

Abstract

The need for this thesis is established in the 2011 census in England results, which showed that more Gypsy, Romany and Travellers (GRT) are living in housing or long-term on sites. Since this time, documentation from various sources such as Gypsy and Travellers Accommodation Needs Assessments (GTANA) which is conducted independently by local councils, has shown this trend is continuing. A knowledge gap exists concerning when GRTs settle and why. The question arises, what strategies, if any, do they use to establish relationships with the settled non-GT living around them and do they consider them successful? The following research fills this complex gap in knowledge.

Primarily focused on East Anglia, England, this research looks at the changes experienced by GRT communities as they become more solidly settled. Parallels are made with other ethnic groups, thus contributing to the literature, not only about the GRT (Romany Studies) but more broadly to ethnically and cultural studies generally.

Data was gathered from five GRTs, family clusters and six key informants consisting of one public sector professional and five representatives from non-government organisations. all of whom work with the GRT communities. six academics have undertaken research into GRT. There is also an autoethnographic dimension to the research. I have drawn on my own experiences as a member of the Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller communities who have 'settled'. Throughout I engage in self-reflection and use this as additional data.

The research establishes the need for support of GRT living long-term on sites or in housing. It also brings into question whether more sites should be built for the communities and the problems identified in the location of such sites.

Keywords: Gypsy; Romany; Roma; Traveller; nomadism; sedentism; ethnicity; racism; stereotypes; equality; integration; inclusion; communities.

Abbreviations

CJPOA- Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994

ESJU- Equality and Social Justice Unit

Gorger- Non-Gypsy

GRT- Gypsy, Roma/Romany and Travellers

GRTSB- Gypsy, Roma/Romany and Travellers Student Body

GTANA- Gypsy and Travellers Accommodation Needs Assessments

NGO's- Non-Government Organisations

OCFT- Ormiston Children and Families trust

ODPM- Office of the Deputy Prime Minister

OV4T- One Voice 4 Travellers

Settled Community- Those living permanently in an area

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|------------------|
| <i>Chapter 1- Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Travellers Settling in England</i> | <i>1</i> |
| 1.1 Introduction | 1 |
| 1.2.1 Gypsy, Roma, and Romani | 3 |
| 1.2.2 Irish Travellers | 3 |
| 1.2.3 Welsh | 4 |
| 1.2.4 Scottish | 4 |
| 1.3 Locating myself within the research..... | 5 |
| 1.4 Structure of This Thesis | 9 |
| <i>Chapter 2- Literature Review</i> | <i>11</i> |
| 2.1 Introduction | 11 |
| 2.2 Undertaking the literature review..... | 11 |
| 2.3 A Contextual Historical background and recycling misrepresentation. | 14 |
| 2.4 Literature construction of Identity | 17 |
| 2.5 Insider or outsider..... | 19 |
| 2.6 Integration and Engagement | 21 |
| 2.7 Stakeholders..... | 22 |
| 2.8 Inclusion and empowerment..... | 24 |
| 2.9 Racism and Prejudice | 25 |
| 2.10 Health..... | 27 |
| 2.11 Conclusion- Literature and the present-day context | 28 |
| <i>Chapter 3- Methodology</i> | <i>31</i> |

| | |
|--|-----------|
| 3.1 Introduction | 31 |
| 3.2 Methodological Choices | 32 |
| 3.2.1 Style of research..... | 33 |
| 3.2.2 Selection of those taking part. | 38 |
| 3.2.3 Storytelling as Research | 43 |
| 3.2.4 Insider or outsider | 44 |
| 3.3 Participants selected profile. | 45 |
| 3.4 Contribution and voice of the people | 49 |
| 3.5 Skill sets and forms of data collection | 51 |
| 3.5.1 Data security and participant safety..... | 53 |
| 3.5.2 Vulnerability and risk..... | 55 |
| 3.6 Analysing data and ethics. | 55 |
| 3.7 Conclusion | 58 |
| <i>Chapter 4. UK laws and their effects on the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller</i> | |
| <i>communities.....</i> | <i>60</i> |
| 4.1 Introduction | 60 |
| 4.2 1979 to 1990 – The Thatcher years..... | 61 |
| 4.3 1991 to 1999 | 63 |
| 4.4 2000 to 2015 | 64 |
| 4.5 2016 to 2022 | 73 |
| 4.6 The effect of the Laws on Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities | 77 |
| 4.7 Police and Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Travellers | 77 |
| 4.8 Criminal justice system..... | 80 |

| | |
|--|-------------------|
| 4.9 Other laws | 86 |
| 4.10 Interns of Planning Law in 2023 | 87 |
| 4.11 Conclusion | 88 |
| <i>Chapter 5- Identity, Culture and Life-Cycle</i> | <i>90</i> |
| 5.1 Introduction..... | 90 |
| 5.2 GRT and African Americans | 90 |
| 5.3 Defining GRT..... | 92 |
| 5.3.1 Nomadism | 92 |
| 5.4 Storytelling | 95 |
| 5.5 Gender and Sexuality | 97 |
| 5.5.1 Division of gender when single..... | 103 |
| 5.6 Marriage | 106 |
| 5.7 Sex Education, Pregnancy, and Birth | 111 |
| 5.8 Older Generations..... | 116 |
| 5.7 Death..... | 117 |
| 5.8 Conclusion | 124 |
| <i>Chapter 6- Education and Health for The Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller Communities and How It Affects Decisions Around Settling</i> | <i>127</i> |
| 6.1 Education..... | 127 |
| 6.1.1 Education and Primary Socialisation..... | 130 |
| 6.1.2 The Village Children | 132 |
| 6.1.3 Positive Actions | 136 |
| 6.1.4 Bullying | 147 |

| | |
|---|-------------------|
| 6.2 Health..... | 151 |
| 6.2.1 Illness, Wording and Settling | 151 |
| 6.3 Access to services - health..... | 153 |
| 6.3.1 Social Services | 154 |
| 6.3.2 Access to GPs | 155 |
| 6.3.3 Health and Economic Factors..... | 157 |
| 6.4 What the Gypsy, Romany Travellers Did During the Covid-19 Virus..... | 158 |
| 6.5 Conclusion | 160 |
| <i>Chapter 7-Working and Employment Within GRT Communities</i> | <i>162</i> |
| 7.1 Introduction | 162 |
| 7.2 The Work Circuit | 162 |
| 7.3 Women in Work..... | 169 |
| 7.4 Racism | 174 |
| 7.5 Settling | 179 |
| 7.6 Conclusion | 182 |
| <i>Chapter 8- Trails of Ethnicity.....</i> | <i>186</i> |
| 8.1 Introduction | 186 |
| 8.2 Patriotism and allegiance | 189 |
| 8.3 The ideology of unity of ethnicity..... | 191 |
| 8.4 Labelling- Gypsyism..... | 192 |
| 8.5 Roma defining identity | 196 |
| 8.6 Othering, Inclusive and Belonging..... | 203 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| 8.7 Segregation by Location | 210 |
| 8.8 Settling In Modern England and The Caravan | 214 |
| 8.8.1 Caring for The Environment..... | 217 |
| 8.9 Conclusion | 219 |
| <i>Chapter 9 Racism and Prejudice</i> | 223 |
| 9.1 Introduction..... | 223 |
| 9.2 Defining Terms ‘Prejudice’, ‘Discrimination’, ‘Harassment’, ‘Victimisation’, and ‘Stigma’ ... | 223 |
| 9.2 Race in England..... | 226 |
| 9.3 What the Equality Act says about race discrimination | 227 |
| 9.4 Infracommunication..... | 228 |
| 9.5 Europe Roma to England | 233 |
| 9.6 Settling and isolation..... | 235 |
| 9.7 Vulnerability of Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Travellers | 236 |
| 9.7.1 Television portraits of courtship and weddings | 236 |
| 9.8 Systemic racism, your Gypsy, Romany and Travellers access to education and health | 239 |
| 9.9 Issues of stigma..... | 240 |
| 9.10 Turning the tables on racism and prejudice | 241 |
| 9.11 Glimmer of hope | 245 |
| 9.12 Returning to Maslow | 247 |
| <i>Chapter 10. Conclusion- Self-Assessed Outcomes and Their Trajectory</i> | 247 |
| 10.1 Introduction..... | 247 |
| 10.2 The Lifecycle of Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers | 248 |

| | |
|---|-------------------|
| 10.3 Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller Communities' Perceptions of The Success or Failure of Engagement | 250 |
| 10.4 Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs..... | 255 |
| 10.5 Racism and Prejudice..... | 256 |
| 10.6 Concerns When Settling..... | 258 |
| 10.7 Changes When Moving from One Culture to Another | 260 |
| 10.8 Being The Helper and Giver of Skills | 261 |
| 10.9 What Should Be Done Differently If Looking To Settle | 263 |
| 10.10 Pride In Ethnicity | 266 |
| 10.11 Education – Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller Communities..... | 269 |
| 10.12 Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs..... | 272 |
| 10.13 Best Agents of Change | 274 |
| 10.14 The Future..... | 275 |
| 10.15Usefulness and dissemination of findings..... | 278 |
| 10.16 Future study..... | 278 |
| 10.17 Conclusions | 279 |
| <i>Appendix</i> | <i>281</i> |
| Appendix A- Table 1. Average time family cluster groups were away from the settled home per year other than for a holiday..... | 281 |
| Appendix 2- Recording sheet of interest group meeting..... | 281 |
| Appendix 3 – Interview Guide | 282 |
| Appendix 4– Consent form..... | 284 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| Appendix 5 - Participant information sheet | 286 |
| Appendix 6 – Ethics approval | 287 |
| <i>Bibliography</i> | 290 |

Table of Figures

| | |
|--|-----|
| Figure 1- My family cluster living on the roadside during the late sixties and early seventies..... | 5 |
| Figure 2- Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs 1945..... | 33 |
| Figure 3- Rose Brash lead by police officer 1985..... | 58 |
| Figure 4- Stonehenge Protest..... | 59 |
| Figure 5a- Dale Farm 2011..... | 67 |
| Figure 5b- Dale Farm 2011..... | 80 |
| Figure 6- Members of GRT community getting married (private collection of cluster family)..... | 106 |
| Figure 7- Buckley marriage (private collection of cluster family)..... | 107 |
| Figure 8a- Elderly community members..... | 112 |
| Figure 8b- Elderly community members..... | 112 |
| Figure 9- Smith family graveside..... | 117 |
| Figure 10- My fathers' graveside..... | 117 |
| Figure 11a- Gypsy family during COVID 19..... | 153 |
| Figure 11b- Gypsy family during COVID 19..... | 153 |
| Figure 11c- Gypsy family during COVID 19..... | 153 |
| Figure 11d- Gypsy family during COVID 19..... | 153 |
| Figure 12- Woman making items to sell..... | 134 |
| Figure 13- Members of the Buckley family undertaking one of the many 'domestic home tasks'..... | 134 |
| Figure 14- Cooper family women at work, Miley private collection..... | 166 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Figure 15- Soldier from the Tidd..... | 193 |
| Figure 16- Buckley family..... | 193 |
| Figure 17- Members of the Smith/Cooper family..... | 204 |
| Figure 18- Roadside family possessions outside of caravan..... | 210 |

Chapter 1- Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Travellers Settling in

England

1.1 Introduction

In 2011 the national census in the UK showed more Gypsy, Romany, and Travellers (GRT) were settling long-term in housing or on sites than living nomadically. Various Gypsy Travellers Accommodation Needs Assessments (GTANA), such as East Harts (2022), together with research including, Greenfields and Smith (2011), and Buckley, Horter and Snape (2022), confirm this trend is continuing.

This current research is not a comparative study, but compliments what has already been established concerning settlement on sites and in houses. The research discusses several issues of importance to the GRT communities., through the ‘lens’ of settlement, such as education and health, identity, racism and prejudice, work and employment, and the life cycle. The objective is to enhance and develop the understanding of the sector of the GRT who have been settled for ten years or more in East Anglia. Furthermore, to establish if they have become part of the local non-GT settled community, and how they achieved this. Whilst this research is situated in East Anglia, no indication has been found to suggest that the findings would not be similar in other regions. This research makes the case for more attention to be paid by policymakers and other stakeholders to assist GRT families with issues of longer-term settlement, whether on sites or in houses.

1.2 GRT Community

The main contributors to this research are the GRT community who had been settled for ten years or more, on-site or in housing, within East Anglia. The engagement was with the whole cluster family. From this engagement work with individuals and the same gender was also undertaken. A cluster family consists of family and immediate family members, who traditionally travelled and supported each other. An example of this may be parents, a married son and his family, a married daughter and her family, plus the son's eldest son and his family. The size of the cluster can vary in size but tends to be around three to four families. The cluster is important and if moved onto site or housing, they will try to stay within the local area of each other. Alternatively, if moving into conventional housing, the cluster is physically broken up, yet the continuation of support and shared caring does continue. It is also one of the reasons why sites can be defined as overcrowded, simply because one of the families may be allocated a council or housing association plot, then other families who are part of the cluster move onto the plot with them.

Forty-nine individuals from five cluster families were engaged with. The main ethnicities were Gypsy, Romany, Roma, and Travellers including Irish Travellers. Within the clusters, however, we also had those from another ethnicity who had married in, these included Welsh, Scottish, and members of the settled community. Whilst Showman, Boatpeople, and New Travellers were invited to take part, none accepted the offer. The main reason given was they felt overall they had fundamental differences then the GRT communities. However, I have included communities, such as New Travellers, when information is found which relates to the theme of being part of the GRT. A good example is in Chapter Four and how the law has affected New Travellers in the famous clash with the Police, known as 'The Battle of the Bean Fields'. The following gives a brief description of the ethnicities worked within this research, in terms of language, history, and size of the population.

1.2.1 Gypsy, Roma, and Romani

Roma in Britain has been documented since the early 15th century. *The Egyptians Act (1530)* was a response to the arrival of Romani Gypsies, known as "Egyptians", in Britain. The first definite record of Roma in Scotland was in 1505. They were initially Travellers, largely working as hawkers, basket weavers, craftsmen, blacksmiths, and other occupations. However, they would also work as hostellers, jockeys, horse dealers, and many other occupations that involve working with horses.

European Romani-speaking groups are descended from the same people as British Romany Gypsies but have moved to the UK more recently from central and eastern Europe, many as refugees/asylum seekers fleeing persecution. They are recognised as an ethnic minority in the same category as Gypsies and speak Romani. They are, however, distinct from the UK's Gypsy community and there is little interaction between the two (Lally, 2015). The *Ethnicity and the Criminal Justice System* (2020) statistics were clear that some Roma find the name Gypsy to be offensive, yet some Gypsies find the Roma name offensive.

1.2.2 Irish Travellers

In land records, you'll see the seeds of change in landlord/tenant relationships brought to the forefront by the Famine in Ireland. Millions of immigration and census records follow the Great Irish Famine Irish diaspora as they escape the hardship in Ireland and move around the globe, known as Ireland Great Hunger (Irish Memorial, Unknown).

Irish Travellers speak a language known as Cant / Gammon, which is considered the Creole¹ language developed by Travellers from Irish, Scots Gaelic, and English-speaking backgrounds. Among Travellers, Cant / Gammon could also be known as Shelta (Ireland's National Inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage, Unknown). Whilst the following were in the minority within the family cluster groups, they still took part in the research and therefore need to be acknowledged.

1.2.3 Welsh

The Welsh Romani (also known as the Kale) are almost exclusively found in Northwest Wales, specifically the Welsh-speaking areas. Romanichal Travellers inhabit South Wales while preserving their travelling lifestyle. Over the years, The Kale claims several aspects of Welsh culture, including the Welsh language.

1.2.4 Scottish

As already stated, in England, Ireland and Wales, the population sizes are unknown and Scottish Travellers are no exception. The Equality and Human Rights Commission Scotland states it is estimated that between 15,000- 20,000 people are of Scottish Traveller descent (The Equality and Human Rights Commission Scotland, 2014, p3).

Scottish languages share greater commonality with Romany, and Gaelic, revealing the lineage of Scottish Gypsy Travellers from Northern India, with Roma peoples. It is part of the

¹ Creole Language- 'A Creole language is one that has been formed by mixing different languages. Creole languages have grammatical rules, and lots of vocabulary and are learned by children as their native language.' (Panford, 2023).

phenomenon of Indic diaspora languages spoken by travelling communities of Indian origin outside of India (Friends, Families and Travellers, 2009).

1.3 Locating myself within the research

I am an English Romany and whilst endorsing the ‘working with’ concept and incorporating participatory action research with emancipatory research, it was important for me to be open about my ethnicity and how I became interested in this area. If this were not given and members of these communities found out I was from one of the communities, they may well have felt I was ashamed of my ethnicity and asked why community members should engage with the research if the researcher would not admit they were from the communities. This and other defining and belonging rules in these communities are not unusual.



Figure 1. My family cluster living on the roadside during the late sixties and early seventies

I am proud that I am from the Gypsy, Romany, and Traveller communities in East Anglia, England. Like a growing number of community members, I first lived nomadically but later settled. When I was five years old, my father, who was at the time only thirty-eight, died suddenly from a heart attack. This left my mother a young widow with four children, the

youngest being two and the eldest in his early teens. We lived in one of three caravans that stayed together (see Figure 1). In our caravan lived my mother, older sister, elder and younger brothers, and me. The other caravans were occupied by my aunt and uncle in one caravan and my grandmother and aunt (her unmarried daughter) in the other. Between our cluster of three families, we now had one adult male and one teenage boy (to go out and find enough work to generate money for us all to live on). When the male members of the family, and in some cases all the men and women (including teenagers), worked together, the money earned was shared between the three families. We tended to stay around one village in which a titled lady owned a farm. We lived at various locations on this farm but the price for being able to stay was that we became what can only be described as exhibits for the gentrified visitors to the farm. She would bring her friends to visit us and look inside our caravans. Strangely we never asked ourselves if they should look or if we should voice our objections to this intrusion into our lives. However, from the adult conversation after such a visit they did feel that they were made into a spectacle by these actions; references were made to feel that we were in a zoo for them to look at. (It was only in adulthood and after reading the works of Okely, Greenfields, Smith, and Clark, in terms of the negativity towards the Gypsy, Romany/Roma communities that I was able to fully understand the negativity and lack of respect for such behaviour and how disempowering it must have been for the adults).

During my final years at school, my living conditions changed as we moved into a house. The farm owner had died, and we had no way of knowing if the new owner would let us stay, but the experiences we knew of from others in the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities suggested that it was unlikely.

I eventually worked in a factory across the road from the school. The manager eventually asked if I would like to be put forward for an apprenticeship and I accepted. By the time I

was made redundant in 1983, I had achieved three advanced City and Guilds at Merit grade or above. This enabled me to apply for and sit various assessments, leading to the Licentiatehip in Wood Technology, thus becoming the first female in England to hold this qualification. I also learned how to hide my ethnicity from the outside world and only be a Romany girl at home and in my community. With this double life came many difficulties around acceptable behaviour, such as being chaperoned by male members of the family when going out. It was a lonely life, and, on many occasions, I felt that I did not belong anywhere. I lived in no man's land, different from the other girls I knew from my community, but also different from the gorgers (non-Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller) girls. However, whilst there was a mountain of things I did not know, the one thing I did know was that I wanted a career and to be able to earn my own money. My goal was to get a job that I knew would allow me to keep myself and any children I might have. This desire for independence and achieving an 'excellent job' had grown from seeing the difficulties my mother endured as a widow with a young family to keep and only seasonal fieldwork to earn money.

From 1983 to 1998 I worked in various positions, each time gaining more experience and knowledge. After working for the Cambridgeshire Traveller Education Service for a few years, I attended a meeting of service providers and became interested in a new project working with the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities in Cambridgeshire. This was being set up by the Ormiston Children and Families Trust (OCFT), a national charity. As my interest in the project grew, I was offered a secondment to the OCFT from Cambridgeshire Traveller Education for a year, which I accepted. After the year I chose to stay with the OCFT in the post of Lead Communities Development Manager. I developed a growing realisation about how little information existed which enabled the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller voices to be heard. Most of the information that existed

focused on planning, health, and education with much of the work being tied together with the stereotypical view of Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller lifestyle – in other words, living in caravans and being nomadic. It was not until I became Co-Manager of One Voice 4 Travellers (OV4T), that I seriously considered how I might contribute to filling gaps in knowledge regarding those in the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities who were long-term settled, either in housing or on sites.

Through my work and studies, I have been introduced to several academic works including those of Professor Colin Clark, and to academics who are interested in accurate accounts of Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller life. I believe that these people – David Smith, Margret Greenfields, and Judith Okely to name but a few – and others from numerous diverse communities and ethnicities value my work and, contrary to the perception I was brought up with, respect me for who I am, including my ethnicity. This has inspired me to use my skills and ability to conduct this research. Being able to get behind the public face of the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities means this research is rich in authenticity and understanding of the complexity of what many describe as England's hardest-to-reach communities.

I had an unprecedented opportunity to access families from the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities who had undertaken the transition from being itinerant to being settled as well as NGO workers, state employees, and researchers. I felt that undertaking this research would add to the knowledge of this new development in the lives of the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities in East Anglia and indeed across England. For the first time, new people who were entering our lives were not associated with our past. They presumed we were just another family living in a council house. This meant that we faced a dilemma about whether to reveal our ethnicity. This dilemma was not exclusive to my family;

indeed, it is cited by researchers Anstead, A. (2010) as one of the reasons that the population size of these communities in England can only be estimated. Whilst initially our settling seemed like a positive move and in many ways, it was, yet we soon realised that in other ways it was negative. It became apparent to us all that, whilst having racial abuse and prejudice directed at you is hurtful from strangers, having someone befriend you who then finds out your ethnicity and as a consequence breaks the friendship off hurts deeply and for a long time. I still clearly remember after one such incident I concluded that it would be better to be physically noticeable by, for example, being black. Whilst (albeit wrongly) a person could look at you and decide to accept or reject you based on your appearance, at least a valued friendship would not start, only to end in rejection.

1.4 Structure of This Thesis

I have outlined the aims of this research and shown how it attempts to redress the gaps in current research on Gypsies and Travellers in terms of settling long term, and the endeavours the GRT uses to engage with the local passive community and if successful from the GRT perspective. I will now briefly describe the content of each chapter.

Chapter 2 contains a literature review in terms of information that has a significant impact on the aim of this research subject. Much of the literature concerning GRT tends to work with the stereotypical GRT life, however, this is now slowly changing with those such as Greenfields, Smith and Clark being some of the major contributors.

Chapter 3, 'Methodology' presents a detailed account of the methods used to design, collect information, and analysis. This chapter also draws attention to the ethical issues and how they were addressed. Throughout the chapter, information is given on the strategies and success of accessing the GRT and those who work closely with them in East Anglia. It should be

noted that whilst this research ethnographic work is situated in East Anglia, the research methods of access can be recreated in another geographical area. My role of being part of the GRT community together with undertaking the research is outlined, plus the consequences that it may have had, both negative and positive, for the data collection. The chapter also includes an explanation of the analytical framework both in terms of the methods and limitations.

Chapter 4, UK laws and their effect on GRT communities is outlined from 1979 to 2022.

The chapter establishes the position of GRT in terms of the Police and Crime justice system and how the GRT community looks at the system as a precaution and not a protection. Thus, establishing the perceived position GRT considers their position to be.

Chapters 5 to 9, contain unique primary data collected and presented along with the existing information. The chapters cover never-before-given information on the GRT community's views and values from cultural norms and values to the attachment to geographical areas, and the effect of racism and prejudice, with chapter ten establishing the effects of education and health when settling.

Chapter 10 looks at the most up-to-date information including the GRT self-easement and trajectory including what the GRT community feels should be done differently if GRT is to settle. Furthermore, it concludes this thesis by bringing the research together and looks at the best agents of change, how the GRT sees the future, and the usefulness of the findings of this research and dissemination including the need for future research.

Chapter 2- Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines previously published work in the field of Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers, the research into the field, and understanding the mixed method approach to gathering and analysing current data and information. As seen in the title of this study, the main themes for this research are to understand GRT who have lived in bricks and mortar (also known as housing) for more than ten years (considering themselves settled), and the strategies for engaging with the local non GRT locally and if they feel they have succeeded. It also looks at academics and services that have worked with the GRT and if they consider the engagement of GRT with locals. It is not a comparative study.

This literature review has been undertaken ‘...to identify the issues and debates from within existing research literature...’ and ‘...to inform my study and produce a coherent argument that justifies the need for my research.’ (D’Arcy, 2012, p. 25.). Allowing existing literature to underpin the work I am conducting, gives structure to the new research and assists in the building blocks of informative questioning and analysis. Furthermore, I am influenced by Wellington et al. (2005) who suggests, a literature review builds a theoretical rationale for the research and places the study within a wider body of knowledge. There is also a range of information on the actual compiling of a literature review, which I have turned to for good practice, including: Burnett (2009), Bell and Waters (1993) and Dawson (2009) to name but a few.

2.2 Undertaking the literature review

Literature used correctly and in context can and does add value to any research, simply by developing our understanding of the foundations on which modern-day findings sit.

However, it must be in the context in which it was written. Care needs to be taken to not presume that because a document is cited over and over again in scholarly works, it is based on well-founded facts. It will also be limited by any changes which have happened since it was written, and this should be made clear when citing it. Yet we can say that this is how it was then, this has happened since, this is how it is now, thus producing research findings which acknowledge the past, understand the changes that have happened and thus establish the current situation, highlighting any information gaps. Without this, we are in danger of reproducing information which reads as if it is new and current but is in reality the regeneration of historical stereotypes. An example is Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller settling in housing or on sites. With a few exceptions, very little has been written on this subject, even though we are being told by community members, including those taking part in this research, and government findings from the census that this is a new development in these communities and because their members are beginning to engage (be it through necessity or desire) with the settled local community in an endeavour to forge mutual understanding

Okley and Callaway (2014) stated ‘Gypsy Travellers or Roma are treated as objects, rarely subjects...’ (Okley and Callaway, 2014, p.8). This implies that, within literature, there has been a lack of work with the GRT which has subsequently resulted in the voice of the community not being heard. In the work already conducted, there appears to be an overreliance of GRT literature based on historical data, that is not challenged by new and informed data, thus resulting in recycled misconceptions and misrepresentations. Therefore, one area which needs consideration when undertaking a literature review, is the over-reliance on old sources without consideration of changes since it was written. To eliminate these issues as much as possible, I removed those works whose titles, in my opinion, clearly

showed that they were irrelevant to the research. Additionally, any work that was historical in nature was only used as a foundation of knowledge and not as a sole source of information.

To compile a list of works which related to this research, I spent some time at the Lorna Society archives and the Leeds University Gypsy and Traveller special collection, as well as using internet searches with keywords such as 'integration' and 'settling down'. I also visited several community groups that have copies of studies they have produced, for example, Leeds Gate. They not only have their own research documents, but also copies of other groups' research commonly known as 'grey literature'. Grey literature is defined by the University of Leeds as '...any information that is not produced by commercial publishers.' Including '...research reports, working papers...white papers...' etc. (University of Leeds (Unknown)). Abrams (2010) *Processes of prejudice: Theory, evidence and intervention* reviews grey literature for management and organisations but makes it clear that grey literature, generally, is unlikely to have gone through any type of peer review process, thus care is needed in relying on it.

In terms of timeframe and relevance, many of the studies concerning GRT in England cite previous research which in any other field of study would be considered out of date. An example of this is the considerable emphasis placed on the work of Okely (1983), but without acknowledgement that, like the majority of communities, GRT life has changed since 1983. Judith Okely is considered by many, including me, as one of the great researchers of the GRT communities, in terms of good practice of engagement and research. Dr Cate Trease published ground-breaking research on housed women in Cambridgeshire in 2006, however, in the past seventeen years events have taken place such as Covid-19, the war in Ukraine, Queen Elizabeth II's death and Brexit to name a few. Both Okely (1983) and Trease (2006) works, whilst valuable in terms of historical construction, needs to be clearly defined as

historical. Another example citing information without acknowledging changes which may have been made since its publication are Van Cleemput et al. (2007) and the Acheson report (1988), which is an independent inquiry into inequalities in healthcare. It is worth noting that whilst these documents are 14 and 24 years old, respectively, they do form an excellent historical document concerning the health of GRT.

It has been clear that little is written concerning Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller and what literature there was written has statistical inaccuracies. It also needs to be noted that plagiarism is commonplace, resulting in inaccurate information being repeated through a number of documents. Thus, what GRT documentation there is, is full of deceptions and inaccuracies.

2.3 A Contextual Historical background and recycling misrepresentation.

Throughout history, Gypsies and Travellers have been subject to racism, discrimination and even execution. Approximately 500,000 Gypsies and Travellers were executed in the second war by German Nazi during the holocaust. The GRT are sometimes seen as the forgotten victims of this era, due to the predominate focus on Jewish people. It is important to note that, I am in no way taking away the horrors that the Jewish community faced during this time but shedding a light on the other communities that also suffered. One publication which analyses the Gypsies in the Holocaust is *In the Shadow of The Swastika* by Kenrick (1999). This part of the Gypsy and Traveller history in Europe is not a central focus of this chapter (nor indeed this theses), but it is important to highlight the strength of discrimination that Gypsies and Travellers have faced. (Richardson, 2004, p.36).

In terms of misrepresentations of GRT in the media, especially in populist newsprint and the crisis in newspaper sales, there is a greater incentive to create alarmist headlines and

melodrama to enhance visibility and circulation. Traditionally, valued in-depth journalism presupposes detailed enquiry, direct experience, and face-to-face questioning, bearing some initial similarities with anthropological fieldwork. Ideally, the investigative journalist should not uncritically recycle hackneyed clichés. The very meaning of prejudice is now dulled, obliterating the original act of advance judgement and yet ill-informed prejudgement dominates populist news coverage of Gypsies, Roma and Travellers. Damian Le Bas, a Gypsy Romany and well-known Gypsy writer, reported in *The Guardian Newspaper* (2019) that:

‘The past decade, Gypsy documentaries have been doing something insidious [...] conjuring the feeling that you are getting an intricate and balanced depiction of a hidden world. In fact, the reverse is true on all counts. They can create the impression that social problems spring up out of nowhere; that Gypsy Roma/Romany and Travellers (GRT) are magically immune to common human concerns about work, money, health and their children’s education; that everyone from a certain background or a certain gender, is the same.

(Le Bas, 2019).

Clark and Greenfield’s (2006) *Here to Stay the Gypsies and Travellers of England* gives an account of the life of GRT communities in England during the beginning of the 21st century. Clark is from the Scottish Gypsy community; however, although Greenfield is not from any of these communities, they have in-depth knowledge from working with GRT and both write almost passionately at times. The developed approach is clear in acknowledging precisely where their information came from, and equal weight was given to gathering data and critical comment. This gives understanding as to what influences articles in newspapers, radio, television programmes, and academic literature have on relationships between GRT

communities and the local settles community. However, since then there have been many developments including the results of the 2011 UK Census by the Office for National Statistics. I took from this work key concepts such as the acknowledgement of being clear on information sources and the need to obtain critical feedback. I also found the fact they were not afraid to show their passion enlightening, but logical. Showing feeling is not a negative when writing about people's lives, their wants, needs, hurts and construction of feeling when undertaking a change in lifestyle.

Roma family clusters from Central Europe who predominately move to England and settle, face the same levels of misunderstanding of their culture, views and values as their English counter parts, whilst also having the additional 'Roma of Central Europe' label. Biro (1998) in his work, *What future for the Roma? An outsiders' view*, states:

'During the memorable 40 years of 'socialism', the Roma of CEE, who had been settled for decades, if not centuries, were integrated by force into the mainstream economy at the lowest level of skills and income. This was accompanied by a high degree of acculturation involving a radical change in livelihood and lifestyle: The guarantee of a regular monthly income, till then an unimaginable state of material security, was the most notable change and broke the habits and attitudes of centuries. At the first signs of economic crisis, however, the Roma workforce was pushed back into unemployment and returned to their familiar state of marginalisation and exclusion.'

(Biro,1998, p.36).

When coming to England, many Roma stay under the label 'asylum seekers' rather than their ethnicity of Roma. Several studies, for example those conducted by Brown et al. (2013) and

Horton and Grayson (2008), give a clear understanding of the position of Roma in the EU. This allows for a wider knowledge in regards to the Roma currently residing in the UK, thus affecting the culture and a different perspective on settling.

2.4 Literature construction of Identity

To understand the social divisions and then relate these to the experiences of the Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller communities, this section looks at literature relating to specifics. The Gypsy, Romany and Traveller are often grouped as one in mainstream society as an ubiquitous figure in British literature, often functioning as a symbol of escape from the dominant social morals governing sex and gender roles and the ownership of capital. Many remember the 1980s Cadbury Flake advertisement which showed a sultry ‘Gypsy girl’ walking through a field of sunflowers before hopping onto a horse-drawn wagon at sunset eating a flake and looking sensual and sexy. We also have the 19th-century works of Jane Austen's *Emma* and Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*; these associations are implicit in the early 20th-century works of Lawrence (*The Virgin and the Gypsy*) and Virginia Woolf (*Orlando*). The functions of the Gypsy figures are comparatively overt and give considerable insight into British constructions of GRT. Matthews (2015) examines the contrast between Victorian and Modernist representations of the Gypsy, Romany and Traveller and the transformation in the way identity is represented by non-Romany writers in the 20th century.

For this research, a key work is Richardson's *Talking about Gypsies: The Notion of Discourse as Control* (2006). Although some 17 years old, this work looks at the social construction of the Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller communities as a marginalised ‘other’ and concludes that placing a sector of society as other or deviant works to not look at similarities with mainstream society but differences, thus making them ‘other’.

The struggle to be identified and thus prove a stable definition which can be used for social, legal and personal purposes is not just applicable to the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers, there are many communities throughout the world's ethnic minorities that are, or were, nomadic and face many of the same situations. However, I found myself asking, 'is it enough to establish a firm definition or should the definition develop as the communities themselves adapt and adjust to both the dominant society and indeed the influences from across the world?'.

Mayall has written several works on Gypsies, including one of his more recent books on identity and the '*Gypsy/Romany Identities 1500-2000: From Egyptians and Moon-men to the Ethnic Romany*' (Mayall, 2004). This is a comprehensive book, which looks at historic studies starting in the 16th century through to the modern-day. The work looks closely at Gypsy identities and gives a well-balanced argument of the different concepts of the Gypsy profile. However, whilst the book develops the theory around Gypsy identities by looking at the various concepts put forward to develop a definition, it states '...[b]ut, still, we are left with the question "who are they?, they have been whoever people have wanted them to be..." (Mayall, 2004, p.276). I interpreted this as people still stereotyping the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers communities as exotic or demonised. The book is a useful tool for looking at the various concepts and theories that have been used and developed in terms of identification, but as with any document, it is good practice to use more than one source.

Much can be found on the traditions, beliefs and customs of the GRT communities in England, such as Bancroft (2005) or Berlin (2015), but very few books on these communities find their way to the shelves of local libraries. A recent exception to this is Damian Le Bas's book *The Stopping Places* (2018) which became BBC Radio 4 'book of the week' in June 2018. The book gives a realistic and thought-provoking account of the author's family and

their journey around England. In terms of mainstream work, Cohen's *Folk Devils and Moral Panics* (2011) is a work which establishes integration/inclusion or not as the case may be.

2.5 Insider or outsider

An additional key area for me when undertaking the work was whether I was an insider or an outsider. A key element is the perception that the languages spoken by the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers are 'secret languages' that are never written down or divulged to anyone outside of the GRT communities. However, the following establishes this is not the case:

'The history of the Romany language- Romanès, as we call it- may not seem like an especially critical issue. Arguing about whether or not this language has a history of being written down might seem less important. Yet the claim that the Romany language has never been written down until very recent times remains untrue [...] It was in England that the first ever written record of the language was produced by a Catholic monk called Andrew Boorde in the year 1542.'

(Le Bas, 2014).

Le Bas's observation is that, as most of the Romany Gypsy could not read or write, it was

Andrew Boorde in 1542, who was a Catholic monk, who documented the language.

However, as the person scribing the record was not from the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers communities, the written word was likely to be more about how Boorde saw the situation, rather than the perception of the GRT themselves. Professor Thomas Acton is one of the few people in England to have run a 'Romany Studies' course. In 2000 he collated information on the Gypsy language in which he stated: 'Research and literature about who

should undertake research discriminate between insiders, outsiders, or both.’ (Action, 2000, p.126).

It is further explained:

’The issue of researcher membership in the group or area being studied is relevant to all approaches of qualitative methodology as the researcher plays such a direct and intimate role in both data collection and analysis. Whether the researcher is an insider, sharing the characteristic, role, or experience under study with the participants or an outsider to the commonality shared by participants, the personhood of the researcher, including her or his membership status about those participating in the research, is an essential and ever-present aspect of the investigation.’

(Dwyer and Buckle, 2009, p.55).

The main problem with the decision-making process in this area is simply that no common definition can be found because, in a range of situations, a person may be an insider or an outsider. Fay (1996) gives a strong argument concerning being an insider by establishing that an insider position can mean that difficult questions may get in-depth answers. Bridges (2016) goes further, stating that insider research would be more ethical, particularly for marginal groups.

Both insider and outsider research have their merits and limitations. Considering the research concerning insiders or outsiders, a logical conclusion is to have the best of both worlds. Thus, as Chhabra (2020) states:

‘By adopting the positionality of being an in-betweeners vis-à-vis their interlocutors, they could offer a more nuanced understanding, which is contingent upon multiple identities, complex biographies, and layered social locations.’

(Chhabra, 2020, p.308-309).

The work of anthropologists during the early new millennium formed the foundation of the disciplines of emic and etic research. Authors such as Murchison (2009) developed the emic and etic, thus insider and outsider definitions. Since the 20th century when white anthropologists researched indigenous populations, this has given a clear definition of outsider research. However, the emic/etic, insider/outside concept of research is not as simple as it first appears. Mercer (2007) looks at the challenges of insider research. In terms of educational institutions, it resolves delicate dilemmas, which can relate to undertaking work with Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities.

I am part of the British GRT community and married to a member of the settled community with whom I have children. I am part of the few in the GRT communities who have gone on to further education. I am not part of the other groups with these communities, such as male, married to a member of the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities, those who do not have children, or did not finish mainstream education.

2.6 Integration and Engagement

The perceptions of integration and engagement of Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller communities in the literature are lacking. An exception is the work by Berlin (2012), who conducted a comparative study into housing and related living between the Finnish Roma and England's GRT communities. Whilst this is important research, it is a comparative study which looks only at housing and the working environment. A major part of the work concerning England is reliant on research by Greenfields and Smith (2011), which is one of the few studies of housed GRT in England.

Several theses published in recent years on related subject areas of GRT life do give some limited acknowledgement of changes in living conditions. Ceyhan's (2003) work on GRT, such as Identity construction in Edirne, and Webb's (2017) work on Romanian nationalism amongst the British Romani to name but two. It must be noted that the Irish Traveller heritage is defined in English literature reviews such as *'Tinkers': Synge and the Cultural History of the Irish Traveller* by Burke (2009). However, it can be seen throughout that it is common practice for Irish Travellers to be grouped with GRT.

Whilst the main focus of the research is on the GRT communities, the engagement and relationship with other ethnic minorities does need to be recognised, such as Todaro (2013), who studied African Americans and Gypsies and how a relationship is formed because of the recognition of hardship by each ethnic minority.

2.7 Stakeholders

A key element of this research was to identify the stakeholders and engagement with them.

The stakeholders are the GRT community, NGO's who work closely with them, and academics who have done research with the GRT community (and in some situations, are also from the GRT community). The rationale for not engaging with the sedentary GRT is simple, as these stakeholders' views are already in existence in a number of forms, thus further documenting their contribution would add nothing to what is already known.

Including their opinions would change the ethos of this work from the GRT perspective and those that work closely with them, to the contribution of the understanding of GRT in housing.

In *Public Health Research Methods for Partnerships and Practice* (2017) by Goodman and Thompson, three concepts of stakeholders: outreach, coordination, and collaboration is

discussed. However, after further defining the term stakeholders, it can be seen that my research falls within the cooperation research design. They state:

‘Cooperation: Researchers ask community members for help with a project, instead of just asking for advice. There is some activity on the part of community members in defined aspects of the project, including recruitment, implementation of interventions, measurement, and interpretation of outcomes.’

(Goodman and Thompson, 2017).

As previously mentioned, NGO’s and academics are key stakeholders within this research. NGOs on many occasions help to introduce those from the field of academia to members of the GRT community, as well as understanding the barriers of the GRT in terms of developing trust to engage. Many have over the years developed a positive relationship with GRT. As Greenfields states:

‘An important way to enhance success when specialist services are commissioned, or a decision is made in primary care to develop extended services or outreach to the communities is to work with NGOs and agencies that already have an established relationship with local GRT populations. In addition, it should be ensured at this stage that there is sufficient scope for interested community members, typically women, to input. Given their access and established relationships with their own communities.’

(Greenfields, 2017, p.28).

Thus, the NGO’s and academics being part of this present research has been key to finding and engaging with GRT as, although I am part of the community, I have contact with some but not all GRT in East Anglia, nor do I speak for them.

One of the most profound comments is a statement by Powell (2008), in terms of literature of GRT, has summed up what others have tried and failed to do. Specifically, where others have failed to be precise and concise, Powell gave clarification to a complex situation. I have used these quotes as reminders that the most powerful of understanding situations are usually best understood by the simplest use of wording.

2.8 Inclusion and empowerment

When undertaking research of ethnic minority or group, it is a fine line in terms of being focused, but also being so extensive, that it is difficult for the reader to establish where in the general society the group fit. Whilst this research is not a comparative study, I have included references and observations of other ethnic groups that have been identified through the literature search to have the same or similar situation.

Ryder (2012) establishes the situation concerning Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller inclusion and empowerment in settled society. Little is written about GRT women, however, Appleton et al. (2003) looked at how living on a site where no one in the Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller communities wants to live affects their mental health.

Older members of the communities have in recent years been at the centre of research, for example, the work of Lane et al. (2014) *Experts by Experience: Reviewing England Progress on the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies*. However, much of the information on elderly community members is in the general Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller communities research and focused on health needs. For example, Ryder and Greenfields (2010) *Roads to Success: Economic and Social Inclusion for Gypsies and Travellers*, explores elder members of the Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller communities and the culture. It states: ‘In traditional Gypsy and Traveller societies, older people are

overwhelmingly afforded extremely high status and are largely responsible for negotiating or taking community decisions.’ (Ryder and Greenfields, 2010, p. 103).

In terms of works being subject-specific rather than communities-specific, there are studies about educational inequalities that have included the Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller communities amongst other marginalised and excluded populations. A limited number of academics have recently included Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller in their schemes of work, placing these communities in a broader subject area rather than their own communities. An example of this type of research is Law (2010) and the approach enables an understanding of the subject which can then be applied to the situation in the Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller communities. This process enriches the communities’ profile in terms of developing an understanding of the comparative depths of any given situation such as racism, with other minorities and with society.

2.9 Racism and Prejudice

Debates regarding race and racism are often hidden from view. The consequence of not publishing all evidence regarding racism towards GRT is that the issue is diluted and ignored. Moreover, it perpetuates the notion of the community as deviant and as showing a lack of care about their child’s education. Ivatts (2006) does advise readers of his own report to note the potential pitfalls in relation to the interpretation of information and research on Travellers. He states that his report should not be interpreted as a criticism of Traveller families or the provision of EHE, moreover he highlights his concern regarding the ‘...creation and or confirmation of stereotypes either positive or negative within the context of a short research report constrained by the need for brevity.’ (D’Arcy, 2012, p. 26).

Work on race and discrimination gives us pre-war and post war and gives the situation of GRT in terms of racism to words them, but also discusses and analysis of migration and places GRT within migration from Africa, Caribbean and South Asia. It is discussed the arrival of the Windrush generation 1948. (Webb, 2017).

Furthermore, alongside racial discrimination there has to be a note regarding LGBTQIA within the communities. Little has been done in terms of the lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller communities. One of the very few exceptions is *Gypsy Boy* (Walsh, 2010), a book written as a memoir. However, it has been taken by many in mainstream society as proof of a homophobic atmosphere in all Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller communities.

Chris Kidd, a social work student at Bournemouth University who has carried out research into prejudice against Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities, also said that perceptions among the police and settled communities around higher crime rates were without substance. He points to a 2016 study in one area of Romany which demonstrated that areas with higher Roma populations had lower levels of crime. He added that stereotypes such as the alleged theft of children by Travelling communities were prevalent as long ago as the 19th century. Also, the findings of Powell (2008) work which, when analysing various quotations to those above, is clear that:

‘...attention to the dialectics of (dis)identification with a clear boundary erected:-by “them” when “they find out” that someone is a Traveller. Though this may not be immediately recognisable in the absence of symbolic or cultural markers of difference (Cohen, 1985)...’

(Powell, 2008, p. 98).

Once this is realised, the individual is categorised as a Gypsy and there is a negative association – “you know what they’re like” – implying the threat of deviance or pollution. The power this endows to the categoriser and the inability of the categorised to fight back is further illustrated by the evident discord among Gypsies about whom they are categorised alongside (Powell, 2008, p.89).

2.10 Health

One of the most researched areas of Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller life is that of health. Matthews (2008) work titled *The health of Gypsies and Travellers in the UK* and Millan and Smith’s (2019) *A Comparative Sociology and Gypsy Traveller Health in the UK*, both researched health and cultural prevention to accessing health services. Whilst the work is primarily about health of Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities, it also gives excellent and relevant information on the barriers for Gypsies and Travellers. Access is not simply an issue pertaining to nomadism, it also applies to settled Gypsies and Travellers. It is caused in part by a complex relationship of multiple issues to do with discrimination, marginalisation, lack of trust and low expectations on the part of other agencies (Matthews, 2008, p.2) There is a substantial body of research that indicates the Romany Gypsies are amongst the most socially excluded ethnic groups in Britain. Of all “lower” socio-economic groups² in the UK, they experience the poorest health and have a life expectancy which is ten years below the national average (Ellis and McWhirter, 2008). ‘Historically, Gypsy/Roma pupils have had the poorest outcomes of any ethnic group in England in terms of attainment, attendance and exclusions.’ (The Office for Standards in Education, Children’s Service and

² A socioeconomic group is defined as ‘...an individual’s place in the social hierarchies built around education, occupation and income. These three components of socioeconomic position are important because of their determining influence on an individual’s life chances and living standards.’ (Graham, 2004, p. 3).

Skills, 2014, p.4). This is reflected in high rates of unemployment and poverty (Webb, 2017). There are a number ethnic minorities that are nomadic, but have members of the community who to settle and thus do not identify as nomadic.

Whilst the work of those including Plant et al. (1980) is acknowledged by many working in the field of sociology, in terms of the numerous definitions and means of communities most would accept that belonging to a community shapes our social identity and way of undertaking everyday actions.

Several studies have been produced concerning the Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities' health and health needs, for example, Honer and Hoppie (2004). Whilst each study has its own merits, those of Van Cleemput (2007) are the best-known and most referred to in the field of health and the Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities. The findings from this report, together with those cited above, show that GRT communities have a low take-up of all health services for a range of reasons, including the difficulties of signing getting onto GP lists, to simply not knowing what services are available.

When we compare the studies, we see that extraordinarily little has changed over time in the Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities' health and access to health services. In this study, one of the key criticisms of research into the health of Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities is the lack of up-to-date information.

2.11 Conclusion- Literature and the present-day context

There are different perceptions of outcomes by GRT and settled communities, even by those who are recognised as producing exceptional work in GRT communities research. An example of this is Dr Patrice Van Cleemput's perception that Country Durham, Leeds and Lancashire have made considerable advances in Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller

community provision. Yet the NGO workers in these areas feel this is not the case. We can only ask ourselves why the experience of the Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities is fundamentally different from the research. This leads to the question of how much confidence we should have in research which is undertaken by those outside the communities looking in. In returning to the concept of hard-to-reach or disengaged GRT communities creating an almost parallel society, it is possible to see throughout this study that this hard-to-reach/disengaged/parallel society gets reinforced on a daily basis through poor access to services such as education and health – together with the low socioeconomic status of the communities. This continues to result in the marginalisation of GRT communities. (Castles and Miller, 2009). However, the Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities need and want many of the mainstream services and thus benefits that exist in mainstream society.

Whilst I would like to say that I had to undertake considerable research to find articles which were detrimental to the Gypsy, Romany/Romer and Travellers communities, this was not the case. I was able to find 42,300 examples in articles in newspapers, online, and in journals simply by typing in ‘Gypsy, Romany, and Travellers’. The degree of shortcomings of the articles ranges from a lack of basic understanding of the culture or indeed recognising that GRT are an ethnic minority, to blatantly depicting they do not conform with the settled non-Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller way of life.

A fundamental concept that has been missed by those including Williams and McGivern (1997) is that literature ‘humanises’ the situation. Crofton (1888) gives us information on the last person in England hung for being a Gypsy in Bury St Edmunds in Suffolk. Being able to include such human stories brings the work to life and enables the reader to develop a fuller understanding of the thinking behind society’s attitudes and consequently its actions. Belton

(2005), the acclaimed researcher and writer on Gypsy identity, states in his work *Questioning Gypsy Identity* that ‘The literature relating to Gypsies is complex in its diversity and quality. All of this material has at least some interpretive value in terms of understanding the position and perception of Gypsies’ (Belton, 2005, p.3). Thus, it is clear that some of the older literature, whilst full of inaccuracies and lack of scholarship, nevertheless contains some nuggets of useful material which put the situation of GRT in the historical context.

Perhaps for this present research one of the key pieces of research from the government is the 2011 census which included Gypsy and Irish travellers and showed that of those that did fill in the survey, the majority lived in housing. This section of information has started to fuel interest in this new and exciting change in GRT life.

It is not possible or indeed needed to cite every piece of literature cited or written on GRT, however here we have been able to establish the historical and up to date situation of GRT and also to acknowledge the other ethnic minorities that they engage with rather than just looking at them in isolation of the changes taken place.

Chapter 3- Methodology

3.1 Introduction

I grew up as a nomadic member of the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities. When I was sixteen years old my family cluster decided to move into housing and thus by definition, we became settled. Throughout my life, I have been fascinated by how the settled GRT cope and what they do to engage with the local mainstream society. A light bulb moment for me was when I found Maslow's Hierarchy of needs, where I could see that, while the GRT communities may live the settled life and use strategies to engage with mainstream society to develop a relationship, they have not fulfilled the safety and security, love and belonging, self-esteem and cannot fulfil self-actualisation. This is a vital fact that mainstream society does not understand. The impression promoted by mainstream society through various mediums that moving from nomadic to settlement answers all GRT problems, yet this research shows this could not be further from the truth.

The objective of the research is to enhance the understanding of GRT who have settled in East England, how they engage with non-GRT, and if they feel it has been successful. The aims are to establish what is known about GRT who have settled long-term in housing in East Anglia. The views of service providers, NGOs, and academics who work closely with GRT communities together with research within this area of contributions, enabled an in-depth understanding of the experiences of GRT when settling. The following sections include the methodological choices made, followed by the selection of participants. This is followed by the profile of the participants of those selected, which includes a section of the skill sets of those taking part, including any additional considerations and good practice. The formation of an interest group is explored and analysed against other formats, such as sample groups.

I briefly discuss the process undertaken for the literature review, before discussing the importance of storytelling and progressing to why the contribution of the voice of the people is important and the position and effect of insiders and/or outsiders when undertaking research. This is followed by information on how analysis of data and the ethical considerations and processes for data security. The safety of all taking part and implementation of the safety system put into place is discussed, before moving on to why Maslow's Hierarchy of needs has been chosen as the tool for explaining the position of GRT centrally in society, vulnerability and risk are discussed before a summary of the chapter is given. Thus, the chapter covers the considerations and implications for the research set-up and those involved.

3.2 Methodological Choices

The philosophy of this research is within interpretivism and is subjective. The research is inductive research that is explorative. The Ethnographic nature of this study involves capturing both the experiences and the perceptions of the GRT community who have lived the life of settling, together with those who have supported them. The work was undertaken in the GRT homes, and for those who supported them, it was a place of their choice. The data was collected longitudinal for GRT and cross-sectional for those who supported them.

The rationale for this approach is simply that since 2011 documentation exists showing more GRTS have settled in housing than are nomadic. Yet, a knowledge gap exists concerning GRT's perspective of settlement and engaging with local non-general society. It is difficult to find any information on the settled GRT perspective and those that support it. Without this establishment and balancing of perception, it is unlikely that any positive adaption of GRT's position within mainstream society's view will be achieved.

3.2.1 Style of research

The style of this research is primarily qualitative in nature. Possibly one of the most enlightening works on qualitative study is that of Tenny et al. (2017), which has the opening statement:

‘Qualitative research is a type of research that explores and provides deeper insights into real-world problems. Instead of collecting numerical data points or intervene or introduce treatments just like in quantitative research, qualitative research helps generate hypotheses as well as further investigate and understand quantitative data. Qualitative research gathers participants' experiences, perceptions, and behaviour. It answers the how and whys instead of how many or how much. It could be structured as a stand-alone study, purely relying on qualitative data or it could be part of mixed-methods research that combines qualitative and quantitative data.’

(Tenny et al., 2017, p.1).

This together with the work of the *Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* by Denzin and Lincoln (2023) became my ‘go to’ documents in terms of the qualitative approach.

Psychologists and practitioners have over the years developed several motivation theories. These include Adams's *Equity Theory* (1963), Herzberg's *Two-Factor Theory* (1959), House and Mitchell's *Path-Goal Theory of Leadership* (1975), Vroom's *Expectancy Theory* (1964), and Maslow's *Hierarchy of Needs* (1943) to name some of the most well-known. Each theory has its own merits, and it is down to the researcher to choose the theory which is used as a tool to illustrate the key concept of the work undertaken.

At the end of each chapter which contains the primary data, in this thesis, we briefly discuss Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs when relating to the GRT community settling long-term in

East Anglia by looking at the people and what they aspire to achieve at different times in their life. It should be mentioned that although this theory was first published eighty-one years ago, it is a theory which is still widely used within education, business, sociology, psychology and many other fields of work, and provides a significant foundation for today's research. Maslow's theory suggests that only once the basic life needs of shelter, food, and drink are met does anyone look to achieve the fulfilment of belonging. With this in mind, we look at the subject areas of each chapter and consider if the outcomes in any way suggest that the movement of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs has been achieved.

The 'Psychological Review' is a journal in which the humanist psychologist Abraham Maslow's paper *A Theory of Human Motivation* was published in 1943. From this position, Maslow included observation of humans. The theory is a classification system that reflects the universal needs of society generally, and then it proceeds to acquired emotions. Key themes involved within this theory are that of individualism and prioritization. Maslow's basic principle is that within society people are motivated by needs and if the most important of needs, for example, shelter and food, are not met it is difficult to progress.

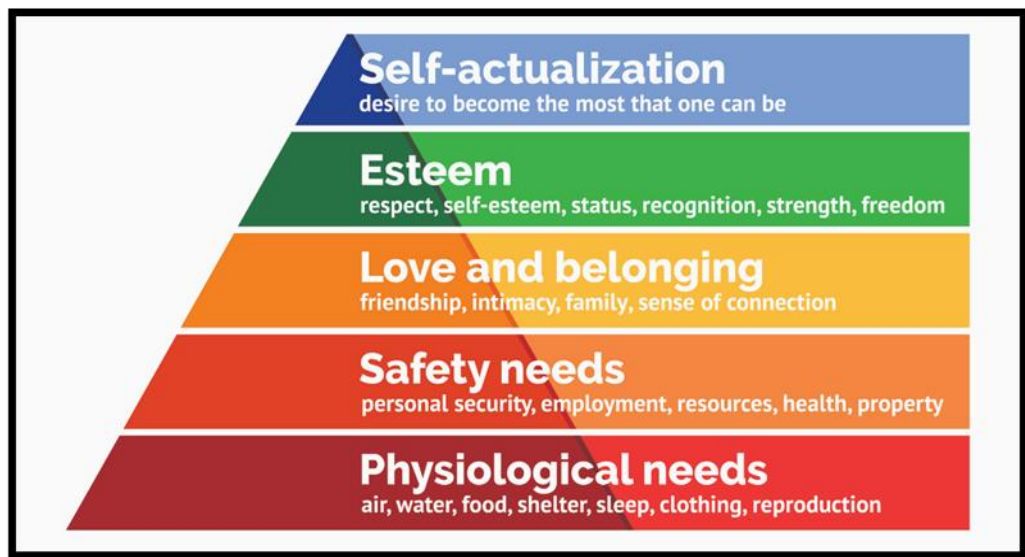


Figure 2- Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs Five-levels ³

Whilst it is acknowledged that not all elements of a stage in Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs have to be fulfilled before moving to another level, it does also show movement from one section to the other can and on many occasions result in highlighting negativity rather than positivity of life. Looking specifically at Maslow's research on Environmental Beliefs and Behaviour among Ethnic groups Iran, it is stated:

‘Sociological demographics suggest that minority populations tend to have lesser wealth and education. Therefore, minorities are more likely to focus on physiological needs necessary for survival, and in turn, generally have less time and resources to allocate toward other problems. Environmental protection naturally becomes a

³(It is noted that whilst it is commonplace to show Maslow's Hierarch of Needs as a triangle Maslow himself never did do this).

secondary concern. When looking at the motivation of employees in Iranian it can be seen how flexible this tool is.'

(Mousavi and Daroahi, 2013, p.14).

We need to remember that Maslow advocates that the first levels of his hierarchy are key in motivation behaviours. In contrast to the levels of motivation, the highest level of need is commonly referred to as the desire to grow. We can see how if the GRT communities do not fulfil the deficiency needs in some part the likelihood of them being self-actualised is unlikely. Having said this we do need to remember that Maslow himself made it clear that individual needs are not the sole determinants in terms of specific behaviours and thus by examining the many behaviours of motivation (in part) we will see that each of the four needs outlines above some if not all are affecting the motivation in one way or another. Thus, whilst an excellent tool for studying the needs we also need to take into consideration the biological, cultural, and situational determinants when we establish how Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller's position in terms, of education and physiological needs for survival are or are not met and the effect of this when settling long term and engaging with the local community.

Although Maslow did include a much lesser known sixth level to his work (which is known as self-transcendence), this has not been incorporated within the current research as deals with further growth and self-discovery and a deeper connection with nature and the universe. This establishes the GRT settling long term and engaging with the local community and acceptance, however, the self-transcendence is commonly known to emerge only when the lower-order needs are satisfied which this research proves is not the case for GRT at present.

In choosing Maslow to use in this research, it is pertinent that there is an acknowledgement of the criticism of the theory, for without acknowledging the criticism we are in danger of

misrepresenting the findings. The following criticisms are summarised by Fielding (2022) of the Mindbody Green website:

‘The most widespread criticism of the theory is how it doesn't apply to everyone. "Maslow's hierarchy of needs is mainly based on Maslow's observations of mostly white, Western, and successful men," says Sander. "Because of the Western ethnocentric biases of the theory, I believe it may be harmful to spread this theory without talking about its weaknesses. It can lead to a misdirected understanding of human and cultural complexity."...[Sander continued] The theory also assumes people will act completely based on their needs. "Today we know that we humans don't just act on our needs," elaborates Sander. "We do many things that go entirely against our needs. How do you use Maslow's theory of needs to explain a monk or nun burning themselves to death in protest?" This is just the beginning of the criticism Maslow's hierarchy has faced.’

(Sander in Fielding, 2022).

Whilst these critics are valued, Maslow remains ideal for taking into account the challenges and strengths of the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller community members in East Anglia who are settling long-term. It also recognises the contribution of academics, NGOs, and service providers. Thus, elaborating on multiple needs of GRT settling some of which are more pressing than others.

3.2.2 Selection of those taking part.

The population size of the GRT communities is not known and therefore a steering group⁴ was not possible. An interest group was set up instead, which in practice performs many of the same functions as a steering group. Interest groups were ideal within this research as they ‘...aggregate and articulate both the interests of individual citizens but also the interests of corporate and collective actors such as firms and public institutions.’ (Klüver, 2020, p. 1436). The Interest group (averaging six to eight attendants) was predominantly GRT community members, however, whilst the core of individuals stayed the same, they were attended by those interested in the agenda. Meetings were not undertaken at regular dates and times but were arranged when needed (by me or at the request of others) and promoted through word of mouth. The rationale for only having meetings when needed and not a predetermined date and time, such as the last Friday of the month at ten o’clock, resulted in meaningful interactions with participants. As previously stated, the size of the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities is unknown. The differences between figures of population size mean that to undertake a sample using these figures would, at best, be fundamentally flawed, and thus setting up a sample group was not possible. However, an interest group performs many of the functions of a sample group but does not proclaim to be a given percentage of the population. Indeed, I turned to the work of Brown and Scullion (2010) again and their informative work on Gypsy Travellers in England. They make this key point concerning the communities and population size:

‘The very notion of sampling implies that we know both the size and nature of the population from which the research sample is derived. Regarding Gypsy-Traveller

⁴ Steering Group- ‘...is made up of experts and lay members who oversee a research study or project. The steering group will provide advice, usually to the Executive or Principal Investigator and trouble-shoot where necessary.’ (Cambridge Biomedical Research Centre, 2017).

communities, like many invisible or 'hard-to-reach' populations, we cannot know their size and nature with any level of certainty.'

(Brown and Scullion, 2010, p.171).

Whilst a sample frame was not available, good practice was outlined by O'Laughlin (2010). together with the influence of Freier (2000), who makes it clear that input from the sector being researched is preferred to standing outside the sector and looking in. Therefore, considering the situation of the Sample group and interest, an interest group was set up.

The core members of the interest group were consistent, however, we did have individuals who came for a specific purpose, for example when discussing photos and their use in this thesis, two members of the GRT families attended and gave input.

Time was spent making sure all those involved fully understood the function of an interest group. The interest group meetings were held as and when needed, thus I, or a core member, may request a meeting be held. This approach was undertaken rather than predefined (monthly, weekly, etc.) meetings and thus stopped falling into the trap of meetings for meeting's sake. The following gives a brief description of those who have taken part in the research.

The sampling strategy category was probability sampling which involved a random (and therefore representative) selection of participants from the GRT population in East Anglia and those that supported them. This was undertaken as many houses are not known to service providers. The criteria for taking part in the research were as follows:

- Service providers and NGOs had to work closely with the GRT community and have done so for ten years and gained knowledge of the GRT in housing.

- Academics needed to have undertaken research into GRT who had settled, such as Greenfields and Smith who in 2011 and 2013 produced two of the most cited works, on GRT in housing.
- GRT had to have settled for ten years or more in East Anglia and belonged to a cluster group. They had to consider themselves to be part of the GRT community and had tried to engage with the settled community who were geographically local to the place they settled.

The promotion of research and invitation to participate was undertaken in the following ways.

- Information was given out on the GRT informal communication network, which is a legacy from the nomadic life and before telephones, e-mails, etc.
- Contact GRT groups and ask them to forward on to community members and other GRT groups.
- Contact was made to NGOs, academics, and service providers whose contact details I had, and I asked them to forward on to others within their field.
- Information about the research was given out in several formats including recording onto tape/CD, and written information sheet (copy of written information in appendix) the reason for recording information is that many of the middle & elder community have low literacy.
- Within the cluster unit, it is older men who have the greatest influence in the cluster, and whilst older women of the cluster do influence the younger women, an older man would take precedence. Time was spent initially with the older men in the clusters (with another female present, usually one of the wives), explaining the research in terms of both clusters and individuals. It was also important to allow them to ask questions and request further explanations of any elements of the research. All had

been given the information sheet in hard copy and a voice recording but their additional questions sometimes necessitated a return trip with the requested information. Whilst I considered this a failing on my part, it later emerged that this was taken as an indication of my intention to be as honest and open as possible. Once this had been achieved, I was able to talk to other members of the cluster groups reiterating the information given to the older men. As I had made it known that I was from the Romany community, I needed to show respect to the older women and the older men. Being from one of the subject communities I was not given the excuse of not knowing any better.

Thus, the snowball effect was implemented and resulted in several inquiries. At this time, those interested in taking part were given one month during which they were able to contact me to ask for any further information they may feel they need to make an informed decision. A shortlist of those who fit the above criteria was produced. After further discussion was undertaken including talking to my supervisor and having an interest group meeting the final selection was made (all those who were not selected were talked to, and all stated they understood the reasons behind the selection).

3.2.2.1 NGO's (Non-Government Organisations)

Those who worked for NGOs who were part of the research had worked with members of the GRT for several years. The incite was through the eyes of those who had a close relationship with GRT but were not part of the community. The majority lived near the places they worked, and therefore were able to understand the situation for settled GRT, including knowing housed GRT and the local situation.

3.2.2.2 Public sector

The Public Sector within England consists of an industry that the government of the day owns and, in many situations, operates. These workers were mainly from the regional and diversity analyses sector and had undertaken work with GRT communities. Within this research, the function was around discussing the overall findings of diversity.

3.2.2.3 Academics

The contribution of the academics regarding the GRT community was analytically published work for other scholars, however, they also shared informal feelings toward matter which enhanced the work produced. For example, Professor Cate Treases' (2006) work on the mental health of housed GRT in Cambridge. Some, such as Professor David Smith, also had additional insight by being a member of the GRT community.

3.2.2.4 Settled community - none GRT

This is not an ethical group, however, within the research we had people from the community who had married into the cluster group and had taken on the cluster group's way of life including cultural views and values. As the GRT communities are settling, they are having more engagement with the non-GT, which are referred to as 'Gorger' by Gypsy and Romany, and 'Country People' by Irish Travellers. The increase in marriage is resulting in a growing number of mixed heritage young people who are not being recognised and thus supported.

It was explained to interviewees that they could withdraw their contribution to the study at any time up to submission. However, I planned that from May 2019 to start collating information, withdrawal would have a practical detrimental effect on the research in its coverage of the different stakeholders. Therefore, if possible, withdrawal of consent should be made before this. However, if anyone wanted to withdraw after this date then it would be honoured. None of the participants asked to withdraw their data.

3.2.3 Storytelling as Research

We also have the process of storytelling and the importance of this for gathering information. D'Arcy 2017, stated 'Critical race scholars often locate the voices of the marginalised in order that they are able to share their lived experiences of racism and inequalities. Indeed they use the notion of voice to assert the experiential knowledge of minority people and their communities (Ladson-Billings, 2009). I am in total agreement of D'Arcy (year) when she writes 'In my[her] view the importance of hearing marginalised voices over the dominant majority opinion concerning EHE [D'Arcy continues further in her work] Documenting Travellers' accounts may also provide important counter-stories. A counter-story is a means to counteract or challenge the dominant story.' (Dixson and Rousseau, 2005). Solorzano and Yosso (2002) state that the counter-story is a method of telling the stories of those people whose experiences are often not told (D'Arcy 2017, p.57). This description of storytelling whilst written within a document concerning education for GRT, it could have been written for this present document so include to the importance placed on GRT and others use of storytelling such as the African Caribbean community.

In the literature review, we briefly discussed storytelling and the importance of the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller lives. It also was apparent that GRT are not the only people that use storytelling, indeed in the Greater Good Magazine, Collier (2019) writes in the article *Why Telling Our Story Is So Powerful For Black Americans*:

'Stories, including the razor-edged ones of lynchings and segregation, are the ties that bind us. So are the stories of being brought up in segregated neighbourhoods, travelling through the South knowing where you could and couldn't go. There is no question that storytelling for black America is a way of saying *I am here, and I matter*...If you look at why storytelling is so important in 2019 and beyond, revisit

slavery, when it was forbidden in policy and practice for blacks to read or write. It wasn't just illegal but could be deadly for the slaves. But storytelling is as essential to the human spirit as breathing. Slaves knew that telling stories was the only way they could bear witness to what they'd been through. They knew that they didn't dare write their story down or read someone's story, but the only freedom they had was to speak it.'

(Collier, 2019)

The above work of Collier can be compared to that of Le Bas (2018) and Kendrick and Bakewell (1995), with many similarities to be found. Although Collier's work focuses on an American community, it exposes the importance of storytelling not just in suppressed communities in East Anglia, or even England for that matter, but is something used across the world. For these communities, storytelling can be their only freedom of speech.

3.2.4 Insider or outsider

When working with any culture, a researcher has to overcome some of the cultural predicaments of insider/outsider research and thus appropriate tactics have to be deployed. Being an insider helped in that I abided by the cultural normalities without having to constantly remember them; for example, I never put my cup on the floor, knowing that for the majority under the umbrella name of Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller, if their cup has been placed on the floor it is considered dirty and is thrown away, even if it is their 'best' cup.

I turn to the work of Dwyer et al., (2009) titled *Space Between being an insider-Outside in Qualitative Research* which is clear that:

‘As a qualitative researcher, I do not think being an insider makes me a better or worse researcher; it just makes me a different type of researcher. I have always engaged in much self-reflection, and I continue to do so in my research.’

(Dwyer et al., 2009, p.56).

Whilst there were many advantages to being from one of the communities being researched, there were other times when the normal protocol could not be undertaken, and thus an alternative had to be found. This was particularly relevant when, for payment of participants’ time and expenses, most researchers now follow best practices in reimbursement. Whilst I offered to pay expenses to any service providers or academics taking part in the research, none accepted. NGO workers were also offered payment as they understood the sentiment behind the offer and would have faced the situation of reimbursement before. Again, none accepted the offer. However, with the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller families taking part, I decided not to do this, partly due to my position in the communities. Offering money could be construed as patronising and taken as a form of ‘one-upmanship’; what is known in the communities as ‘bragging’. This means a person is using an action or talking in such a way that, whilst not saying it directly, infers that they have a more affluent life than the other person. I thought it acceptable to give a box of luxury food items to the families as by doing so I was saying thank you without offending the families, particularly the male members, as it was more of a token gift from a woman without implying that the men could not support their families. The thank you was not talked about or given until after the research and thus was not part of the decision-making process of those taking part.

3.3 Participants selected profile.

The selection process was that they had to live in housing and be part of the GRT communities and within a cluster family. In terms of the selection of those taking part the following section gives a profile.

The length of time since settling etc for each cluster varied and the majority had a period of adaptation between fully nomadic and settled. For example, two of the clusters had approximately two years of moving for work, which became less and less until they finally became completely settled.

Table 1 (See appendix for the full breakdown) shows the clusters' approximate time away from their settled accommodation per year. Both the cluster family and NGO workers felt that they had moved away from the settled accommodation more during the initial stages of adjustment when first moving in, simply because they had to get used to the feeling of being in one place:

Table 1. Average time family cluster groups were away from the settled home per year other than for a holiday⁵

| Cluster | County of residents | Main ethnicity of cluster | Average time away per year |
|---------|----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| A | Essex | Gypsy | Four weeks |
| B | Hungary settled in Suffolk | Roma | One |
| C | Suffolk | Romany | Four weeks |

⁵ Holiday is defined as trip away from settled home, which has no ethnic connections such as traditional work or trip to, for example, a horse fair.

| | | | |
|---|----------------|-----------------|------------|
| D | Bedfordshire | Irish Traveller | Five weeks |
| E | Cambridgeshire | Gypsy | Four weeks |

All participants were asked if they wanted to state their gender. Two identified as ‘other’ but did not give any further definition and two abstained. All others identified as male or female. Invitations to take part were given to men and women equally but more women than men volunteered. Whilst the families did not give any reason for this, it may be because the cultural divide between men and women is still prominent in these communities. As I identify as a woman, this may have had some bearing on unconscious bias. In reality, the families are patriarchal,⁶ female-identifying members tend to make the day-to-day decisions concerning children and matters of the home. Men can override these decisions, although in practice this is unlikely to happen unless the man feels his status as head of the family is threatened. Consequently, men may have felt this was a matter of the home and therefore the female domain (Okely, 1983).

The age range who most engaged was 21 to 29. One of the main criteria for eligibility was that participants must have been settled for ten years or more. Many in this age group had been settled before marriage and continued to be so once married. Most had children at school or young babies that they could bring with them and whilst children did not take part in the research, they were welcome to attend but it was made clear that they remained the responsibility of the parent or guardian at all times.

⁶ Some Welsh and New Travellers are an exception to this generalisation.

It is interesting to note that when asked about the ethnicity of those in the family, whilst the families mentioned settled members, none included New Travellers, showing the lack of affiliation felt in the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities toward this group. The importance of this for the cluster families and communities they are from is, how the image of New Travellers affects the general image of the communities, yet they lack the baseline cultural aspects that the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities have, and hold in such high regard.

Many I worked with have stated they had low literacy; however, they were all able to use their mobile phones and access Facebook. Facebook and television were the main forms of accessing information, although much of the information seemed to be from sites that are not regulated. The concern with this process is that, in terms of information and validation of content, there seems to be little distinction between what was said on television or Facebook and government information. This can and does mean that people become unaware of what is and is not the truth.

A good example of how they contributed to this research is when discussing Millan's (2018) work on survey samples of Gypsies and Travellers which tend to be drawn from the more 'visible' members:

'Those living on sites, by the roadside, and those who are known to statutory service providers [...] Those with greater economic resources those who are less visible for example because they live in conventional housing or who do not identify with the ethnic 'communities', along with those not in contact with service providers or communities organizations tend to be under-represented in research findings.'

(Millan, 2018, p.3).

3.4 Contribution and voice of the people

In terms of verbal contribution, the thesis contains many quotations from the participants, as there is no one better to discuss what has happened and what will happen than the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities themselves and, those that have worked closely with them. I felt it was important that throughout this work one of the key factors was that all taking part were allowed to have a voice and have that voice listen to. The following discusses how this concept was arrived at.

I attended a conference in Cambridge and took part in a breakout group run by Professor Colin Clark. The subject area was the voice of GRT community members. I realised that any research I undertook must have at its centre, the voice of those taking part. This is in keeping with the views of Corden and Sainsbury (2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2006), Trease (2006), and Okely (2012). I decided that the quotations should be expressed verbatim as part of the person's voice and not altered for light reading or to make the research more 'academic'. Thus, like Professor Clark, I make no apology for giving quotations rather than paraphrasing what had been said by those taking part.

Transcribing recordings and note-taking were time-consuming, however, the depth of information given has made this worthwhile. Often, researchers and academics work with a group where the research produced has little in common with what participants said due to only giving snippets of quotations. The method of citing quotations rather than paraphrasing also gives those taking part the opportunity to have their voices heard and hence is in keeping with the communities' development aspect of promoting community cohesion through the development of information sharing.

Whilst the verbal language concept has captured the imagination and thus the interest of many outside the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities, little recognition is

given to the complex body language they use. Argyle (1988) was one of the first to deal with not just the umbrella of all-inclusive ‘non-verbal’ communication, but to break down the concept into the aspects of research. The importance of non-verbal communication in the majority of these communities cannot be over-emphasized. *The Roma Education Resource Book* by Fényes, McDonald, and Mészáros (1999) gives insight into the verbal and non-verbal communication skills used by these communities. Matsumoto (2021) found that every culture has a vocabulary and emblematic gestures.

Pease and Pease (2006) note that:

‘It seems almost incredible that, over the thousands of years of our evolution, body language has been actively studied on any scale only since the 1960s [...] Yet most people believe that speech is still our main form of communication.’

(Pease and Pease, 2006, p.7).

This does explain why many times as a child I was perplexed when people, such as the police, arrived at our home and the adults were saying one thing to them, but their body language, tone, and gestures indicated something completely different to the family.

Many of the methods found in observational studies are complex. Bell (1993) is clear that the development and decision process for recording observation needs to be as simple as possible, as the more complex it is, the more difficult it is to analyse. Bell further explains that participants taking part in research that uses observational analysis may well change their behaviour when they are knowingly being observed. However, further investigation of works such as Moor (2010), plus holding an interest group meeting to discuss the matter in terms of contribution to this present research. The outcome of the aforementioned approaches combined, as well as the ones still to be explored through this thesis with the

acknowledgement of disadvantages of the GRT communities, individual responses to real-life situations were enabled to be recorded in a planned manner. Thus, the aim became to undertake observation work, at the same time as undertaking face-to-face with Stakeholders (permission was sought before undertaking).

Anonymity was a factor for all sectors contributing primary data. The only sector of contributors who allowed their names to be used were the academics who were interviewed. All NGO workers and public sector staff, families and individuals were therefore given pseudonyms. Whilst quotations remained as said, there were a few times when editing was needed to remove any detail that could lead to the recognition of the individual. In this situation, the person was contacted, and the situation was talked through. Goffman (1986) gives an insight into the difficulties faced by researchers. He warns of the danger that by only highlighting differences between the community he is from and the wider community he is not undertaking engagement. I would argue that differences affect engagement and without understanding these differences and actions resulting from them can we ever hope to develop engagement on an equal basis.

3.5 Skill sets and forms of data collection

Within this research GRT, NGOs, service providers, and academics participated. Within these sectors, different skills and abilities were presented due to the different demands of the various sectors. To accommodate this richness of diversity the logical way forward was to use a mixed-method approach to research and collection of the data. Whilst the risk of data comparison increases the chances of inaccuracy creeping into the analysis, the chances of this happening are far outweighed by the richness and depth of data gained.

Those who decided to take part signed a consent form (see appendix) before participating.

With those who took part in face-to-face work from the cluster families, I offered a handshake in addition to the consent form. This is in keeping with the cultural agreement bond that many Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities still consider taking precedence over any written material (The handshake is historically accepted form of agreement which stems from many in the community not being able to read or write).

Throughout this research, I was aware that those taking part were giving me insight into their lives, hopes, and dreams. One of the key areas for consideration was confidentiality. I talked this through with my supervisors and interest group, whilst reflecting on information from the British Sociological Association (2017) and more recently work by Lowman and Palys (2014). Once I initially discussed confidentiality and the disclosure of information, (what is commonly known as Chatham House Rules). Additional considerations and good practice have been achieved as I have worked with the GRT community for over twenty years, and have undertaken various training, courses. I have followed good practice of putting in place the following:

- Time was spent with those who had disabilities and their carers to help them and make sure that they fully understood the work being undertaken.
- Charities and organizations were approached to produce information in Braille or a relevant language if necessary.
- General support, information was sourced from charities including the Citizens Advice Bureau and Race Equality Council, and given to those Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Travellers who throughout the engagement made it known that they needed help with aspects of their life. Thus, by having this support in place, I was prepared for the

foreseeable eventualities that might arise such as divulgence of needs. This enabled me to signpost to services that may be able to help.

3.5.1 Data security and participant safety

When undertaking the research, the data obtained had to be secured and anonymised. The work was coded as soon as possible after each data collection activity both in terms of person, family, and geographical area. An Olympus digital voice recorder was used during discussion groups and interviews and was also used when undertaking face-to-face work with researchers and academics. This allowed for the transfer of data to my site on the University computer and made access restricted due to being password-protected and encrypted. The files are also frequently backed up by the University and therefore there is less likelihood of losing data than with a personal computer.

Personal information such as telephone numbers and addresses were not in the same file as the transcripts, thus there was no danger of cross-referencing information. When using direct quotations from family participants, NGO workers, and public sector staff, they were given pseudonyms⁷. With the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller family members, this included their 'official name' (the name on their birth certificate) and the name they are known by in the communities. For example, if David Brown is known as Topper⁸, I would have to change both the name and nickname for each person. I would not change the ethnic grouping as this would have distorted the findings of the research. Likewise, I did not alter the gender or age range of respondents. For the NGO workers, ethnicity was collected. Public sector staff and academics' demographic data were not collected, but some freely gave their ethnicity when it involved being Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller. The names of the researchers and

⁷ The pseudonyms was chosen by the person themselves.

⁸ This is not a real name or nickname and only used for demonstration of situation

academics involved with the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities remained and have been cited, yet it was felt that requesting their data such as age and ethnicity would add nothing to the research.

In terms of the safety of those taking part and with any research, a level of risk to the researcher and participant is possible and therefore safety and risk mitigation must be addressed. When a meeting was to take place for the first time, a risk assessment was undertaken which contained the following actions for me as the researcher:

- Details of the lead person, meeting time, venue of visit, and expected time of departure were given to my husband or to a good friend who offered to be the 'second' security person.
- A personal alarm was always carried.
- Before agreeing to the choice of venue, I considered my disability and safety of access issues (parking, streetlights, pathways, and stairs, for example).

For participants:

- Before agreeing to a venue choice for participants with disability or mobility needs, safety and access issues (parking, streetlights, pathways, and stairs for example) were considered.
- Understanding that what is said may be written down and used in research (this included photos, documents, etc.)

I have been trained in child safeguarding and vulnerable adult protection. I hold a current DBS certification necessary for my employment and I am aware of the process of reporting concerns.

3.5.2 Vulnerability and risk

Vulnerable populations are multi-faceted and cannot simply be addressed by the development of a research methodology (Pittaway et al., 2010). My research involves working with communities that are not immediately considered to be vulnerable but that encounter the highest level of racism of any grouping in England. Throughout the following of this thesis, it is established that they are also considered one of the hardest-to-reach communities, have low levels of literacy due to many not completing formal mainstream education, and have a life expectancy of ten years less than the mainstream community with infant mortality five times higher. In my view, and that of others such as Aspinall (2014), this makes them a vulnerable group.

Regarding the communities' relations risks (for example, if exploring sensitive topics) or members showing elevated levels of emotion, I have a Level 1 counselling diploma and a lot of training in the management of volatile situations. Additionally, I have over fourteen years of experience working with the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities on sensitive subjects such as domestic violence, relationship building, and eliminating potential adverse effects on families through my work roles.

To prevent my personal bias from influencing the findings, I used several strategies including not working with families whom I am presently engaged with through my employment with a charity. Whilst my situation is referred to throughout the thesis, none of the cluster families was closely related to me, I used transferable skills and knowledge gained from my working life and my lived experience of being from the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities.

3.6 Analysing data and ethics.

A framework analysis to undertake a thematic of the core emerging themes was used as this mode of analysis is a way for organising or reading interviews about particular questions (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994).

While allowing for similarities and differences to be seen in the interviews, I was particularly interested in using framework analysis but also wanted to look at thematic analysis after reading the work of Braun and Clarke (2006) on the subject. This form of analysis has been used extensively in Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller research by academics including Trease and Shepherd (2006). I chose this method of analysis because the study was in an under-researched area and enabled those involved to voice their views and talk about the subject in their own words Guest et al., (2012). It has been used successfully in several studies into GRT communities and associated subjects including the works of Condon and Salmon (2015), and Heaslip (2015).

The framework analysis approach developed by Spencer et al (2003) meant that the person's response gave scope for the development of thinking around the subject and therefore participants felt that their responses were important. The research is more about participants putting into their own words how they see their position in society. It was important to me in my role as a researcher to reduce the process of over-interpretation of data as much as possible, hence validation of the trustworthiness of the outcomes needed to be established. Trease (2006) stated:

‘The transparent nature of the process of the framework in itself makes it more open to checking, reduces the likelihood of over-interpretation of data, and increases the trustworthiness of the results.’

(Trease, 2006, p.50).

Whilst this research did not need to be approved by an external Ethics Committee, ethical clearance (see appendix) was required by Leeds University before any fieldwork was undertaken. A major ethical concern to be considered is that I am a member of the Romany Gypsy community and have worked for several years with members of these communities, thus could potentially know the families or extended families I would be working with. However, I used the good practice protocol including risk assessment, boundaries etc. adopted by the charity I am working where 90% of its staff are from the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities. It is a simple but effective solution in terms of visibility and boundaries. When I am wearing a name badge for work this formally equates to work and signals not engaging in aspects of personal life (what the charity calls 'how's your mum'). This was also the case when wearing my 'researcher' badge. However, when not wearing any badge, I am 'Shirley' and will not engage in work activities or research. The researcher badge was quite different in colour and shape from the one I wore for work, so no confusion could occur about my given role at that moment.

Time was needed to work with participants to ensure as far as possible that they fully understood the rationale for the research and the role they would play. Because of my employment role, those taking part with whom I had worked in the past needed to understand that, by taking this opportunity to be involved with the research, they were not 'paying me back' for the work I have undertaken with them, nor was it a 'deposit' of nepotism for future work opportunities. With the NGO workers, I needed to make sure that I was not 'cashing in' on friendships. I ensured in the information initially given out and periodically reiterated that it was clear that the request to take part in research was not a personal request made through friendship. Having said this, as it became known that I was undertaking this research practical discussions were held in the academic community who research Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and

Traveller issues. Therefore, I asked if I could interview and record informal interviews with various academics. Whilst these could very loosely be called interviews, they were more like conversations and were not as structured as an interview. However, when the information was of value to the research I asked if it could be used and thus transcribed and sent to them for verification of authenticity. They were also sent the information on the research and gave signed consent.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter shows a profile of those taking part, and how the decisions were made concerning data collection. It looks at the sample group in comparison with the interest group and why a sample group could not be used. I also clarify the analysis of data such as Maslow's hierarchy of needs, with an outline of where the research sits in terms of anthropology and sociology. I have located my position in terms of being both a member of the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities, and a researcher and the implications for the methodology used in the research. Whilst a more in-depth review of how the literature is given in chapter two, I have briefly discussed the key outline of the method of collecting literature.

One of the key elements that has come from this chapter is the lack of trust Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller communities have in terms of 'outsiders' and giving them information.

Chapter 4. UK laws and their effects on the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities.

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the United Kingdom laws and policies from 1979 to the present day and how they affected and continue to affect the GRT community's ways of life. I chose the year 1979 due to the election of Margret Thatcher and to her significance and impact on and within the GRT community, thus creating a snowball effect to how the peoples of GRT and their counterparts are seen. The most influential Acts before 1979 affecting GRT communities concerning accommodation were *Caravan Sites and Control of Development Act 1960*:

‘An Act to make further provision for the licensing and control of caravan sites, to authorise local authorities to provide and operate caravan sites, to amend the law relating to enforcement notices and certain other notices...’

(Stationary Office, 1960).

And *the Caravan Sites Act 1968*:

‘An Act to restrict the eviction from caravan sites of occupiers of caravans and make other provision for the benefit of such occupiers; to secure the establishment of such sites by local authorities for the use of gipsies and other persons of nomadic habit, and control in certain areas the unauthorised occupation of land by such persons; to amend the definition of “caravan”...’

(Stationary Office, 1968).

New Travellers (New Age Travellers) are included within this section. Although they do not take part in this research primarily and are considered within the wider GRT communities as

having taken on the life, yet not the basic culture, they have been involved in two of the major evictions of GRT in modern times. and they continue to be prosecuted for their nomadic lifestyle. (see chapter 7).

4.2 1979 to 1990 – The Thatcher years

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and the Conservative Party were in power in the UK between 1979 and 1990. While the Acts of Parliament from previous years continued to be in force, in the GRT communities, the number of evictions defined the attitude of the Thatcher government toward the lifestyle of these communities.



Figure 3 Rose Brash lead by police officer 1985 (Rose, 1985).

Brash (in the above image) states: ‘The cop looks as if he is helping, leading me to safety, but he was only doing it for the sake of the cameras.’ (Hodkinson, 2016). With this statement in mind, a more realistic photograph of the event is given below.



Figure 4- 11th Stonehenge Free Festival 1985 Police Attendance in Riot Gear (Hallett, 2014).

In February 1985, approximately 150 New Travellers and protesters were evicted from RAF Molesworth. Four months after the eviction, one of the most memorable battles between any of the Travelling groups and the police occurred. This has become known as ‘The Battle of the Bean Fields’. On the 1st of June 1985, the government instructed the police to intercept and disband a convoy of New Travellers on route to a free festival at Stonehenge. Roadblocks were placed a few miles from the destination and used as a deterrent by the police (Thompson, 2013). The resulting battle between the police and members of the New Traveller community had several significant and unfortunate outcomes. Many of the community’s members were arrested, and both community members and police officers required hospital treatment. This incident has become known as ‘The Battle of the Bean Fields’.

The Battle of the Beanfields was one of the most significant occasions where members of the New Traveller community and the police clashed and has been cited numerous times since the eviction, for example, BBC news coverage 1st of June 1985 until present day, as an example of how the police were used against the Travellers violently to prevent the New

Traveller community from getting to Stonehenge. A year after the Battle of the Bean Fields, the *Public Order Act 1986*⁹ was passed which resulted in monuments such as Stonehenge, together with agricultural buildings and land around these structures, being protected from what the government felt was irresponsible damage. The police had the power to arrest groups of people for trespass as long as reasonable steps had been taken to ask them to leave. The act also extended the previous grounds for arrest to damaging property and using abusive or threatening words and behaviour. The presence of motor vehicles also constituted an infringement of the act (Hawes and Perez, 1996).

On June 2nd 1986, a group of Travellers were evicted from a meadow in Somerset. Approximately three hundred police in riot gear, together with local farmers, evicted three hundred men, women, and children who lived in ninety-five vehicles. With no alternative site to put their homes on, they started along the A37, the main road from Somerset to Dorset. A standoff between the police and the Travellers happened on the following Saturday after which an agreement was reached with the Travellers moving off in smaller groups. Ironically, during the negotiations the Travellers challenged the police and asked whether they were acting lawfully, the police maintained they were acting to prevent a confrontation or a breach of the peace (Moncur, 2016). During this period, legislation such as the *Public Order Act 1986* was being implemented that restricted the itinerant lifestyle of the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities.

4.3 1991 to 1999

⁹ Public Order Act 1986- 'An Act to abolish the common law offences of riot, rout, unlawful assembly and affray and certain statutory offences relating to public order; to create new offences relating to public order; to control public processions and assemblies; to control the stirring up of racial hatred; to provide for the exclusion of certain offenders from sporting events; to create a new offence relating to the contamination of or interference with goods; to confer power to direct certain trespassers to leave land...' (Stationary Office, 1986).

The *Housing Act 1996* was drafted so that even Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller people have a home – a caravan – but no place to stay. They are consequently considered homeless. The *Criminal Justice Act 1988* and *Public Order Act 1986* removed any duty placed on local authorities to provide caravan sites. Reports such as *The Big or Divided Society* produced in 2011 by Ryder et al. make it clear that both the Criminal Acts and the Public Order Acts have consequently resulted in a shortfall of approximately 5,000 pitches in England. The Act criminalised the nomadic aspect of the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities' life (Kabachnik and Ryder, 2013), and actions meant that the only places where they could legally stay were on privately owned land that had the appropriate planning permission, caravan sites which council or social housing providers had provided and land that has established rights of use, for example for seasonal farm work:

‘The Human Rights Act 1998 compels public organisations (including the government, police, and local councils) to treat everyone equally, with fairness, dignity, and respect. The Act can be used by persons who feel that their human rights have been breached. Several articles, protocols, and clauses of the Act are relevant to Travellers and have been tested in court. Of particular significance is the case of Chapman v UK the European Court of Human Rights (2001) which held that a home set up without lawful authority could still be a ‘home’ in the terms of Article 8.’

(Bullock, 2017, p.11)

4.4 2000 to 2015

All governments during their term in office introduce and amend laws. This is usually preceded by a Parliamentary report which shows the update or new laws that are required to meet a need in society. This section looks at some of the most recent reports and resulting laws affecting the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities.

The *Homelessness Act of 2002* recognised nomadic Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Travellers as homeless if they were unable to secure a stopping place and the Gypsy Sites Refurbishment Grant 2001 is mentioned on the Parliamentary Government website. The grant of 75% was initially given for the refurbishment of any local authority sites already in existence in Great Britain. In 2003/2004, it was announced that local authorities could bid for funding to build temporary sites and emergency stopping places. These were both viewed as positive moves for the GRT communities, but the *Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994* (CIPOA) was still in force and restricted the number of caravans travelling together. The CIPOA 1994 criminalised the nomadic lifestyle of the Gypsy stopping on common land and the historic tradition of travelling in groups. In later years, the *Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003* gave new eviction powers to authorities against Gypsy Roma/Romany and Travellers. In terms of providing additional caravan sites, it was made clear that local authorities were given discretionary powers to provide caravan sites, but there was no mandatory duty. The *Housing, Planning, Local Government and the Regions-First Report* (2004) gives a clear outline of the government's aim being that by undertaking this stand of criminalising nomadic lifestyles and local authority having discretionary powers only to provide additional sites the result would be regulating and raising standards for residence. Since this time some central funds were made available to fund the provision of sites. The GTANA states:

‘The assessment of Gypsy and Traveller accommodation needs when carrying out a periodical review of housing needs under section 8 of the Housing Act 1985 is a statutory requirement under section 225 of the Housing Act 2004...

The Government’s policies on Gypsy and Traveller accommodation and enforcement are set within a framework of rights and responsibilities, in which everyone’s rights must be respected but where, at the same time, equal standards of behaviour are expected from all. Creating and sustaining strong communities is at the heart of the Government’s Respect agenda and will have benefits for the settled and Gypsy and Traveller communities alike.’

(Department for Communities and Local Government, 2007, p.5).

In practice, the majority of regions have carried out the needs assessments. One of the largest counties within East Anglia is Cambridgeshire, which carried out an assessment in 2005 and produced the findings in a report by Greenfields and Homes in 2006. Key points on housing within the report states:

‘Official statistics are lacking on this group, with little information on movement into and out of) housing... There are, however, substantial numbers of housed Gypsies/Travellers (estimated about two thousand in Fenland and East Cambs districts alone). ...We found the following problems: elevated levels of racism from neighbours; feelings of isolation and loss of identity; feeling ‘closed in;’ and drug abuse on estates. Those in housing were more likely to have poor health (which may have been why they chose to go into housing in the first place). ‘We are worried all the time about the neighbours; I wish we had never gone into a house. They complain

all the time, about us - no one else on the street, even though there are people breaking motors in their front garden and selling drugs'...

Of Gypsies/Travellers interviewed on sites, 26% had formerly lived in a house, but only 12% said that they would live in a house if they had the chance. The low rate of homelessness application by Gypsies/Travellers in South Combs confirms resistance to going into 'bricks and mortar' accommodation. Those who had lived in a house cited (as reasons for going into housing) the following: education of children, having lived in a house as a child, illness, loss of sight, and 'you can't travel anymore.' For those who had left housing, reasons included: 'didn't like it,' 'became depressed,' 'could not stand travelling,' 'could not settle,' and 'cut off from my family.' None of our respondents who were or had been in housing found the transition easy. While they may have willingly exchanged the hardship and inconvenience of roadside life for running water and other amenities, many reject the constraints imposed by such an alien way of living, with the loss of close-knit community ties and shared values, physical isolation, and loneliness. Research cited by Baker (2002) found that a fifth of housed Traveller families were unable to settle and soon returned to their traditional way of life, and other reports put the failure rate as high as 50%.

(Greenfields and Homes, 2006, pp. 27-28).

In 2004, the House of Commons Parliamentary report, *The Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act*, was completed, which publicised how the planning system operates. In March 2012, the *National Planning Policy Framework* came into existence. Bullock from Shropshire Council in their Gypsy and Traveller accommodation Assessment (2017) is clear in the report that:

‘It condenses previous guidance and places a strong emphasis on ‘sustainable development’. It provides more focussed guidance on plan-making and refers to ‘Local Plans’ rather than Local Development Frameworks or Development Plan Documents. Despite the difference in terminology it does not affect the provisions of the 2004 Act which remains the legal basis for plan-making.’

(Bullock, 2017, p. 85).

The report also looks at the *Localism Act 2011*:

‘... which strengthened the power of local planning authorities to take what was defined as abuses of the planning system. Local planning authorities could not act against any persons whom it was felt had deliberately concealed unauthorised development and tackle abuses of retrospective planning.’

(Bullock, 2017, p. 74).

Overall, this has not worked well. *The Localism Act 2011* provided the government with the opportunity to empower communities by giving local authorities the role of developing and maintaining their sites. Ryder’s 2011 research looks at the effect of the Localism Act on the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities, and the findings are very much on the provision of more sites. Whilst Ryder campaigns for more sites, various members of these communities, with the financial resources to do so, purchased their land. However, planning and development of the land into privately owned sites is problematic. Planning departments of local authorities have a plethora of legislation and guidelines concerning planning, including enforcement powers when unauthorised developments have taken place. Also, the local settled community tends, by default, to log objections to applications for planning for

private sites because infrastructure, the local village, or town, cannot accommodate such developments.

The Mobile Homes (Written Statement) (England) Regulations 2011 places responsibilities on the owner of the site to provide written statements of the individual or family's pitch agreement. In addition to the express terms that are agreed between the occupier and the site owner, it inserted implied terms into agreements to park a caravan on a site that is set out in the *Mobile Homes Act 1983*. The Amendment of Schedule 1 and Consequential Amendment (England) Order 2011 for borough and district council sites under the *Caravan Sites Act 1968* will automatically include the implied terms in Schedule 1 of the 1983 Act under Article 4 of the *Housing and Regeneration Act 2008*.

The result of the Acts and amendments manifested themselves in Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller families losing their battle for planning permission for their land and thus, being evicted with no plan in place.

November 2002 after a five-year battle for planning permission to stay on land which they owned, the Gypsy families at Woodside Caravan Park in Bedfordshire lost the battle for planning permission and were evicted. The families consisted of the Codonas and the Wards. The Codonas had a pending appeal to the High Court and thus were allowed to stay until the appeal was heard, however, the Wards were evicted. After a final standoff against the bailiffs who specialised in clearing GRT sites became increasingly heated, Detective Inspector John Maries stepped in to mediate, and an agreement was reached that the Ward families would be able to stay short-term on one of the plots identified in the High Court. Those who had already moved would not, however, be allowed back. The local council was keen to show their act of humanity by letting those families on the site stay, but they still had to find an alternative place to live. Inspector Maries also pointed out that the council had no duty of

care to these families. Whilst the situation of Woodside was under the laws cited above, the *Equality Act 2010*, may have resulted in a more positive outcome for the Codona and Ward families. The Act prohibits unfair treatment due to what is termed ‘protected characteristics’: these are aspects of a person’s identity such as national origin. The Act recognises Gypsies, and Irish Travellers as an ethnic minority, both when living in traditional wagons and caravans or bricks and mortar. All other Traveller groups and New Travellers are not recognised.



Figure 5a- Dale Farm 2011 (Macdiarmid, P., 2011).

In July 2011, another high-profile eviction occurred at Dale Farm in Essex (Figures 5a and 5b). Whilst the site had forty authorised plots, it also had eighty unauthorised plots estimated to contain around four hundred people. Over one hundred police officers and two hundred bailiffs were deployed to remove the eighty families who did not have planning permission for their plots.



Figure 5b- Dale Farm (Fuller, G., 2011).

Photographs by the newspapers and television channels show burning homes and police in riot gear. The main reason for the eviction put forward by Basildon Council was that it wanted to turn the site back to its original green belt state; however, the following argument against this concept was reported in the Socialist Worker:

‘Basildon council claims it is evicting Travellers because it wants to, restore their land to a green belt. But the land was a scrap yard when the Travellers bought it. Ray Bocking is the scrap metal dealer who sold the land to Travellers ten years ago. He said, ‘Dale Farm was a swamp and a breaker’s yard for years. It was terrible ground.’ He added that the council helped him to put down concrete and rubble at the site because he had a contract to collect abandoned cars. Brian White April 2021 worked for Ray Bocking. He says the council regularly dumped waste tarmac and rubble on Dale Farm.’

(Robinson, 2011).

However, Richardson and Ryder (2012) show a positive in terms of highlighting the situation of Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities in the UK:

‘The eviction at Dale Farm in the UK in 2011 brought the conflicting issues relating to Gypsy and Traveller accommodation to the attention of the world’s media.

However, as the furore surrounding the eviction has died down, every pressing issue of accommodation need, inequality of access to education, healthcare, and employment, and exclusion from British (and European) society is still very much evident.’

(Richardson and Ryder, 2012).

Any appeals related to planning decisions of Traveller sites in the green belt ¹⁰were automatically referred to the Secretary of State, who at the time was Mr Eric Pickles. The Community Law Partnership brought a case against Pickles on behalf of two women from the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities. In January 2015, the High Court ruled that Pickles, still Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government, had been illegally discriminating against these communities by subjecting any planning application by them that involved green belt land to special scrutiny. This breached both the *Equality Act 2010* and Article 6 of the European Convention on Human Rights. Rt Hon Brandon Lewis

¹⁰ Green Belt Land: ‘...are a buffer between towns, and between town and countryside. The green belt designation is a planning tool and the aim of green belt policy is to prevent urban sprawl by keeping land permanently open; however, there is not necessarily a right of access there.’ (Open Space Society, Unknown).

CBE, member of parliament for Great Yarmouth at the time, responded by bringing it to everyone's attention that the government's planning policy is clear: Traveller sites are inappropriate developments in the green belt.

In terms of mainstream education, the coalition government of 2010 produced an inter-ministerial report on tackling the inequalities experienced by Gypsy Roma/Romany and Travellers which found that their children, along with those of Irish Traveller heritage, are amongst the lowest-achieving groups at every key stage of education. However, in 2011 over half of all Traveller Education Services (TES) were cut and since then, further cuts have resulted in, for example, the Essex service being reduced and the closure of the Cambridgeshire service in 2018. The main fear now is that Gypsy and Traveller children and families will no longer be getting the support and encouragement to access and sustain regular attendance in mainstream education.

4.5 2016 to 2022

Although housing and equality laws recognise Gypsy and Irish Travellers as an ethnic minority, under the recent planning legislation, Gypsy Romany and Travellers must now 'travel' or have an aversion to bricks and mortar to maintain their ethnic recognition in the planning process. On a more positive note, for communities in 2016, the Equality and Social Justice Unit (ESJU) was launched:

'The ESJU, which is funded by the Open Society Foundation, initially for two years, was launched at a House of Commons event in June 2016. The unit, hosted by the campaigning group, the Traveller Movement, aims to improve access to justice for Gypsies, Travellers, and Roma, to empower and equip individuals and other organisations to challenge unlawful discrimination and human rights abuses and

promote equality. As of August 2019, there are no reported developments and findings by the ESJU.’

(Barton, 2016).

However, indicators from the formal bodies such as the Traveller Movement and general anecdotal information from the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities have not noted any significant developments as a result of the initiative.

The plethora of laws and acts of parliament together with difficulties of definition concerning ethnicity have resulted in a ‘jumble sale’ of definitions, cultural traits, and identification.

Individual laws conflict and only add to the confusion. Amongst this confusion is that more than at any other time Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller are settling long term on sites (their own or council run) and in housing, yet extraordinarily little has been researched or implemented on the needs of this group. In 2012 the European Commission (EC) made recommendations for effective Roma integration. It stated clear goals to be achieved by 2020 and seemed a positive move forward for Roma communities in Europe, which were encouraged to integrate into mainstream society whilst retaining the recognition of being an ethnic minority.

In 2019, The European Union (EU) produced a report on the implementation of national Roma integration strategies and achievements. It shows that England has made positive advancements which include Roma being a category in the 2021 census. However, in terms of inclusion at the local level, the report is clear that:

‘Many Roma families are denied access to council (municipal) housing due to eligibility criteria. Additionally, waiting lists are extremely long, and much available

council housing (for example. one-bedroom flats) would be inadequate for many Roma families.’

(Office for National Statistics, 2021, p.241).

Whilst the British Census gives information concerning Roma and lack of housing, the effect of the UK leaving the EU has yet to be seen.

At an online seminar hosted by the London Traveller Movement on 29th July 2021, the charity Shelter’s Campaign and Activist Officer workshop presented information on discrimination in the housing process. Shelter supported three landmark cases through the courts of discrimination in housing as housing benefit discrimination has been judged unlawful and in breach of the *Equality Act 2010*. One such act was on 14th July 2020, it was a landmark court ruling, as for the first time a UK court considered a case of this nature. Also, on 20th April 2021, the courts are considering if claims to the DSS and how they are assessed, are in fact, discriminatory and therefore unlawful.

In 2022 the *Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Act* became law. On a basic level, this law criminalises trespassing:

‘Despite its aims, the Policing Bill will not eradicate travelling. Instead, it will force those who have nowhere else to go into a confrontation with the law. A family seeking somewhere to bed down for the night will have to reckon with the possibility of their home being seized, their children thrown into care and their livelihoods torn apart [...] The government cannot claim ignorance on how devastating this piece of legislation will be – opposition to the Policing Bill has been relentless [...] The National Police Chiefs Council called for more suitable stopping places, not additional powers. The Home Office has chosen to ignore these calls [...] The Joint

Committee on Human Rights warned that this legislation could breach fundamental human rights [...] Even the Council of Europe called on Parliamentarians to reject the criminalisation of trespass.'

(Friends Families & Travellers, 2022).

In response to this Act on 26th April 2022 a 'Day of Solidarity' was undertaken by the GRT communities and nomadic people. However, the effectiveness of this show of solidarity and protest of the Act's implication for these nomadic communities is not yet known, although it is logical to conclude that the Act will be yet another reason for them to settle in housing or on sites.

One of the most recent actions concerning a proposed government intervention in Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller settlement was enacted on 13th November 2018. Under the Parliamentary ten-minute rule, the first reading of a *Gypsy and Traveller Communities (Housing, Planning and Education) Bill* put forward by South and West Bedfordshire Conservative MP Andrew Selous was heard. The Bill recommended the development of caravan sites into settled accommodation, together with local councils offering more fixed housing for their Gypsies/Romany and Traveller communities. The Bill has been dropped by its sponsoring MP and will not progress any further. This Bill is not exceptional in its presumptions but is an excellent example of how the transition to housing equates to the integration of the Gypsy and Traveller community into mainstream society. It assumes that the physical removal of a community member from the nomadic lifestyle, including stopping them from living in a caravan, will result in their integration into wider society. In the Bill, little consideration was given to the emotional or cultural needs of the community. The only such consideration appears in Part Five, which suggests that if Gypsy Romany/Roma and

Traveller history is taught in school, this would suddenly raise the attendance and achievement of Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller children.

4.6 The effect of the Laws on Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities

Families like those at Woodbridge, Bean Fields, and Dale Farm, together with numerous others evicted are aware that they are unlikely to be able to find a site (private, housing association, or council) that has vacant plots and, therefore, most will have a waiting list. If they try to buy their land and get planning permission, they face a long and expensive road simply because the vast majority will face planning objections from local councils, residents, and business owners. The law makes little acknowledgement of the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities. An example of this is the Localism Act 2011 under which property owners (council, housing association, or landlords) must provide an agreement of acceptable actions and the resulting outcome if they are fulfilled.

In October 2022, the Court of Appeal judgment *Lisa Smith* Secretary of State, which found that the amendment to the definition of Gypsies & Travellers at Annex 1 to the 2015 edition of *Planning Policy for Traveller Sites*, which is the deletion of the word 'permanently'. It was decided that it was unlawful because it discriminated against those who wanted to live in a caravan and who because of old age or ill health had ceased to travel and that discrimination was inextricably linked to their ethnicity. The Court of Appeal judges stressed that their decision was based on the particular circumstances of the *Lisa Smith* case.

4.7 Police and Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Travellers

Upholding the law is the responsibility of the UK's police forces. Historical relationships between police and the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller community members have been

substandard. James (2013) argues that the relationship between the police and these community members is poor, but also points out that throughout history they have been policed, not as a part of English society's ethnic groups, but as a problem to the settled communities.

On 31st March 2023, the House of Commons research briefing by Alan and Carthew titled *Police Service Strength* showed that 147,430 police officers were employed across England and Wales excluding British Transport Police and central service secondments. Its findings, supported by Traveller Movement (TM) casework and further anecdotal evidence, indicated the presence of systemic discrimination against Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities by police forces. TM found a reported bigger police presence for callouts involving Gypsies or Irish Travellers and pre-emptive number plate collection for Travellers on sites. These approaches are based on stereotypical assumptions: for example, that a callout for a crime allegedly committed by a Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller will need more police intervention than one committed by someone not from those communities, or the belief that people from these backgrounds are more likely to be involved in criminal activities. Both police and Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities respondents identified a relationship that has improved but which is still affected by distrust and suspicion on both sides (Traveller Movement, unknown).

One of the most unexpected support groups in England is the Gypsy Roma Travellers Police Association which, according to its website:

‘The Gypsy, Roma & Traveller Police Association is a national staff support association.

Our aim is to continue with our founding purpose from 2014, which has been to support Police Officers and Police Staff across the United Kingdom who are from Gypsy, Roma and Irish Traveller heritage in the work environment and this will always remain our primary purpose.

In addition to these ethnic minority populations we also support colleagues from other historically or traditionally nomadic cultures or heritages, including Showmen, Boaters and New Travellers.'

(Gypsy, Roma & Travellers Police Association, unknown).

The relationship with the police is fragmented, to say the least. The general sense of feeling in the GRT communities is that they see the police as enforcement against them. Evidence of this is documented by various means including the tradition of song. Songs are one of the key tools used traditionally by Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities as a way of portraying feeling and keeping historical data alive. In the modern era, one of the most well-known songs is *The Battle of Brownhills* by 'Pops' Johnny Connors.

The opening verse concerns the treatment of Travellers by the police and corporations from a Traveller's perspective. In verse two, the song names Grattan Puxon, an activist and campaigner for GRT's for over fifty years. They said, 'We'll come and camp with you, and with you we will fall'. This shows that not all the settled community thinks the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Travellers are wrong:

(Verse one- opening verse)

Come on, my loyal Travellers, and listen to my song

It is about our brave Travellers, as they boldly made their stand,

When the police and corporation scamps come to pull our trailers off

It was in old Brownhills, that my boys, our brave Travellers made their
stand.

Against those so-called gentlemen, Who were more like Hitler's mob.

(verse five end)

May the Lord have mercy on their souls, they died in Walsall that day.

At the graveyard in Bilston, we laid them in their graves

Our hearts were filled with sorrow, Our hearts were filled with shame,

It is the wicked and cruel law of the land we have to blame

And please God, in all enjoyable times, Human people will find

The Travellers a place to stay.

(Connors, 'The Ballad of Brownhill.')

¹¹

Overall, the actions of the Police and law have resulted in a belief that the Police and enforcement are against the GRT community rather than protection.

4.8 Criminal justice system

This section looks at the criminal justice system and Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller community members who enter the system. In a House of Commons briefing in 2019, it was stated:

'There are problems establishing exactly how many Gypsies and Travellers are in prison or the youth justice system. However, a report by HM Inspectorate of Prisons, published in 2014, found that prisoners who identified as Gypsy or Traveller were

¹¹ For the full version, see Roman Dorm No4.

significantly over-represented in the prison population and were more likely to have concerns about their safety and to have suffered victimisation. There is also evidence that Gypsy and Traveller children are significantly over-represented in the youth justice system [The report continues to indicate the level by stating percentages] The report estimated that 5% of the prison population in England and Wales is made up of Gypsies and Travellers. Although it is likely neither the census nor prison figures are 100% accurate. Even so, there is still undeniably an overrepresentation of GRT in the prison population.'

(Cromarty, 2019, p.9).

The majority of the settled communities have the impression that Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller are all criminals, and it is not unusual to see in local village newsletters statements relating to known GRT moving into an area therefore a need to be especially vigilant about, for example, locking doors. Dick discusses his own experience of prison:

'I have been in prison I do not mind admitting it, we had a bad summer, and it was winter, so I went out and chored [stole] some bits to sell and make sure my family was all right and I got caught it was as simple as that.'

(Dick, 2018).

Talking to a prison officer and discussing the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities, he was clear that unlike many others most came into the prison and were incredibly open that they had committed the crime and usually were good to work with, simply because they wanted to do their time and go:

'I have to be honest with you if I were working with a prisoner from the Gypsy community and they said to me I did not do it, I would be half inclined to believe

them, they just do not do that. The only time you see them getting into any bother is if another prisoner picks on them, but to be honest, once it is known they are from the Gypsy, Romany, or Traveller background, believe me, most leave them alone.'

(Ken, 2018).

It is a widespread practice in prison to put groups together, for example, placing all Rastafarians together or all Chinese, etc. When placing together needs and wants to have to be taken into consideration. However, LGBTQIA, Gypsies Romany/Roma, and Travellers tend to find it difficult to be accepted by other members of the community, and being placed with other GRT community members at a time within the prison service can and does make for a volatile situation.

Whilst little embarrassment in the communities is attached to being in prison, a crime involving the elderly, rape, or children is deeply frowned upon to such an extent that those responsible usually have to leave the communities:

'I would help any man, you do not know what they have been through, to do what they did, but if they hurt little children, mess a young girl, or beat some old man or woman, then no I would not help them. If they lived near me, I make sure I would be like a thorn in their side always there, always going at them, I would make their life so hard they would want to move away.'

(Andy, 2018).

Those such as Andy, together with the comment of the prison officer show how they view prison. Andy informs us of the view regarding some crimes. To find the answer as to why

Andy feels it is acceptable to take the law into his own hands we refer back to neutralisation as described by Foley (2010). In its basic form neutralisation is the process by which the deviant act is suspending societal norms and values. Foley (2010) states that:

‘Sykes and Matza (1957) argued that the deviant uses five techniques that effectively free the individual from both shame and guilt and thus provide them with the necessary freedom to violate both the norms and laws of their society. The variables to which Sykes and Matza refer include the deviant’s denial of any responsibility for injury and victims(s), condemnation of the condemners, and an appeal to higher loyalties. Sykes and Matza maintained that those who deviate do not reject the values held by the dominant culture, but through the process of neutralisation can justify their actions. It is here that the notion of bricolage becomes important, in that Gypsies and Travellers accept some values held by society.’

(Foley, 2010, p.165).

Andy is from the Irish Traveller community, and this community, like the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and the majority of Traveller communities, holds girls to be ‘virgins and pure’ before marriage. Thus, anyone who puts this in jeopardy faces the condemnation of the community, particularly the male members who consider it their ‘job’ to protect the female.

Foley’s research also considers the work of Bonos (1942) on Gypsy and Traveller communities towards crime and ‘...failure to abide by the codes on sexual relationships has meant parents have been forbidden to speak to their child and for some members of the community to commit suicide.’ (Foley 2010.p.165).

Anecdote evidence from community members such as Tom from cluster A, gives an insight into how he feels the wider community looks at Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller and living outside the law:

‘I have been in prison, so what, I did the crime, and I paid the price it was as simple as that. I am not feeling sorry for myself it was up to me and anyway is that not what the gorgers [non-Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller] believe we are all? They even make records about Gypsy, Tramps, and Thieves.¹² When we moved into this house, I knew that if they found out they would not bother to find out the details, they would just make them up themselves they would just go up to the council and say ‘he has been in prison, we are frightened and want them moved.’

(Tom, 2018).

Yet even in the prison service Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller prisoners have unequal access to rehabilitation. On 24th March 2022, The Travellers Times produced a report titled *We need to ensure that Gypsy and Travellers prisoners have equal access to rehabilitation:*

‘Gipsy, Roma, and Traveller people are over-represented in prison compared to the wider population and make up 5% of the prison population. According to research by the Irish Chaplaincy, many Gypsy and Traveller prisoners enter the prison system unable to read or write and with little or no employment skills and then often face discrimination and racism inside from prison staff and other prisoners.’

(The Travellers Times, 2022).

.

Family A introduced me to one of the few young people from the communities who work as a prison officer and live in a Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller house:

‘I am lucky because we live in a house where I am not associated with the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities. I do not tell them I am from the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller when I meet them what I do, most I think would turn away from me. We have lived in this village since I was about nine years old, and I went to the school. I think we have been here so long and not coursed any trouble and this together with the fact that our neighbours have moved out and new come in that it’s not a problem now, but it’s still there under the surface [when asked what was still there] I don’t know how to explain it just that thing that makes sure you don’t forget who you are and your position in society that sort of thing. [asked about his work] Some of the other Prison Officers know I am a Traveller but not many only the ones I trust. Since working there, I have met a couple of Travellers that have come in there no different than any other prisoner.’

(Lenny, 2018).

The question I found myself asking Lenny was ‘Could you do your job if you lived in a caravan?’, the answer was simply ‘No’. When pressed Lenny stated:

‘I would have never got through the interview and if I did I do think I would not have been accepted, The only reason I was able to tell some of those I work with was because by then they knew me.’

(Lenny, 2018).

4.9 Other laws

Whilst we have discussed throughout this chapter law related to GRT, we also have laws relating to Black and ethnic minorities which have a profound impact.

The Modern Bill of Rights (2022) has been cited by several literature such as Kapoor and Youssef (2022), who are clear that:

‘We are facing a rights crisis for Black and ethnic minority groups. Seventy-five per cent of Black people in the UK do not believe that their human rights are equally protected compared to white people’s. Glaring disparities across education, housing, healthcare, the criminal justice system, and the labour market continue to threaten these rights and deserve urgent attention from the government.

But proposals contained in the government’s new ‘Modern Bill of Rights’ consultation, its plan to “revise and replace” the Human Rights Act 1998 with a Bill of Rights, could set back the rights of Black and ethnic minority people even further...

These proposals include an introduction of a ‘permission stage’ in bringing a human rights case to court. This means that if an ethnic minority person has been discriminated against by their local authority, they would first have to show that they have faced a ‘significant disadvantage’ to bring a case to court...

We cannot forget the fundamental role that the Human Rights Act has had in progressing race equality...In May of last year, a judgment challenged the Home Office for charging a Windrush victim’s family from coming to live with her in Britain. This judgment was important in recognising the Home Office’s mistreatment of members of the Windrush generation and relied on the Human Rights Act to do so. Indeed, the Court ruled that the Home Secretary had breached the claimant's rights to

her private and family life (under Article 8) and Article 14 rights to protect from discrimination. We know these rights have had a significant impact on the protection of migrant groups.’

(Kapoor and Youssef, 2022).

The bill was to repeal and replace the Human Rights Act 1998, however, at the time of writing this in 2024, this bill has been scrapped and will no longer be put forward in parliament.

4.10 Interns of Planning Law in 2023

‘In a significant victory for Gypsies and Travellers, the Court of Appeal has rejected the Government’s use of a “discriminatory” planning definition that determines who gets to live on a Traveller site. The court decision, which was handed down three months after the Court of Appeal sat, has determined that the Government’s planning definition of Gypsies and Travellers (known as Gipsy status’) is unlawful and breaks equality laws.

Campaigners say that the planning definition, which was changed to its current form in 2015, discriminates against elderly and disabled Gypsies and Travellers because to get ‘Gipsy status you have to prove that you can continue to travel to look for work. No exception to that rule is given if you are disabled and/or elderly....

This case both exposes and recognises the discrimination Gypsies and Travellers face in the planning system. “The case was taken to the Court of Appeal by Lisa Smith, who since 2011 has rented pitches on a private site with temporary planning

permission. Two of Ms Smith's adult sons are severely disabled and cannot travel for work.'

(Traveller Times, 2022).

4.11 Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, we have established the Law and effects of the Law specific to the GRT:

'Despite the number of negative headlines, evidence would suggest that Gypsies and Travellers are far from lawless, and abide by a strict moral code, ironically that may at times lead them into conflict with the majority community (see Morris 2001). Such evidence has emerged from a small number of in-depth studies aimed at understanding the lifestyle and culture of Gypsies and Travellers, and how this may impact their attitudes towards crime and deviance (see James 2007, James 2006, James 2005, Bancroft 2005, Vanderbeck 2005, Dawson 2000, Gmelch 1986 and Okely 1983). Most notable is the work of Judith Okely (1983) who offers one of the most extensive insights into the culture of Gypsies and Travellers, and their values and belief systems.'

(Foley, 2010, p.7).

I agree wholeheartedly with the work of Foley and feel that much of the work establishes the true story. The police are seen as the enforcement against the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities rather than protection. Prison is seen as you have undertaken the crime and been made to pay the price, therefore, it is not something to be seen as a negative, but from the GRT, view the police and district service as not protectors but as persecutors.

The network for Police personnel who are from Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller backgrounds, has done little to change the perception of the GRT in terms of Police equating to protection, not persecution. This negativity means for many from the GRT communities that when a crime is committed towards them or their family it is more of a case that it is sorted out between themselves rather than accessing the Police.

Returning to Maslow, it is possible to see the physiological need for shelter through the laws, legislation, and implementation. Safety needs such as personal security, love and belonging, a sense of connection, and esteem in terms of freedom and respect have all been negatively affected. Thus, when settling many find themselves with a completely different view (which has resulted in both personal and community experience) of their neighbours from mainstream society.

Chapter 5- Identity, Culture and Life-Cycle

5.1 Introduction

This chapter, together with chapters six to eleven, seeks to gain an understanding of the rationales and experiences of the groups that make up the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Travellers in East Anglia and therefore England.

5.2 GRT and African Americans

Whilst this research is not a comparative study, the GRT communities do have some traits which other ethnic groups also have. Matache and West (2018) in *The Guardian* wrote an article titled *Roma and African Americans share a common struggle*. The articles' opening statement concludes 'Despite the abolition of Roma and African American slavery, discrimination and deionization continues.'. The article also cites the work of Mihail Kogălniceanu (1853) who Matache and West state is '...one of the most progressive Romanian intellectuals of all time'. His work pointed out the comparable struggles of African Americans in bondage and enslaved Roma people, and attempted to abolish Roma slavery. Works such as Todaro (2012) on African Americans and Gypsies, look at how cultural relationships are formed through hardships.

Todaro, himself residing with the Transylvanian in Romania, looks at the similarities between African Americans and Gypsy through food, fashion, education, and the resulting power. Also, a key area is musical proficiency and cultural similarities. The following quotation by Todaro (2012) summarises the cultural relationship clearly.

‘The Black church catalysed the scattered African American minority into an unbreakable bond like the bundle of sticks proverb. From the pulpit developed great civil rights leaders like the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., Rev. Jesse Jackson, Elijah

Muhammad, and Malcolm X, whose passionate orations inspired congregations to stand up for themselves and bring about change...Not surprisingly, a similar pattern is taking shape in Gypsy communities across Romania. Since the collapse of communism and the return of religious freedom, waves of evangelical churches began setting up in the segregated Gypsy communities. The Gypsy church began unifying a population broken apart by a hierarchical caste system dating back to their Indian roots.'

(Todaro, 2012).

Matache and West (2018) and Todaro (2012) works make us understand the changes taking place in the Gypsies and I would suggest the other GRT communities' changes which have in common the reasons behind the social mobilisation with African Americans. Todaro discusses the role of the church. Within England, we can see the Pentecostal church is having one of the main effects on the GRT community, with many of the male population becoming pastors. To undertake the training required to be a Pastor together with the desire of GRT to read the Bible, has resulted in several adults seeking to learn to read (although many have obtained the Bible on tape). This is backed up by Buckinghamshire in The Economist, which stated:

'Light and Life is a Romani-led evangelical (Pentecostal) Christian movement that claims "up to 40% of British Gypsies" are part of it.^[1] Adherents pray for the sick, do not drink alcohol, or engage in fortune-telling, instead taking part in Charismatic prayer (including speaking in tongues). "Britain's Gypsies have seen the light".'

(Buckinghamshire, 2022).

5.3 Defining GRT

One of the most well-known definitions of GRT is from the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM):

‘A person or persons who have a traditional cultural preference for living in caravans and who either pursue a nomadic habit of life or have pursued such a habit but have ceased travelling, whether permanently or temporarily, because of education needs of their dependent children, or ill-health, old age or caring responsibilities (whether of themselves, their dependants living with them, or the widows and widowers of such dependants), but does not include members of an organised group of travelling show people or circus people, travelling together as such.’

(ODPM, 2004, p.11).

Whilst initially, the ODPM definition seems adequate, on reflection it is limited. One of the big problems is it has as a defining element that GRT is nomadic and while historically this was the case for the majority of GRT, it's now a minority of GRT who are nomadic. The definition also does not recognise Gypsies and Travellers who live in housing, Boat people, or Fairground. The exclusion of GRT in housing means that the definition excludes the largest section of the community. Dualta Roughneen in his work ‘The Right to Roam’ (2010) gives a wider view of nomadism in terms of different ethnic groups and defines the different ‘types’ of nomads.

5.3.1 Nomadism

Whilst this thesis is on settlement, we cannot dismiss the nomadic life lived by the majority of GRT historically. Nomadic has been used as a key element of defining the GRT community throughout history. An aspect of nomadism is the historical presumption within

modern society that the only time that geographical attachment is associated with Gypsy Romany and Travellers is for mainstream society to argue that no attachment exists (Drakakis-Smith, 2007).

‘Nomad/ism’ was an anthropological term utilised by colonialists/ imperialists to identify people (often described as ‘tribes’) who were erroneously perceived to have no fixed abode or tie to the land. As such, it was a convenient term to divest indigenous groups of their land rights via policy [...] This term became attached to Gypsies as a means to underline a non-attachment to space, land, and place irrespective of the fact that some families own land and many families have been born in and resorted to one geographical location for generations.

(Drakakis-Smith, 2007, p.466).

Pastoral nomads move flocks of animals from place to place seasonally, in response to the needs of the flocks, usually following a regular, seasonal pattern. The Turkana in Northern Kenya, fall under this category, as do the Zarghawa tribe in Darfur. Nomadic hunter-gatherers also move in response to the seasons, following the migratory patterns of animals and the annual regeneration of wild fruits. The Aboriginal inhabitants of Australia would be viewed historically as nomadic hunter-gatherers, while the San, a group of less than 10,000 in Namibia, continue to live a traditional hunter-gatherer lifestyle. Commercial nomads are usually transitory, providing service or seeking business of a ‘seasonal’ or periodic nature. The commercial nomad often depends on filling a specific demand in an area, and then moving on to another area once the demand declines. (Roughneen, 2010, p3). Whilst Roughneen is researching Irish Travellers, when combining the information from Foley (2010), GRT in England fits within the description of commercial nomads and has done so throughout history.

Evidence from the GRT communities, such as the recording 'Wagon Wheels and Eastern Skies' by the charity One Voice 4 Travellers (2018), it's clear that East Anglia has one of the most traditional nomadic patterns of movements for GRT. The area has had through history a high percentage of farms and thus seasonal farm work undertaken by the GRT communities. Once the work was completed at a farm the GRT had to move on, however, the following year the GRT would return to do the work. Most farmers built up a positive relationship with the cluster family. This consistency of GRT going back to a farm year after year became the cluster families' work market. The decline of need in terms of farming practices becoming more automated has resulted in the decline of GRT being needed and thus, a key element of stopping nomadism.

The definition of nomads is not confined to just the GRT community or England. Around the world, there are 30-40 million known nomads, from various nomadic groups. It's estimated that around 1.2 million of those live in Europe. Nomadism is changing due to modern society's influences.

As the GRT communities are settling down nomadism is a historical defining element and not a modern-day description, yet we can still see the legacy of Nomadism. As nomadism is rapidly declining, in the GRT communities of England, a complex communication network is continuing to be used to share information. It is also used to confirm a person's status of belonging.

Rogers gives a clear definition of communication as a process of creating and sharing information and thus working to develop mutual understanding (Rogers, Storey 1987). One aspect of communication that is considered by the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities is having 'insider knowledge' aka the use of a complex, word-of-mouth communication network. Whilst it is not possible to be sure how this network started, it is

logical to assume that it is a legacy of the nomadic lifestyle when telling one person you know they will contact others. Also, if someone proclaims to be part of the GRT community but cannot use this communication system by not knowing how it works, great suspicion of their proclaimed status is shown.

5.4 Storytelling

It is service to state here storytelling is an ‘...ancient universal art form that gives breadth to stories that transcend borders, religion, gender, ethnicity, culture, time, and space and they fill the hearts, minds, and souls of generations of human beings.’ (Gottschall, 2012, p.3).

According to Gottschall (2012), throughout time and in all parts of the world, we find similar themes, plots, motifs, and characters recalibrated into different languages, settings, and spoken word styles. The glue of these stories consists of the basic needs, personality, and conditions of what it is to be human. As much as the story invites our tribal nature to embrace cultural identity within the social construct of our group, it also powerfully broadens our sensibilities to embrace and appreciate the oneness of all humankind (Goss and Barnes, 1989).

A key form of entertainment for Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller community members, including my family, was, and still is, storytelling. This tradition has been acknowledged by researchers and academics such as Judith Okely and continues to be undertaken at various events by such as O’Neil, a Gypsy storyteller (O’Neil travels around England, attending fairs and other events, telling stories of the traditional life of the communities).

Stories are told by adults and retold repeatedly. In amongst the ghosts and funny stories, invariably stories are told with the message to never put anyone before your people because they will let you down, no matter how friendly they seem. The other key message was ‘tell

them nothing'; basically, with anyone not known to you or known to you as an outsider, whilst you may talk to them, you tell them nothing about your family or life. This concept has developed by the historical way in which information was given by members of the GRT communities for a particular piece of research, only to find the information being used for another purpose than the original research.

One of the key elements that I needed to remember was that knowledge common to me as a GRT community member is not generally known in wider society. I, therefore, undertook the same considerations as Patrice Van Cleemput (2014) on Gypsy and Traveller access to primary health:

'The influences and pre-understanding I bring to the research situation inevitably inform my [Patrice] understanding and interpretations and it can be argued that by using this approach one's personal bias will inform the findings. However, as long as I [Patrice] am reflexive and revise my interpretations in the light of added information the interpretation will be constantly developed and redeveloped'

(Van Cleemput, 2014, p.139).

I was also aware that I may be interpreting information. I found the work of Borland (1991) helpful in giving a word of warning concerning the interpretation of information. Her work sits in the feminist perspective and looks at the interpretation of information obtained by talking to women. However, it has a lot of foundation conceptualisation about how what is being said is interpreted in research. In her example (using her grandmother's story) she shows how she firstly summarised the narrative, but importantly when she conceptualised it as a feminist, she automatically noticed information she was personally interested in rather than the emphasis that her grandmother had given. Most modern-day researchers and

academics working with the GRT communities are starting to produce work where the communities' voice is heard and with the emphasis they intended. Nonetheless, with any research a criterion of interest in a particular subject area is inevitable and caution needs to be taken when reading articles on a predefined subject area so that we do not lose or over-emphasise a particular point.

5.5 Gender and Sexuality

'Although there has been a proliferation of literature using the social constructionist approach to gender (Lorber, 1994) little empirical work has been carried out that integrates the doing of gender with the study of race (Pyke and Johnson, 2003, p. 33)...Gender is bound up with race in the privileging of white middle-class groups and the subordination of the racialised, ethnic 'Other'. In this conceptualisation gender not only expresses cultural values, but as do class and race, provides the basis for societal resources (Fox and McBride Murry, 2000, p. 1164). It will interrogate how gender is constantly renegotiated and refined in everyday practices through which individuals interact (Poggio, 2006). In this view, attention is drawn to how men and women 'do' gender and how gender is interwoven with race to produce gender identities within Gypsy-Traveller society. Gender is also inextricably linked with images and ideals of femininity which provides a useful starting point for an interrogation of femininities within Gypsy-Traveller culture. Femininity is always in opposition to the 'other' i.e. masculinity.'

(Casey, 2014, p.7).

The difference between sex, sexuality, and gender is, in its most basic terms, that sexuality is whom you are attracted to, sex is assigned at birth, and gender is what you identify as.

Gender is not specific and has various definitions. Butler (2004) argues that sex is the biological difference between males and females, while gender has more to do with social image, and thus is defined more by social constructions. An example of this can be, girls wearing pink and caring for babies and cleaning the home, and boys wearing blue and going out to earn a living for the family. This section looks at the gender divides in the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities.

At home, adolescent life changes dramatically from childhood as the gender divide between girls and boys becomes clearer. As children, members of the communities are role-divided; boys are taken under the wing of male members of the families and extended families to learn how to earn a living, whilst girls are taught how to look after the home and raise children. The finding of this study is in keeping with research by Ureche and Franks (2007) for the Children's Society.

Lee from cluster family A outlined a situation (changing male and female together) in which from a young age is not permitted within the GRT communities and thus if for example are asked to change for physical exercise at school together, can, and does, cause problems. It is possible to see how having the local primary school acknowledgement of the cultural view and facilitation overcoming the need, has resulted in GRT parents valuing the school:

‘The most important things about our communities it is the culture and the way of life. Things like girls and boys changing together are not what we do. They [the local primary school] still ask them to change together for PE at school but we explained and they let them go into the toilets to get changed. Because this school up here does that, it makes you feel they care a bit, so we do not mind the children wanting to go,

say if we want to go out and the children want to go to school then we let them.'

(Lee, 2018).

Lee is adamant that cultural norms should not be compromised or relaxed to help children or young people fit in.

Anecdotal evidence indicates that for those families living in housing, the pressure on the women to perform what they see as their role results in tension in the home. It is also reflected in the way young people define their roles:

'I say to my girls that I am going to show them how to do the cleaning and cooking, but they just say things like 'I'm not doing it all my husband will have to help'. I cannot believe that the words are coming out of my girls' mouths. If my husband hears them, he tells them 'You Romany girls and you will be Romany women, so you need to know how we do things. [When asked did she and her husband considered this when they moved into a house?] No, not really, we thought about some things like them going to the big school and how they would be making friends with the gorgier girls, but we did not think or to say it properly, I did not think, it would be so different, and my girls would be taking on all this stuff, to be honest, me or my husband had not even thought about.'

(Shirley, 2018).

Speaking to Shirley's girls after she made the above statement, they were both adamant that whilst they acknowledged their parent's traditional view of gender roles, yet they wanted to experience a new quality of roles in the relationships they formed.

‘It’s not I want to throughout all the old ways, but I do think we have to move with the times, particularly now many of us are settling down. I want to get married and have children, but I want an equal marriage and be supported in my career and home life to be more equal.’

(Lee Ann 2018)

The gender role is much more clearly defined in the majority of Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities than in mainstream society in England. Whilst discussing the terms and meanings of male and female, it is prominent with the majority of members from the GRT communities that they only see two genders, with few accepting LBGTQIA members. This can and does result in isolation and many living a life which is not true to themselves, resulting in cases of suicide and depression, but even then, the families give alternative reasons for the suicide:

‘Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) people from Gypsy, Roma and Traveller (GRT) communities are not always treated with dignity and respect. Homophobia can be present, and this can seriously impact the health and well-being of LGBT individuals. LGBT people tend to hide this aspect of themselves due to their religious beliefs or their fear of rejection from their family and wider community.’

(The Traveller Movement, 2022).

When attending any gathering of families such as weddings or funerals, the men will sit together, separate from the women. Young children tend to move between the two groups and teenagers usually form their group. The role of the man is very much the head of the families and provider, whilst women are the homemakers and carers for children the elderly, and the

disabled. Many academics including Taylor (2008), Greenfields and Smith (2011), and Berlin (2015) have looked at how the post-WW2 society affected this role distinction in the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities, particularly in terms of work. Whilst more women from the communities are entering the workforce, the communities have retained clear roles in the family unit. In modern England, this situation is slowly starting to change with more of them going out to work. But even when their financial contribution is higher than the men's, the majority of GRT still consider the woman secondary to the man. Indeed, throughout my married life when I was paid by cash or cheque, nothing infuriated my husband more than the fact that I drove passed numerous outlets of the bank we are with to bring the money home for him to put into the bank. The expectation of contributing to the financial position of the family is still considered the male domain.

One of the key roles for the women and girls in terms of supporting the men is how they praise the men in the family about how much money they earn, how much they spend on them, etc. I work for a domestic violence charity that works with women and girls from the Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller communities. This support of his achievements to earn money is so ingrained in the women and girls that even when they contact us, they will still often make comments about how the perpetrator is a good financial provider.

The historical work patterns meant that the situation of having an unpredictable income has resulted in the wider Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers communities not indicating whether an individual family is financially destitute or earning copious sums of money. Many in the communities will brag about how much they spent on this or that item. For example, I can remember discussing with a cousin of mine who was telling me about how she and her husband had moved onto a site – but they were now moving off again because the other women were nosey:

‘She came up to me trailer [caravan] and said, ‘I see you got a bit more Annerley and Crown Derby than last year’ and I thought to myself, look here it’s [the women] up in me trailer looking at all me Angerly and Crown Derby I got sitting about, I was amazed she could see the new bit he [her husband] had brought me in amongst all the others.’

(Anonymous 1, 2017).

Dissecting this conversation, it is possible to ascertain she too was bragging by saying how her crockery was expensive and admired, and that she had added new pieces. She further stated her husband had brought her the items, and thus the price was such that the head of the family had to make the purchase. That he looks after their family so well that they have disposable income to spend on luxuries.

Many women will have gold jewellery which has been passed down to them through the family. Little acknowledgement is made by mainstream society that these women are not ‘owners’ of the jewellery, but rather custodians who will pass it on to their daughters:

‘My mother gave me this ring, necklace and bracelet [showing off jewellery] and I will give it to my girl when I am gone and she will give it to her eldest girl, which is the way it is and the way it has always been.’

(Cat, 2018).

Portraying your family as wealthy is a common Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller community trait. You learn quickly that when with people outside of your cluster group (including some family members or friends), you portray that you have as much money as them.

5.5.1 Division of gender when single.

1910-1960 approximately in England, the following division of gender when single was normal in all societies especially royalty and upper class. Except such as the Asian community, the vast majority of society has changed, yet the GRT communities have retained the divisions of gender when single

Young men were considered to have the right to ‘sow their wild oats’ with the local settled communities. However, whilst the idea was that they could go out with the local girls, there was also an expectation that they would settle down with girls from their community or at least with the other Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities (except New Travellers). The young men will have been undertaking training in their chosen employment and learning how to be heads of the family.

The perception of women and girls concerning GRT communities and what they consider to be ‘decent’ has been researched by those including Casey (2014) who found that abiding by the rules of the parents no matter what age and only having very few boyfriends and being a virgin when getting married are key elements.

Before marriage, most are accompanied to functions when outside the home by brothers or other male family members. There are two reasons for this. One is that they are therefore protected from any form of hostility from non-community members and secondly, they are seen to be protected as they are ‘kept an eye on’. Having several boyfriends is deeply frowned upon, and sex before marriage is considered to be morally taboo (Pyke and Johnson 2003). This situation is summed up by Leanne who took part in this research and stated:

‘She [the daughter] is not allowed to go to things [social events] unless her brothers and/or her cousin are going. What sort of name would she get if I let her go up there with just a couple of other girls? I know and you know, those other girls would have

to be gorgers because no Traveller would let their girls go without having the boys with them. It is important in case they need help or anything.'

(Leanne, 2018).

Whilst Leanne gives a view on why her daughters should be chaperoned, Bella talks about how she is worried about her granddaughter:

'I'm not as old as my granddaughter thinks I am [lots of laughter] I can remember seeing a nice-looking boy and liked him, but we were on the road then and you abided by the rules of the game. I do worry about her [granddaughter] because she tells me she has these friends, that are not Travellers or Gypsy and how one is going out with this boy, and another is going out with this boy and she was going out with another boy. I worry that she may think this is all right and start doing the same, she knows that her father would kill her [phrase meaning giving her a good telling off] if he sees her with a boy alone but there's an old country and western song that says, 'if we open up the underworld to the ones we love are we right to condemn them now?'

(Bella, 2018).

Bella is not alone in her fear that, by moving into housing, sending children to school, and engaging with the non-GRT communities, these cultural norms and values will be lost. All the cluster families and NGO workers talked about the 'norms' and 'customs' of the GRT communities and how they feared that living in a house and integrating into society would lead to their customs being undervalued, particularly by the younger generation. Those academics and service providers who worked closely with the community recognised this fear. An example of this, referring back to my own life, was not being open when a Gorgor boy me out. In my family it would be seen as improper for me to go out with a boy for a

drink on my own, as a result, I gave excuses when asked, thus not allowing my ethnicity to show. One of the few boys I went out with from outside of the GRT community I did so for several months in secret and eventually married. When talking to young people from the cluster family, it was apparent that trying to live in the GRT world and also the settled world did on occasion make them feel they were in no man's land. They were not completely like the traditional young people from the GRT communities, but also not like the settled community.

Smith feels that service providers should do more to understand and support the cultural norms of the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities when they become housed:

‘The younger lot today is a lot more clued into the wider society with mobile phones, and Facebook, so they are picking up like other kids are. In the future, I mean the pressures are there to become integrated, such as the harder-to-travel site situation, and also people may want to settle and get kids into school, I do think at the same time, they will always be proud of their identity it takes a long time for that to banish even when they have gone into housing. The problem is they are put into housing and just left to get on with it.’

(Professor David Smith, 2016).

Le Bas and Acton discuss the concept of what has labelled synchronic experiences:

‘In Romany history, the ‘synchronic experience’ rather than being a punctual event or spark igniting a particular mode of self-understanding has been a process lived as historical continuity. Exclusion and disenfranchisement from normal civil life have been persistent factors in the Gypsy experience. The complex interaction of hope,

expectation, and fear that these states may occur again remains a persistent feature of Romany consciousness.'

(Le Bas and Acton, 2010, p.63).

These 'synchronic experiences' are very much in Romany's consciousness and explain why traditions around key milestones in a person's life (birth, courtship, marriage, and death) are fiercely guarded and observed by these communities. The following looks at the key milestones of Marriage, Birth, Elderly, Death and funerals.

5.6 Marriage

At the age of 22 (which is old for a Romany girl) I fell in love with, and married, a gorger man. I became the talk of the town and had comments of a derogatory nature made to me by some members of my community, including the opinion 'mixed marriages do not work.' Others were sure that it was because I had gone to school and done 'all that schooling', which had turned my head and made me think I was something I was not. These were some of the milder comments.

Traditional relationships have developed through the historical practice of travelling between pre-determined work locations each year. This meant that families would naturally mix with other families whose work and travel coincided with theirs for a brief period. Friendships would form between the families, and many would visit each other throughout the year. This gave an ideal opportunity for relationships between the younger individuals from the families to develop. It is common to find families which have several links together through various marriages.

As more families settle into housing and become integrated into the wider community, a fast-growing community of mixed heritage families is becoming established, with one partner

from the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities and the other from general society.

The identity of the mixed family unit can be complex, as each partner endeavours to keep the identity markers used by their sector to define themselves as a member of their communities.

Members of the GRT communities marrying into general society face many of the same dilemmas of whether to disclose their ethnicity to neighbours and officials. If it is a woman marrying outside these communities, problems can manifest themselves in her expectation that her husband will make all major decisions except for matters in the home. This is different from the view of most couples in modern society who believe that decisions should be taken jointly in an equal relationship. In traditional Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities, the woman follows her husband in terms of lifestyle, so if he has been a house dweller, she will live with him in a house. The husband is still considered to be the dominant person in the relationship even when he is from the settled community. When he is Gypsy, Romany/Roma, or Traveller, he may expect the woman to undertake any cooking and housekeeping that is required while he will make all the decisions regarding where they live and their home budgeting and will make the final decisions in most matters (Barrett, 2019).

Whilst the majority of the men continued to undertake the traditional trades, some young men now have apprenticeships or attend evening classes to become qualified as electricians, carpenters, or plumbers.

In modern England as GRT settle, the historically strong relationships which have developed over time continue to exist, although they are now maintained through social activities such as by visits to and from family members, rather than engagement through work (Niner, 2004). Any show of affection between a man and a woman in public is frowned upon, even after marriage. All five cluster families expected the female members of the family to be

‘pure’ and to have no sexual contact before marriage. Ideally, they would marry into the community they are from. The majority of those not married were seen by the other women as ‘on the shelf’ from about the age of twenty-two. In these cases, female members gave a justification for why they were not married. Each time the subject was raised, comments portrayed the girl staying at home, not because she in some way was unsuitable for marriage, but because she was an excellent female member of the family and had chosen to stay at home and look after her parents or grandparents. It is presumed that marriage will be at an early age, and it is not unusual to find couples aged sixteen. Young parents will have the full support of both their families and the wider communities.

The modern process of getting married varies slightly between different Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities. American sociologist Talcott Parsons, in his work on roles in marriage, concludes that the majority of Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Travellers groups in England follow the traditional patriarchal model. However, as they continue to settle and, through access to education, develop knowledge of women’s rights, this is slowly changing. It is still the case that the majority marry for life, and divorce for any reason is deeply frowned upon:

‘Nobody knows how much domestic violence occurs in the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller communities. Much domestic violence and abuse is unreported and remains hidden even from close family and friends. Some forms of domestic violence and abuse are not even recognised as abuse either by victims or the people around them. Domestic violence and abuse occur in most communities but those interviewed for this briefing all believed that levels of domestic violence and abuse among Travellers were relatively high. Those interviewed commented that domestic violence and abuse have been widely regarded as ‘normal’ in the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller

communities. Older women said they would not have considered telling anyone about abuse in their marriage because it was something they didn't talk about and if they had, the common reaction would have been 'You've made your bed, so lie in it'.

Things have changed to some extent for younger women who are more likely to talk about what is happening to them and get support from family and friends – but even younger women still accept abuse.'

(Barrett & Codona, 2021, p.12).

In April 2022, a law that had a major effect on the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities in England was introduced by MP Paul Lantham. The age of being able to marry was raised from 16 to 18 years old. Many couples from the communities marry when one or the other is sixteen. It should also be noted that the Roma, and indeed some Gypsy and Traveller communities in England, use the phrase 'married' when referring to a couple living together. Due to this, many of the community groups and public speakers and those who work closely with them have called for awareness raising on this law and its probable implications.

In the Gypsy Romany community, 'running off' is common. This is played out as a ritual, whereby the potential groom asks the father of the girl if he may have her hand in marriage. The father then refuses and threatens the boy with all sorts of punishment. After a few days, the boy and girl secretly elope. After 'running off together' they return – or the families find them and bring them home. After it is made clear that they now must get married because they have been alone together marriage arrangements are made.

The problem I had was that my husband-to-be was not from the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller communities (scandal number one) and until meeting me had little to do with them.

When I first went to his house that he shared with his brother (scandal number two) and told him I had run away (I was 22 years old at the time), he was somewhat confused. He became even more confused when I said that I needed to ring my family as I was not sure they would know the address to come to. This was over 39 years ago, and he still cannot work out the process or rationale of ‘running off’.

Figures 6 and 7 below show two weddings from the Gypsy Romany and Traveller communities. I was able to talk with the couples to find out how they felt about their weddings.



**Figure 6. Members of GRT community getting married
(private collection of cluster family)**

‘I loved that blue dress and hat I thought I looked lovely – the bees’ knees. It was the first time I had worn a hat, I mean a real hat. I had a ‘Kiss me quick’ hat at the seaside, but I always had to throw them away so my dad did not see them he would have killed me [lots of laughter in the group]. We had a nice wedding, not all big and silly like you see on the television, they make us look like fools. We’re like anybody else if you want a big white wedding you have to save up for the cost.’

(Mandy, 2018).



**Figure 7- Buckley families family marriage
(private collection of cluster family).**

Foster and Norton (2012) looked at the educational and cultural norms of Roma, and how Roma can and do ‘marry’ or be accepted as married by the Roma community when puberty is reached. In terms of the rights of the child, they conclude:

‘There can be complex child protection issues. It is not always clear whether the issue is religious, cultural, or patriarchal and whether the rights of the child are protected by the deeply held views of the parents.’

(Foster and Norton, 2012, p.102).

5.7 Sex Education, Pregnancy, and Birth

Another area of life that has a more traditional stand on acceptable behaviour than mainstream society, is pregnancy and birth. Convincing evidence was given by female members of the communities as to how they perceive a difference between the GRT communities and the local settled community, in the way that pregnancy and birth are discussed. A good example is Sally from cluster family E:

‘When I was having my children, I didn’t go about saying I was pregnant it was obvious and why would you need to say? I told my mum that a health visitor had been

to me and wanted me to go to classes with my husband about having the baby. My mum's answer was I would know all about having the baby once it was happening and I didn't need a class to tell me that. She said that it was shameful the way gorgers men and women all sat together in a room talking about their wives having their babies.'

(Sally, 2018).

All the women interviewed, irrespective of age, felt that discussing pregnancy with a man who was not their partner or husband was unacceptable. All of them had had a miscarriage or knew a close family member who had:

'In any of our families you will always find women who have had miscarriages, simply because we have a lot more children so the more you have the more, you are likely to lose. That is what I think, but we still love those little ones like they were here with us, we do not talk about it much because it's talking about your child, but they are loved and prayed for.'

(May, 2018).

Of the women involved in this research who had children, only one had their husband in the room when giving birth. This is not unusual, as evidence from the communities suggests, and is still common for the partner not to be in the room when the woman is giving birth. Also, whilst I was able to talk openly to the women concerning pregnancy and birth, this was not a subject I was able to broach with the men in the communities. When I asked why this was, the first reaction of the majority was that I should know because I was a Romany Gypsy and thus brought up to know. But when I said I needed to know not from my own life but from theirs, I was told on more than one occasion 'it was just not the thing to do'. The domain of pregnancy and birth was seen by all the women taking part in the female's role and area of

life. This is fundamentally different from mainstream society where pregnancy and birth are openly discussed, and it is unusual for the partner not to be present at the birth. These differences when Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller families move into housing and thus live amongst the local settled community manifest themselves in several ways. Peggy gives an example by repeating a dialogue that occurred between her next-door neighbour who was a local settled woman, and Peggy's husband, and the result of this in terms of her family integration:

‘When I had my girl the woman next door to us asked my husband all about the baby then asked about the birth and told him about hers. He was so large [embarrassed] that he went all red and he said he wanted the ground to open and swallow him. From that day he would not have anything much to do with the neighbours around us and when our girl got older, he did not want her to be with them because he felt that they had no morals and would lead her and me into bad dirty ways.

(Peggy, 2018).

Furthermore, sex is considered to be a subject that should not be discussed in terms of intimate details of one's own private life by either men or women. However, whilst not openly stated, it is discussed in same-sex, age, and marital peer groups. If a non-member of that group was present, the conversation would not happen.

When sex education is taught in school, it is quite usual for Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller communities' children's parents to ask that the children not attend this class. If a school is unable to agree to this (this may be because sex education is part of the curriculum), then children are simply kept at home on those days when classes are in session. To better

understand the reasons behind such actions, the following feedback is taken from the various participants in this research:

‘I can remember that I had my first brief introduction to the sex of my gorger friend, who was the same age as me. She was the one that educated me in a lot of ways, think they may call it falling in with the wrong crowd. I remember that we wanted to know what 'fuck' meant, we were about ten. I knew I could not go home and ask, so I had to wait for her to find out.’

(Joan, 2018).

Other parents did not talk about sex simply because they were not asked by their children:

‘My girls never came to me and asked me anything about sex. I can remember my mum trying to tell me about the dogs. She talked a lot about the dog that sat in the window up near the toy shop. That was it, it took years before I realised that, talking about the dogs was her way of giving me sex education, I did not know she meant because dogs did it and got puppies humans did and got babies. I think my mum thought I was brighter than I was. [Digress to talking about teenage years] I had a black shirt during the time of the Beatles and the roof of our house came off because of my father’s anger at my black shirt, smoking, and being down the village with the boys.’

(Jenny, 2018).

This fundamental difference in belief systems around birth and sex education and appropriate actions works as a barrier in terms of developing relationships with neighbours and local community members:

‘I did try when we first moved in here to talk to the woman next door but after a while, she said something about her boy and my girl doing sex education together because they were in the same class and she seemed to think it was all right and a big laugh. When I said that I did not agree with it and she would not be going on the days they had that talk the woman seemed amused and asked why and so I told her who we were and that we did not believe in that sort of thing. She has hardly spoken to me since.’

(Kim, 2018).

There is always an exception to the rule of no talk about sex. Some families are prepared to look at the situation from other perspectives, in other words, the norms of English-settled society in terms of sex education:

‘I have had a chat with my girls about the talks that they are going to get at school to be honest with you I don’t mind them attending I know what people [referring be to other Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities] would say if they knew but I knew nothing when I was growing up, I think I could have been raped and would not have known and I don’t want that for my girls I want them to know that it is their body and how it works and they have a right to say they don’t want this or that even to their husband. The trouble with us Travellers is simple we are all front, it is we believe this and we believe that, but we have to get into the modern way.’

(Peggy, 2018).

Whilst pregnancy and birth influence the engagement and relationship with the settled community, an area of caring in which the GRT community is fairly proud is how older members of the community are respected and cared for.

5.8 Older Generations

Immense pride is taken by the majority of the community members in their expressed respect for the elderly and the support given to older female members. Older people with care needs tend to be looked after in the family, and very few go into sheltered accommodation or residential care. They are valued members who have wisdom through life experience.



Figures 8a and 8b- Elderly community members

If an elderly family member becomes ill and in need of care, the female members of the family (including extended family members) will set up a care and support routine. For example, unmarried girls may sleep in the same home as the elderly person in case they need anything at night. Female family members will clean and look after both the home and the person. For personal hygiene and care, a same-sex person is needed, but the women and girls will still be responsible for the general cleaning of the home and care of the person. Neglect is rare, however, there might be ‘over-caring’ in some situations.

‘I love my family and I know that if they could stop the wind from blowing on me, they would. But I am never alone not for one moment there is always one of my daughters-in-law or my granddaughter here with me since I got this illness and have been in and out of hospital. To be honest, sometimes I would like a bit of being on my own, but I would never say anything to hurt them.’

(Jill, 2018).

Below, an interviewee discusses her family and the findings are in keeping with those of Casey (2014):

‘After we had been here a while my girls wanted to be like the other girls, go out and about. One of them came to me and said she liked this boy and he wanted to go out to the local disco. I knew that her brothers were gone, so I had a quiet word with them and asked them to keep an eye on her but do it, so she did not know. Well, the night came for him to take her out, he knocked at the door and my old mum got up, asked him in, and kept asking him questions, then up and said ‘Yes you can take her out, but she has to be home by ten o’clock (I’d said she could be out until twelve). I felt so sorry for my girl she was standing there almost in tears, I told my mum about it and it was like World War three, different ones in the family were arguing with others, my mum would not stay in my house and went off to my brother because ‘I didn’t want her to make sure my girls were decent. See the old people want to keep the old ways, but it’s not like that we got to with the times.’

(Bet, 2018).

5.7 Death

One of the key events that reveal cultural actions when Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Travellers cluster families are settled is death. There has been limited research on death and bereavement, however, the communities in England have in recent years attracted some research. For example, Petulengro (2018) give accounts of death and funerals, however, I would challenge the following statement:

‘The Romany word for unclean is ‘Mokadi’ and if someone died no Gypsy was allowed to touch them for fear they caught something that may have contributed to the

death. It's believed this is a leftover from the middle ages when such things as the black death and the like were raging and the fear was anyone who touched the body could be contaminated. This fear also extends to the burning of the deceased person's caravan too.'

(Petulengro, 2018).

For my family and many of those we know when you go to pay your respects you are expected to touch the person so that you remember them as they were and not lie in a coffin. Although items belonging to the deceased that have sentimental value to a person may be kept, all others, Petulengro suggest were burned. Within modern-day society, it is becoming more acceptable to take items to second-hand shops, so other can make use of the deceased's items.

When a person has died, the traditions may vary slightly from family to family, but the following is a general outline of culturally based actions. Large crowds visit the family home as it is considered 'correct' to see the family as soon as word of the death has reached you. People travel long distances to visit. As a male and female divide exists in the majority of the GRT communities, the women and children tend to congregate in the home while the men usually sit outside, or at least in another room. If they are outside or on a cold evening, it is not unusual for fires to be lit for warmth.

Many in the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Travellers communities close all their curtains and have the deceased brought home the night before the funeral and observe a practice known as 'sitting up'. This involves sitting with the coffin open and being with the deceased for the last night. Candles are lit and all members of the immediate family, plus any friends or relations who wish to join the family spend the night sitting with the coffin and the deceased.

In the majority of GRT communities, photographs of the family and personal possessions are placed in the coffin so that the deceased has the items to take with them. Irish Travellers keep a vigil, and candles are lit near the bed of the dying person to light their way to the afterlife. These candles are kept lit until after the funeral when it is believed that God now lights the heavens for them.

Each family who knew the deceased sends at least one representative to the funeral. If only one person can come it will be a man from the family. All age groups attend the funeral:

‘We were here [housed] and my mum lived just up the road so when my mum died, we arranged the funeral like you do, and from the night before families started to come then on the morning of the funeral a lot of families arrived to pay their respect and parked their motors where they could. The man across the road was first he came and asked could the motors be moved so he could get out of his drive and we did that, he was not nasty and said how sorry he was to hear about our loss and hoped we did not mind him asking us to move the cars and we told him no it was fine. I have to say most of the people along this road showed respect and some sent cards, not that I like the cards myself, but they did it with a good heart, so I accepted it. You see I think most people just want to get on with their life and don’t want to hurt you, but then my husband said I am silly to think like that I should remember all the things that have been done to me, all the time that they [gorgers] have been racist to me but I don’t mind living here the people are all right they don’t bother us much and we don’t bother them.’

(Leanne, 2018).

It is common to find members from the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Travellers communities who have not made a will or have any savings or insurance to cover the expenses of a funeral. Whilst the family may or may not need financial help, they may refuse to request help from fellow community members. However, those who are close to the family will have some indication of their financial situation. Several discreet actions can and do take place to help the family financially during this time when community members visit the family to pay their respects. At this time, close friends or extended family members may offer the family money in terms of a loan which will not incur interest and will be informal. Those who are offering the money spend time talking to the mourner about confidentiality and how 'no one will ever know' about the transaction. Whilst members from other sectors of the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Travellers communities may come and show their respect and attend the funeral, they tend not to help financially or by bringing food.

It is presumed that, if the person dies suddenly or is young with a young family, or it has become known that they did not have insurance of any kind, the family will struggle with the financial burden of the funeral. To help the family practically without embarrassing them, it is common for two actions to take place. Many women from the extended family or who are close friends of the family may arrive with a box of food for the family. Young girls or extended family women will take on the role of making drinks and giving food to those arriving for the funeral. The other activity undertaken by the family is a collection, usually after the funeral at the wake when a hat or plate is passed around for mourners to put cash in. The money is discreetly given to the family, usually to the lead male, without anyone counting it. Thus, the family has been given financial help without having to lose face.

Large and ornate floral tributes are produced for the funeral, and it is common for them to depict something in the person's life rather than a religious reference. It is considered a great honour to be asked to drive the lorry with its floral tributes in the funeral procession:

‘When my cousin died and we went to his funeral, we turned up at his place (house) like you do and the morning of the funeral we stood talking and looking at the flowers on the lorries then suddenly up came this man from one of the other houses and started taking photographs. One of the men asked him what he was doing and he said that he had not known they were Gypsies and he wanted to take photographs to show his family when they came so they knew it was Gypsies living nearby. The men soon put him straight about that and just the fact he had not asked.’

(Lee, 2018).

It is common nowadays for family and close friends to take photographs of the grave and the floral tributes after a funeral. The problem in the situation described above was simply that the man had not asked and was not part of the family:



Figure 9- Smith family graveside



Figure 10- My fathers' graveside

‘When my granny died, I gave her a wreath that looked like a television. I remember one of the men we asked to drive the lorries with the flowers on saying she had everything in the wreaths and she did, some had her walking stick made, another

wagon, and horses. It's about the person who they were that makes us think of them and for me, it was seeing her sit and watch television.'

(Jill, 2018).

Historically once the family has allocated personal items to individuals or given a family a memento in response to a request, it is traditional for the home and all its possessions to be burned.

'When someone died, we did burn the home, we would burn all the clothes of the person and anything that others did not want or the family did not want to keep reminding them of the person. We did not burn the body in the home, but it was just a way of saying this is the end of this type of life for this person. We do not do this very much now, the new way is for one of the family to take the trailer and live in it and then when it is no good it will get burned. Some of the very old-fashioned families may still burn a caravan of the dead but not many now.'

(Lee, 2018).

Lee continues to discuss the historical practices which have survived and are still upheld,

'We still put things in the coffin we may put photographs, jewellery, and things that mean a lot to them so that they can go with them. The throwing of ties, coats, etc. into the grave at the funeral, shows respect and that we will give them 'the coat from our back' sort of thing.'

(Lee, 2018).

It is traditional for most Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Travellers to wear black to a funeral and for immediate family members to continue to wear black for a year after the death and in

exceptional cases even longer. Although, this is not something community specific and a tradition that can be dated back to the Romans. The colour black was solidified as the symbol of mourning due to its expense, luminating the idea that mourners and the family were of a higher class in society (Thornton, 2022). Again, this is something that is slowly changing.

‘I thought about wearing black after my parents died, but what good does it do? I have to admit I wouldn’t go to a funeral of anyone unless I was in black. If you're going to the funeral to pay your respects, wear black or dark clothes.’

(Jill, 2018).

The choice of church and cemetery is decided based on other members of the family having been buried there. Therefore, when work routes are established, it is common to find that Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Travellers wish to settle at a certain spot along the work route because family members are buried in a local churchyard.

The graves will be well tended and looked after for years after the death. Members of a family will travel long distances regularly to ‘look after the grave’ and place flowers. This responsibility is shared equally between men and women, although the men do tasks like cutting the grass and looking after the headstone, and the women and girls buy and place the flowers. At key family events graves are given attention:

‘My Grandfather is buried over at xx. When he was buried just after the war you did not have headstones just a cross, but last year us boys got together and had a headstone put on the grave, after all its respect and although I did not know him, well none of us did, but he’s still part of this family so every few months one of us goes back and sorts the grave out, its only right thing to do.’

(Jim, 2018).

‘...before the wedding we. went up and done the graves in the same colours as she was having at. her wedding and after she got married, we all walked round the graves and. she put flowers on them it was the right thing to do.’

(Leanne, 2018).

5.8 Conclusion

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, the life cycle of the GRT community from birth to death is established. Within this chapter, it is possible to understand that within the GRT customs such as burning the home after death or training teenage girls to be good wives and mothers, for example, are changing but the changes are slowly happening.

The concept of being housed and being able to choose to reveal your ethnicity or not is one of the main difficulties when undertaking research concerning settled Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Travellers in housing.

For members of the GRT communities moving into housing, though they may have visited the location for work over several years, they may well be seen by the settled community as some Gypsy that pulled up on the roadside. A decision must be made regarding whether they reveal their ethnicity and hope that neighbours accept them. Alternatively, they can say nothing and let the neighbours (including the local services) draw their conclusions. The majority of Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Travellers will, if asked, say they are from the community, however, tends not to be a subject they bring up personally.

In this thesis, I discuss ethnicity and whether it needs to be made known to those outside the communities. Whilst divulging ethnicity needs consideration of potential outcomes, the decision is made more difficult as in many cases, when a whole cluster family group which would traditionally be itinerant decides to move into housing, it is typically more than one

family. However, such families may still be able to avoid stating their ethnicity if the village covers a large geographical area, or if they are moving into a town where several families are moving into housing.

It is common knowledge in the field of Gypsyology, that one of the main concerns of Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Travellers community members when settling, is the potential loss of community identity through the loss of culturally defining actions including rules around cleanliness, family structures and the positioning of male and female divisions and activities. However, while to the local communities, they hope to be just another family, inwardly they retain the rules and customs into which they were born. These are retained by the larger families and community connections.

The loss of language and tradition when settling is of great concern to the members of the Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller communities. The argument put forward is that, as members settle down, children are attending school, and thus most are now educated by those from mainstream society. Because of this, the older generation worries that the language and customs are used and adhered to less and less. There is also concern that by going into mainstream school and in recent years attending college, the languages of the GRT communities, together with cultural traits, will increasingly become known to the settled community.

Many from the GRT communities feel that their rules and customs have little value to mainstream society. Consequently, the 'normal' actions of community members are not considered normal by members of mainstream society. Whilst this research does not include working with mainstream society other than those who work closely with Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Travellers or are researchers in the field, I am aware of some of the difficulties that I and others have encountered:

‘The issue of having soap in the kitchen, I refuse to have soap in the kitchen or have him wash his hands in the kitchen sink as I have been brought up to feel is unhygienic.’

(Violet, 2018).

Using Maslow’s theory, it is possible to establish the slow change within the GRT communities is due in part to the fact that only till recently the majority were nomadic, and thus only once the physiological needs of shelter, food, and drink were met could the GRT communities start to achieve any sense of belonging to the larger community. Within chapters six to eleven it is ascertained that whilst not the full story it has been a major contribution which is now changing through the GRT communities settling and engaging with mainstream society which means they are beginning to hear and see different approaches and arguments to life issues such as sex education.

Chapter 6- Education and Health for The Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller Communities and How It Affects Decisions Around Settling

Health and education are an important aspect for Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Travellers when deciding to settle. Looking at these two areas, exploration is undertaken as to the reasons behind choices within the community and the history behind the decisions made by the newer generations.

6.1 Education

In 2021, Dr David Smith and Professor Margaret Greenfields were among the academics working with Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers, contacting universities and asking them to share in good practice for the support of Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers that attend their institution.

In 2024, Emma Nuttall, academic lead for pledge for schools at Buckinghamshire New University, is in the process of getting schools and higher education institutions such as colleges and universities to ‘pledge their support for GRT in education’. Also, The Anti-Bullying Alliance, and Friends, Families and Travellers, are working in partnership to deliver a Gypsy, Roma, and Traveller Anti-Bullying Project.

Whilst these are positive actions, it remains to see the longevity concerning if the commitments made will be honoured after the initial signing up to the Pledge. Also, in terms of educational achievement, it does little to understand the ‘story’ behind the figures. This chapter not only looks at research on GRT education but includes first-hand experience from the GRT community and NGOs working with them.

In March 2016, the Equality and Human Rights Commission produced an education report.

The report included Gypsy Roman/Roma and Traveller children and stated:

‘Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children were less likely to achieve ‘a good level of development in their early years (EYFS) in 2013/14 (19.1% for Gypsy and Roma children, and 30.9% for Traveller children, compared with 61.8% other White children). Similarly, a lower percentage of Gypsy and Roma children (13.8%) and Traveller children (17.5%) achieved the GCSE threshold in 2012/13 compared with other White children (60.3%) and the attainment gap widened between 2008/09 and 2012/13.’

(Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2016, p.4).

GRT communities have low levels of literacy, generally as the result of a high drop-out rate from mainstream education between primary and secondary school, or not entering the education system at all. Thus, a perception has developed that the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers communities do not value education but, as we shall see, it is more a case of placing a different value on the needs of children’s education and a different classification of what education means.

It has been observed that Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller communities’ traditions have enabled the continuation of the traditional storytelling and singing in the GRT communities as a way of passing on knowledge from generation to generation. Thomson (2013) argues that illiteracy can and does lead to isolation and disempowerment when Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller pupils are unable to feel safe with others in a group setting, be it the classroom or the school itself.

Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller children and young people experiencing social exclusion and racist bullying are commonly reported in the literature. Most students who took part in Derrington and Kendall's (2004) research said that they had experienced racist bullying of some form including subtle social exclusion. Foster and Norton (2012) stated:

‘...80% of Gypsy/Roma and Traveller of Irish Heritage pupils transferred from primary to secondary school), around half dropped out by the end of Key Stage 4... Boys are more likely to drop out than girls (except Roma, where the opposite is true) and Irish Travellers are more likely to drop out than Gypsies and Roma.’

(Foster and Norton, 2012, p.9).

Within primary education, the facilitation of customs can become a problem. The Office for National Statistics stated in 2022 that:

‘Experiences of perceived discrimination, inflexibility of the education system, and aspects of the curriculum that are seen as contradictory to Gypsy and Traveller values were cited as reasons for withdrawing children from mainstream education, with some being home-schooled instead.’

(Office of National Statics, 2022).

Mandy, a female Gypsy also from cluster A, goes on to talk about secondary education and how as teenagers they are still expected to abide by the customs of the community, she also discusses (as Lee does) the fact that accommodation does not affect the customs:

‘If our girls and boys are in school, they are still expected to do things our way and not be like the others, which means that for them things can be hard, I am not so old that I cannot remember the few times I went to school seeing the other teenagers

acting in a way that I thought was shameful. You have to remember that some of our families or any Gypsy families may have lived all their lives in a house or on one site they may never have moved about and if lived in a house may never have lived in a trailer [caravan]. Every family now has someone settled be it in a house or on-site, but we are still Gypsy and have Gypsy ways in the home.’

(Mandy, 2018).

6.1.1 Education and Primary Socialisation

In England, the majority of the mainstream community builds broad social relationships during early life through interaction in nurseries or playgroups. This does not happen with the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers communities due to the lack of engagement with preschool education. This results in two problems. First, by their absence from preschool, these children may lack an understanding of acceptable norms and rules in the confines of the school. This can be exacerbated by the fact that, due to the history of not attending preschool or any school, the children may not have anyone in their circle of family and friends who can tell them what to expect or to do. Secondly, the family may not value educational achievements so as the child progresses through the system, little attention is paid to supporting the child in their learning. If the family and friends are illiterate, they will also look at the child’s progress through a different lens than those in the educational field. For example, a child may not be achieving their reading age, but if the parents themselves cannot read they may feel that the child is doing well and be deeply offended if a teacher suggests that the child is behind or needs additional help.

I was the first to attend school in my immediate family. I was not attending because of any value my family placed on education, it was simply that the landowner believed in education for all. Therefore, I attended school with the instruction to be good and it would help us to

stay where we were. Therefore, from the age of six, I attended the local primary school and then secondary school (which I completed), but my family had little interest in my academic achievements, although my mother would attend all the Open Days and parents' evenings, and only now do I appreciate how difficult this must have been for her. She had to sit and look at my work while being unable to read anything on the page, talking to teachers who often used words that had no meaning to her and that she could not understand. Worse still, they could be blatantly dismissive of her presence. At school, particularly secondary school, I was placed in the lowest class meant for those who could not or would not learn. Pupils expelled from another school or class would join our class. Teachers were in the main either those about to retire or students. The constant change in class dynamics and constant change of teachers led to apathy and lack of learning by all members of the class, including me. In later years I read Derrington and Kendall (2004), and found my experience was not unique in terms of the school's attitude to my education. Indeed, looking at the information in this thesis, it is easy to see that the Parliament website was correct when stating that:

‘In the case of Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers, people have a poor start in education may be the catalyst for many other inequalities that we have heard about throughout this inquiry, the barriers for Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller children in education are severe. Tackling poor educational attainment is vital to tackling other inequalities facing the Gypsy, Roma and Traveller communities.’

(Miller, 2022).

6.1.2 The Village Children

Jenny discusses how she felt about the village children and the concept of ‘them and us’ being present:

‘I felt the difference and the same with the village children if, there was a home (our home) and the village, they were two different places I used to think the other children would come and play if they wanted and if they didn’t then that was up to them, now I realise, I was saying they can accept me if they like and if they don’t, I will just get on with it. And I can remember being at school and using some words we used at home and the other children and teacher did not understand me, I stopped using those words very quickly, I can remember getting some very strange looks. It is all layers, layer upon layer throughout your life.’

(Jenny, 2018).

However, the longing to be part of the group was strongly expressed by all those respondents who attended school:

‘When I went to school and when the one child at school said I was smelly I agreed with them because I would rather have them tell me that than not have anyone talk to me. And still, today if anyone is going to take me out then I will do it myself rather than let them do it.’

(Joan, 2018).

Joan also spoke about how she tried to alleviate the pressure of being bullied by removing herself from any given situation which she felt would give the bullies ‘ammunition’, even to the extent of opting out of her school’s sports day, which was a momentous event in the

school calendar. She did this by volunteering as a ‘helper’ rather than participating, thus removing herself from the challenge of winning or losing at games:

‘At school, the moment they said that it was school sports day I went and volunteered for tea making. I could not run and I have enough about me to have people going on at me without an invisible kicking me and me making myself look a fool on the playing field.’

(Joan, 2018).

Jenny and Joan tried to be ‘part of the group’ by changing into what they perceived the ‘others’ wanted them to be. When Jenny became an adult and was in a mixed heritage marriage, she used her knowledge to develop an understanding and respect for those Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers community members in her life. The result of this was that her daughter’s perception of the difference in the way family life manifested itself. She recalls how her daughter told others in the class that people have a right to the way they want to live as long as it does not hurt other people. This sign of respect was discussed by all members of the cluster family and NGOs.

Jenny is a second-generation Traveller married to a non-Traveller and does not have many of her family living the traditional lifestyle in a caravan. She has instilled in her children the respect and value of living accommodation. However, she refers to carrying over the strategies she developed at school to avoid bullying into her adult employment:

‘My boss, I have not told him yet but have said things like ‘Of course, I am an undercover Gypsy’, but I am aware that next week I will be telling him and also other things, for example, I am dyslexic, etc. You see I cope by being the clown I was the clown in school and have been since it is my coping strategy.’

(Jenny, 2018).

Jenny comments on how she still respects the norms and values of Gypsy culture even though she is second-generation and married outside the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller communities. However, retaining cultural values is a common aspiration for all the cluster families interviewed.

There was a sense amongst the cluster families interviewed that a divide exists between the GRT and the local settled community, and they give a good indication of how the perception of difference is seen by the communities. A variety of perspectives were expressed, including how the families had little time for the type of schooling received in mainstream education. Some respondents had experienced school life not only as lonely but also as suffering the negativity of others. Their families' lack of interest in their school life also meant a lack of any acknowledgement of achievement: 'The fact I have these sheets of paper is all that I could show my family and tell them this is how I can earn my money. I am a bit of a negative as a Traveller woman I cannot clean, I cannot do field work, etc.' (Jenny, 2018). Lee follows on, stating:

'People used to ask were my parents proud of me for going to school the answer was 'no' they did not care it was nothing to them, if I went or not. It was an option I went with if I wanted to go or not. I was not made to go.'

(Lee, 2018).

Although many opportunities were given during the interviews, the interviewees said little about their actual education experience at school. We are told about school life in terms of being part of the group or not and about how individuals used different methods of becoming 'in' or 'other', but no interviewee discussed the value of education in any context other than

Joan's reference to receiving payment for reading the scriptures. The striking conclusion is that the value placed on school-based learning by the majority of general society is simply not shared by Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers. This lack of value manifests itself in GRT who settle simply by children having to define their motivation for schoolwork.

Whilst mainstream education is not a priority in these families, situations relating to school life are recognised by Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers as potential opportunities for relationships with the settled community. However, some situations as described below only reinforce the 'them and us' predicament:

'When you see some of the gorgers at the school they look down at you, but you got to judge people as you find them, but you can pick them out and you just know they are going to have a go or say something about you, you just know, you grow up with it, being picked on, so you get to know the signs.'

(Bella, 2018).

Others in the families used a given situation to portray the difference between Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers and the local settled community:

'See up here at this school the children had a day washing car and another time had a cake sale and different things and the money they raised was for the whole school going to the seaside. This Saturday they had a fete and we were asked to go and join in so the women went, they took some bits for the bottle stall and then had a look about, see that was because they come here and asked. It is easier for women than it is for men I only said hello to one man, and he told me his life story.'

(Frank, 2018).

6.1.3 Positive Actions

Mary from Traveller Education Service (TES) was interviewed in 2016 for this research and stated:

‘When I started with education 19 plus years ago, it was a case of if the parents had a bad experience (which most did) they were reluctant to put their children in school, now some of those children that we got into school have children of their own. I remember one particular girl I worked with she went to school for 2 days and had the worst experience of her life, but she now has children of her own and her kids who are 7, 6, 5, and 4 years old are all in school and she is proud to put them on Facebook in their uniform saying things like 'my boys first day', 'my boys going to school' that sort of thing. So that has changed, it is more pride, not embarrassment now. I think with our education officers there is still an issue with secondary education but there again we have a roadside girl who has been roadside all her life going to University in September, so there is a change in opinions with unauthorised encampments, so I believe attitudes to education have improved. We have something like 65% of Travellers going to high school now when 19-20 years ago we had none.’

(Mary, 2016).

Mary tells of the success of TES in getting Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers into mainstream schools. However, the recent development of schools into academies means that the schools are no longer answerable to a local authority as they were in the past but are now technically answerable to the central government. This simple yet important shift of accountability, together with the transfer of finance from local government to the academies themselves, means that academies run their budgets and create their policies. The effect is that individual academies must ‘buy in’ education services such as Traveller Education

Services (TES), education welfare or multicultural education facilities. The dilemma this causes in prioritising needs means establishing which items benefit the largest number of attendees. Sadly, with tight budgetary decisions to be made and only a small percentage of pupils registered as being from the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller communities, this has resulted in TES not being properly engaged and integrated into the institutions. The result is simply that, across the country, Traveller Education has vanished or is being merged with generic ethnic minority education services.

Daniel NGO tells us how The Advisory Council for Education of Romany and Travellers (ACERT) together with other organisation bodies for example the Traveller Movement have acted. In a desperate bid to bring the situation into the public light, the Traveller Movement organised a meeting with the Children's Commissioner in June 2016 to raise concerns:

'I went to a meeting about what interaction Traveller Education (TE) are having with the new academies, as they are now a traded service and if people want to work with them, they have to pay for the service. It was discussed by TE how hard it must be for them, and their sense of insecurity but what I expected to hear was about what difference they had made in moving people forward and why they needed to be a separate service rather than mainstream. In this meeting we had one person from Peterborough who had shut down their standalone TES, I asked them how this impacted the communities, but due to a mixture of people present, this was only answered on a personal basis as employees of the service were present. Only at the end of the meeting did one woman from Peterborough talk to me, because she had felt she could not do this in the meeting and she said, to be honest, we have now seen that the specialised service had a negative impact and people felt that they were being singled out as being different and whilst this service (positive action) was needed 20

years ago the world has changed and moved forward and what we are doing now is not working and sometimes the negative actions Traveller Education are moving us backwards not forward.'

(Daniel, 2016).

Although some respondents like Daniel look at the end of TES as a factor in reducing segregation, Mary highlights the value of keeping them by mentioning their role in the support and development of parental involvement, plus its potential to encourage adult Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller community members to develop their skills and ability:

'We [ACERT] think that there is an argument for the ring-fencing of money to narrow the gap for Traveller children, but I do not think it will go back to what it was.

Parental involvement is essential. When we had all the National Strategy stuff (under the last Labour government) there was a considerable emphasis on working with parents. To give them their due, some local authorities who have got rid of their teachers have hung onto their home school liaison staff. Teams like Cambridgeshire previously employed community members. When their jobs go the person may not find another job. It is good that there are so many activists now from Traveller backgrounds. I mean ACERT has changed tremendously. We have a Chair and Vice Chair who are community members and most community members on our executive which we did not have a few years ago which is a substantial change and good. We have Roma, English and Irish Travellers so it is a good mix.'

(May, 2018).

To counteract the lack of knowledge or misinformation concerning Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller identity, many of the community foundation-based charities offer cultural

awareness training. However, this has a cost implication, be it to the service itself or through accessing funding to produce training material. One Voice 4 Travellers' chair Lisa Smith has stated:

‘It is amazing the lack of basic knowledge concerning the identification, uniqueness and cultural actions of the various groups in the Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller communities.’

(Smith, 2020).

Slootman's (2018) study of ethnic identification together those of with Smaje's (1997) gives a good understanding of Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller identity:

‘Straight-line assimilation assumes that immigrants eventually will adapt to their new country. They will become increasingly similar and will eventually be seamlessly incorporated into mainstream society.’

(Slootman, 2018, p.3).

Slootman's straight-line integration may be true, but the time factor of such integration varies, due to several factors including how receptive the host society is to ethnic communities, and how much of a change the ethnic group has to undertake to become incorporated. In the Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Travellers communities in England, it is not only the traditional norms and values that are a barrier but also the language which is unique to each sector of said communities. Law (2010) adds the importance of language and the Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Travellers communities:

‘Ethnic identifiers, including language, identity, names and traditions, vary across these sub-groups [in the Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Travellers communities].’

(Law, 2010, p.90).

GRT communities use the language of their sector, together with knowledge of traditional traits as an indicator of identification and belonging. This identification technique can be described as the ‘family and friend’s connection’. An excellent example of how this is played out in the communities is at Appleby Fair. Each year, families from the GRT communities travel to the annual Appleby Fair. Some will buy and sell horses whilst the main aim of others is to see friends and relations. It is a time to dress up and, as David (NGO for this research) refers to it, ‘just enjoy being a Traveller’ (David, 2020). When meeting GRT you are not known to but who are from the same communities (English Gypsy, Irish Traveller, etc.), it is usual to have a conversation concerning ‘who are your people’. This means that each person talks about community members they are related to or know until some common links are recognised. Many from the communities use the phrase ‘everyone knows someone that knows someone’. Great suspicion is aroused by those who say they are from the communities but are unable to establish at least some links. This is particularly the case if they live near the person they are talking to. Immense pride and community ‘togetherness’ are maintained between members of the communities and any discrepancy in belonging is deeply frowned upon. In 2017, a few prominent Gypsy/Travellers/Roma were ‘outed’ on Facebook as not being part of the communities. It was left to the accused to prove their connections.

New Travellers are not able to use the language identification process and do not have the baseline of similarity of cultural norms. Whilst the GRT communities try to retain their cultural norms and values when moved into a house, many talk about the ‘New Traveller’ family that live in the village/town and somehow get to know they are there:

‘After we had been here a time, our son and one of the other young boys went a bit astray and started hanging out with the hippy family in the next village. I went up to them and told them not to keep encouraging them. The woman said she understood as we were all alike, them being New Travellers, I told her straight, we are not alike, you call yourselves New Travellers, well we are old Travellers and do things differently. I thought to myself look at her standing in front of me saying we are the same, if I rocked [talk in Romany] to her, she would not know a word I was saying and if I asked her who she knew she would not know a single person. Even when they are trying to live like us in trailers, they are different from the rest of us. Most of us do not mix with New Travellers much.’

(Lee, 2018).

Women from the cluster family told how they had taken the opportunity to undertake basic literacy and numeracy classes:

‘When mine was at the little school [primary] I used to go to the school with them. I used to be in a class different to them, but they knew I was there. The school got a teacher for me, to teach me to read and write. I still cannot spell but there you go.’

(Lee, 2018).

The public sector staff talk extensively about mainstream education and the effect of having or not having a TES in each county which is linked through ACERT. Mary widens the discussion by mentioning that Traveller education teams such as the one in Cambridgeshire had employees from the Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller communities. It is concerning that she feels ‘the person may not find another job’. Surely if they have the qualifications and

abilities to work in Traveller education, they will have relevant transferable skills to be employed in the general education field. Mary also tells us it is important to have parental involvement but does not refer to the success or otherwise of ACERT in achieving this.

Despite this bleak picture of the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers communities and mainstream education, there are some hopeful developments taking place. I know of four other GRT women who have undertaken or are just finishing PhDs and as more families move into housing, they are sending their children through school as it enables them to be 'like all the others'.

Mandy gives a positive and was not alone in using her children's education to advance her literacy and numeracy:

'I used to have a teacher who would come into the school where the children went and she would teach me my letters and numbers. I even went when the children did not go to school anymore. Now I'm not a great scholar but I can read a bit and I can make a shopping list. No one else would be able to read it, but that doesn't matter I can read it and now I don't keep buying things over and over even though I got some in the cupboard or running out of things. I can also read enough to know a time has say beans in it, but don't show them on the tin. The shopping costs less as I don't have to buy the tins with the photo, I can buy the cheaper one that just says 'beans'.'

(Mandy, 2018).

Others such as Shirley were motivated by the simple act of seeing a member of the community reading a paper:

'I can always remember on one of the sites we used to live on, there was a Traveller woman and every day she would get up, do her bits and pieces (cleaning) and her

children were always clean, but around dinner time she would come and sit on a chair around a table outside or if running sit in her day room. She used to have a newspaper and a cup of tea. I used to think I wished that I could do that, just sit and read a newspaper, so when we got here and my sister was saying a woman had been down into the site and asking if anyone wanted to read and write, I could not wait to go down to the site and get her number. I rang her and said I was in a house so would that matter and she said no. She comes here every week and teaches me.'

(Shirley, 2018).

When the women were asked if this learning had helped them, all said it made them feel more in control of their transition from caravan to house:

'It's hard to say, it was like when we first moved into a house there seemed so much that we needed to know and find out, I think just having this time and learning the basics made me feel I could understand some of the staff. I felt we were a bit in control and understood what was needed.'

(Lee, 2018).

When a school engages in the development of cultural knowledge of the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers communities, those who have children attending the school are appreciative of the effort. The development of children's relationships also sometimes means that parents can form a relationship. How in-depth the relationship is dependent on several factors, including the openness of dialogue:

'There is a woman in xxxx and when all this was going on [Incident on site resulting in attendance at court] in the family she asked if we were taking the children and I said no and she said that she would get the children from school and they could have

tea at hers and then she would bring them home.’ [When asked if this was a friendship or a compassionate act Cathleen said:]...We are friends, but it is very much, I don’t know how to say it, it’s very much on the top, we don’t tell each other a lot and it’s all about the children really, but she is a nice woman.’

(Cathleen, 2018).

To counteract the lack of knowledge or misinformation concerning Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller identity, many of the community foundation-based charities offer cultural awareness training. However, this has a cost implication, be it to the service itself or through accessing funding to produce training material. One Voice 4 Travellers’ chair Lisa Smith has stated:

‘It is amazing the lack of basic knowledge concerning the identification, uniqueness and cultural actions of the various groups in the Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller communities.’

(Smith, 2020).

Slootman’s (2018) study of ethnic identification together those of with Smaje's (1997) gives a good understanding of Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller identity:

‘Straight-line assimilation assumes that immigrants eventually will adapt to their new country. They will become increasingly similar and will eventually be seamlessly incorporated into mainstream society.’

(Slootman, 2018, p.3).

Slootman’s straight-line integration may be true, but the time factor of such integration varies, due to several factors including how receptive the host society is to ethnic

communities, and how much of a change the ethnic group has to undertake to become incorporated. In the Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Travellers communities in England, it is not only the traditional norms and values that are a barrier but also the language which is unique to each sector of said communities. Law (2010) adds the importance of language and the Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Travellers communities:

‘Ethnic identifiers, including language, identity, names and traditions, vary across these sub-groups [in the Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Travellers communities].’

(Law, 2010, p.90).

GRT communities use the language of their sector, together with knowledge of traditional traits as an indicator of identification and belonging. This identification technique can be described as the ‘family and friend’s connection’. An excellent example of how this is played out in the communities is at Appleby Fair. Each year, families from the GRT communities travel to the annual Appleby Fair. Some will buy and sell horses whilst the main aim of others is to see friends and relations. It is a time to dress up and, as David (NGO for this research) refers to it, ‘just enjoy being a Traveller’ (David, 2020). When meeting GRT you are not known to but who are from the same communities (English Gypsy, Irish Traveller, etc.), it is usual to have a conversation concerning ‘who are your people’. This means that each person talks about community members they are related to or know until some common links are recognised. Many from the communities use the phrase ‘everyone knows someone that knows someone’. Great suspicion is aroused by those who say they are from the communities but are unable to establish at least some links. This is particularly the case if they live near the person they are talking to. Immense pride and community ‘togetherness’ are maintained between members of the communities and any discrepancy in belonging is deeply frowned upon. In 2017, a few prominent Gypsy/Travellers/Roma were ‘outed’ on

Facebook as not being part of the communities. It was left to the accused to prove their connections.

New Travellers are not able to use the language identification process and do not have the baseline of similarity of cultural norms. Whilst the GRT communities try to retain their cultural norms and values when moved into a house, many talk about the 'New Traveller' family that live in the village/town and somehow get to know they are there:

'After we had been here a time, our son and one of the other young boys went a bit astray and started hanging out with the hippy family in the next village. I went up to them and told them not to keep encouraging them. The woman said she understood as we were all alike, them being New Travellers, I told her straight, we are not alike, you call yourselves New Travellers, well we are old Travellers and do things differently. I thought to myself look at her standing in front of me saying we are the same, if I rocked [talk in Romany] to her, she would not know a word I was saying and if I asked her who she knew she would not know a single person. Even when they are trying to live like us in trailers, they are different from the rest of us. Most of us do not mix with New Travellers much.'

(Lee, 2018).

Of those interviewed, one consideration when discussing the future would be to have Traveller schools, however, the Roma family worked with, came from Hungary and discussed not only the education here but also in their own country:

'Education for Gypsies in Hungary is poor, we do not get the best teachers in the schools. I cannot read or write very well, but we have our children in English Schools. A problem came about when the children started school, the teacher kept telling them

all about Hungary. In the end, we decided to tell them we were Hungarian and also Roma. [When asked whether this had helped, he answered:] I think they were a bit shocked, but from then on the children were not helped so much. [...] Schools just for Roma and all the others [Gypsy Romany/Roma Travellers] do not work.'

(Toka, 2018).

The majority of those from all sectors engaged with initially felt the idea of Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers, however, after discussing how it would be run and where the funding would come from, it was found that these constraints coupled with the high level of prejudice and description, this was not a real option and should not be undertaken.

6.1.4 Bullying

Guerin and Hennessy (2002) research is based on the fact that in the school system, children or young adults form groups. Those who do not fit with the perceived 'normal' of the groups, including GRT, are ostracised leading once again to the concept of 'other' and therefore they are open to negativity in the form of bullying from fellow students. For some GRT who are second or third generation housed, whilst the cultural aspects of life are still adhered to, the physical reality of nomadism is not something of which they have personal experience.

The lack of value placed on mainstream education, together with elevated levels of prejudice and racism in all occupations means that some Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller parents and guardians have decided on tactics to use if bullying presents itself. They also use others' experiences to justify why their children have not been sent to school:

'My children don't go to school because I will not put up with my children being picked on that is not good and I will not stand for it. You ask why not go to the people who are supposed to help and tell them, but I am telling you they do not understand us

enough to do anything. It can break your heart when you see a little child crying because they have been called names or no one will play with them in the playground. I can't afford to have a teacher come here, but I get my cousin who knows her letters and numbers (literacy and numeracy) to teach them the basics.'

(Kim, 2018).

Kim presumes that her children will be bullied, and the cost of bullying is too high a price to pay for literacy and numeracy. Others such as Ozzy (2018) extend the bullying to include the teachers. However, unlike Kim, Ozzy has her children home educated.

Justification for the non-valuing of school and consequently mainstream education stems from all responding cluster family and NGO workers placing school below the value of family. This means giving immense importance to learning if it takes place in the family and cultural environment rather than the school environment. The main rationale is that it is the women's job to bring up the children and make the home nice. The men tend to undertake physical work, therefore there is no motivation to study.

The National Federation of Gypsy Liaison Groups and Anglia Ruskin University have found that many Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller children and young people are too scared to continue attending mainstream secondary schools. Fear of bullying from those managing the schools is a key reason for non-attendance. However, historical data indicators and anecdotal evidence from site managers and community members suggest that school attendance has improved. Furthermore, salacious media portrayals of middle and secondary schools as environments riddled with drugs and sexual activity do little to instil confidence in the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers communities.

The nationally representative Friends, Families and Travellers Prejudice Survey (2021) of UK parents, lays bare the shocking level of prejudice still facing Gypsy and Traveller people in Great Britain excluding Northern Ireland. The key finding in the poll was that only a third of UK adults consider Gypsy/Traveller to be an ethnic group, and just over one in ten think that pubs and restaurants in the UK should refuse to serve Gypsies and Travellers because they are Gypsy/Traveller. Parents in Great Britain, are significantly more likely to say they would be unhappy with their child having a playdate at the home of a Gypsy/Traveller child and just 5% of British parents said they would be fairly or very unhappy with their child having a playdate at the home of a child who is of Black Caribbean ethnicity, compared to 37% who said they would be fairly unhappy/very unhappy with their child having a playdate at the home of a child who is a Gypsy/Traveller:

‘I have seen the men when working with the locals they start talking, when he was working, he used to be with some of them all day chatting. See Traveller men do not give a lot away, see that man told him his life story, but all he knew about him was his name and that he had grandchildren in the school.’

(Bella, 2018).

Bella is an English Romany, however, Irish Travellers also have this divide of being different from the local settled community:

‘I try to mix in a bit for my boys, but people do not want to know. A few months ago, I was waiting at the school because one of them was doing an after-school thing and I stood there with them women talking about how much rubbish there was and how you had to be careful about walking about at night now the site was so much bigger, and I thought what they think we are?’

(Ozzy, 2018).

Trease, who has undertaken work with Gypsy Roma/Romany and Travellers in the area of mental health, stated in an interview for this present research:

‘Parents can feel getting a house is both negative and positive in terms of children growing up. On the positive side, you have the fact that children get an ‘education’ which may enable them to read and write for themselves and other members of their families. However, parents can feel they are going to lose their culture. And it could add to that feeling of not fitting, it is a two-way thing, but people do start by saying ‘Gypsies are coming let us put up a partition’ Unfortunately not being able to read and write does create a barrier but if on a site and lots cannot read and write it is more normal.’

(Trease, 2016).

Whilst we have looked at education from both the mainstream and the Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities’ perspective, to sum up this section, I turn to Thompson who gives us a lot to think about when he writes:

‘Education should not be done ‘to’ the Gypsy Roma/Romany and Travellers communities. It needs to be ensured that the system is inclusive of the Gypsy Roma/Romany and Travellers communities and meets needs that exist in their established culture and traditions. It may be that there is a tension between Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities and the mainstream culture which exists in schools. Overlooking this and expecting Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities and young people to be assimilated into the existing school system could be construed as an act of unintentional racism.’

(Thompson, 2013, p.11).

6.2 Health

However, health and education are not the exceptions to the rule of obtaining services: GRT people's experiences of public services including housing, health and education are marred by discrimination, a cross-party group of peers has said. The Levelling Up, Housing and Community Secretary Michael Gove MP has produced a document which states: 'By 2030, the gap in Healthy Life Expectancy (HLE) between local areas where it is highest and lowest will have narrowed and by 2035 HLE will rise by five years.' (Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities, 2022).

6.2.1 Illness, Wording and Settling

A key component of decision-making around settling is healthcare and health service inequalities towards Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities have been shown to exist in England. The health system generally in England can be traced back to pre-war reports and the founding of the modern welfare state was the Beveridge (1942) Social Insurance and Allied Services Report. The report was presented to the future Prime Minister Clement Attlee in November 1942 who was then leader of the Labour Party. It contained suggestions for improvement of what was called the five 'giant evils' of want, ignorance, squalor, disease and idleness. At the time Attlee and the government of the day enacted all the recommendations made. Stephen Armstrong (2017) of The Guardian produced an article showing how the UK was again plagued by the same problems of the five giant evils. In terms of the modern GRT communities, a range of sources state that GRT have the poorest health outcomes than any other social or ethnic group.

The word 'depressed' is widely used in the GRT communities to describe a feeling of unhappiness and is not a clinical diagnosis. Two of the women in this study had sought

medical help and thus had been diagnosed with depression, all the others had not asked for medical intervention. The increase in mental health issues relating to moving and living in housing is in line with the research by Trease and Shepard (2004), who found that moving into housing results in an increase in mental ill health. Indeed, whilst 50 per cent considered themselves ‘depressed’, all families spoken to for this research at some point in the proceedings addressed how moving into housing was isolating and excluding. The majority felt that whilst access to health services had improved through living in a house, the feelings of loneliness and isolation which affected well-being were an extremely high price to pay.

In 2019, the House of Commons produced a Briefing paper concerning the health of Gypsy Roma/Romany and Travellers communities and called for more collaboration in health services. Several studies have identified the poor health experiences of Gypsy and Traveller groups compared with the general population, including higher rates of mortality, morbidity and long-term health conditions, low child immunisation levels and a higher prevalence of anxiety and depression.

‘The National Inclusion Health Board has called for more joined-up work by local authorities, the NHS responsible health agencies and local public health services to improve the health outcomes of Gypsy Roma/Romany and Travellers.’

(Cromarty, 2019).

In 2019, research undertaken by the charity One Voice 4 Travellers looked at barriers to understanding between health services and the Gypsy and Traveller communities in Suffolk. Their findings showed little progress since Van Cleemput (2007) in Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities understanding the systems of health services. Staff in the health

services understanding of the cultural needs of the Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities was also not progressing (Barrett and Codona, 2019). Furthermore:

‘The situation concerning the health of the Gypsy and Traveller communities is also replicated in the Roma communities. In terms of the Roma communities, there is emerging evidence that health inequalities of Roma people are similar to those identified among Gypsy Romany and Travellers, including a high prevalence of diabetes, cardiovascular disease, premature myocardial infarction, obesity, asthma and mental health issues such as stress, anxiety and depression EC (2014). Poor familiarity with healthcare provisions and language barriers may make it difficult for them to access health services’

(Lane et al., 2014, p.5).

In terms of the elderly Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities, Age UK has produced information concerning working with older Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller community members. Also, in terms of health in the elderly communities, research by Van Cleemput (2010) study was clear that men within the communities died much earlier than in main stream, I find myself considering why male community members die so young and have long-term conditions. I cannot recall a Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities’ man ever retiring on issues of health. An example of this is Ben, a Traveller in his seventies who continues to go on holiday with his wife and nephew (his nephew is in his late sixties) and thus, both men pull a caravan and then set up when they arrive at a destination. When the male participants were asked, the majority stated that although a number of them were disabled, they still wanted to ‘do my bit as a man’.

6.3 Access to services - health

Health and social services are stated as available for all in England but there are difficulties around access to health and social services for Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities.

6.3.1 Social Services

Talking with men, only group of the cluster families, one talked of his early life on the road and how the Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities view social services:

‘I often think when I see on the television or read about it, that they go on and on about how much money they spend on moving Travellers on, all they got to do is go down to the families and say the social people are coming down about the children/elderly/disabled. The Travellers would be gone in hours. See when I was growing up, I remember one time we were all pulled up doing apple picking and there was a big wood near where we were. Someone came running down to the apple orchard ‘The social workers are coming in black vans’ saying ‘black vans’ meant they were coming to see about the children. I can remember getting back to the camp and seeing the people chucking things into the back of the lorries to get away. I remember going up in our place [caravan] and my mum was trying to pack her things down and my dad shouting at her ‘We do not have time for that, leave them if they break, they break. He then called me and some of the other older teenagers and we had to run to the woods with the little children and stay until the men got us. We were running, the girls had the babies in slings and we boys were carrying the younger ones. As we were going out of the camp the people were shouting get them to the wood, stay in the wood. I have never been so frightened in my life. When we moved into a house because she [wife] was not doing so good [ill health] and the Doctor said he would contact social services to help us, I just wanted to run away and I blamed our grown-

up children and kept telling them we were going, [leaving the house]. To be honest the two women from social services that came here were nice and they did help us a lot.'

(Ben, 2018).

Vera also added her experience:

'My cousin has been disabled since he was born, he is like a toddler even now he is a man, but a toddler inside, so it's things like he still has a bottle and that sort of thing, well they moved into a house, thinking it would be better. As soon as they got into the house their Doctor had social services at the door, they [social services] went in, looked all around the house and said that 'this and that' needed changing and he needed to have this or needed that. They [the families] cannot move like my Uncle said they have to stop where they are and how they are doing what social services tell them or they will take him into care [when asked if had there been any discussion about this]. They have not talked about it, but you know what they are coming for, they think we are all dirty and cannot look after him, but we managed until now. You cannot trust them [social services] it is as simple as that.'

(Vera, 2018).

6.3.2 Access to GPs

A key element of access to health is the general practitioner (GP) practices. This section focuses on GP practices and their relationship with the Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities. Friends, families and Travellers (2020), produced a report which used 'mystery shoppers' who approached 74 GP practices to register but stated they had no fixed address.

Even though it is the law that you can register as a temporary patient, all of the GP practices refused to let them register.

When Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities do find a doctor they trust, they will travel many miles to attend appointments rather than change doctors. Of those that have settled, many will remain with a doctor they trusted when they were nomadic, thus it is common to find members of the Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities who are settled to be registered with a GP practice which is some distance away:

‘We have been with our Doctor since my girl came into the world [daughter now grown up]. I trusted his father and now I trust him [GP had taken over from his father’s practice]. I know it means that if I need to see him, I have to do a round trip of one hundred-plus miles, but I do not care about that because I feel comfortable with him. [when suggested GP being from another area may not always know the services available where the families lived, replied] Of course he knows what is about, he is a Doctor so he must know. Unless he stopped being a Doctor then I will keep going to him.’

(Shirley, 2018).

Returning to Vera, she also tells us about her medical needs:

‘I have a lot of things wrong with me, but I would rather go a few miles and see my doctor than find a new one because Doctor XXX is a good man. I have known him so long that he understands me and what I am talking about. My health was one of the reasons we moved into a house I just could not keep travelling anymore.’

(Vera, 2018).

The problem of access to both physical and mental health services together with the isolation that can be found when settling adds to the difficulties of engagement:

‘When we moved into a house, I was lonely. At first, I missed the site, the chats with the other women, sitting outside seeing the children playing and them coming to talk. After a while, I stop trying to talk to the neighbours and I become lonelier and lonelier. Now I have this thing where I cannot go out, I just sit in this box [house], has my life changed then yes it has but not for the better.’

(Ozzy, 2018).

6.3.3 Health and Economic Factors

Whilst health and access to health services are cited as factors that influence the decision-making process for living in a house, it is joined by other factors which include economic activities.

Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller people acquire health conditions associated with old age in the mainstream community. The Hungarian Roma stated that children in their communities were expected to work, and begging was not seen as a detrimental activity for young children. But it was always done under the watchful eye of adults until the children were considered ‘street wise’; in other words, they were able to assess risks to themselves when active. The fact that Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities start to work younger than their equivalents in the local settled community does result in health problems in later life being more advanced in comparison to the same age and sex in general society. The results of this study are in line with the work of Parry et al. (2007):

‘Results indicate that this sample of Gypsy Roma/Romany and Travellers Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities had significantly poorer health status and

more self-reported symptoms of ill health than other England-resident, English-speaking ethnic minorities and poor white England residents. On the standardized measure EQ-5D, the health status of these Gypsy Roma/Romany and Travellers is worse than that of their age–sex matched comparators. Self-reported chest pain, respiratory problems and arthritis were also more prevalent in the Traveller group.’

(Parry et al., 2007, p.28).

6.4 What the Gypsy, Romany Travellers Did During the Covid-19 Virus

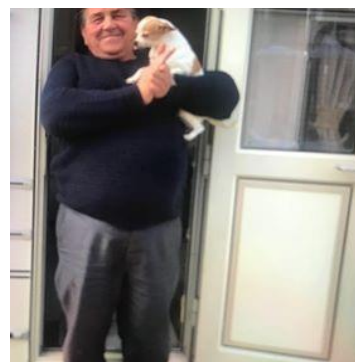
One of the most recent shows of solidarity and appreciation for the NHS was during the COVID pandemic. As the disease spread, the government put in place several restrictions for the general society to follow such as social distancing and isolation, including people



Figure 11a- Gypsy family during COVID 19



Figure 11b- Gypsy family during COVID 19



working from home if possible. Shops and services were shut down with many employees being furloughed.

Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller community members, like the majority of UK society abided by the government measures. They also joined forces with other communities in England to undertake a show of support for health staff. Every Thursday evening at eight o'clock, families stood outside their homes and clapped thanking the staff and key workers in health.

The photos below show photographs taken by a member of the Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities living on the Erith Site, Cambridge. Isabelle, who took the photographs, at the time of the shutdown and gave them to me (once site became open again) said, 'I wanted to take the photos as wanted people to know we did abide by the rules as much as we could.' (Bella 2018).

The fact that Bella did not take part in the cluster family's work, but felt she needed proof that their site did shut and did participate in the campaign. She had little trust that mainstream society would not believe that had done what was recommended during the time of COVID.

Many community members who had a family member die from the virus in hospital gave large quantities of various items to the hospital staff and some of the wealthiest members of the communities made large donations to local hospitals. The media reported none of this.

What was reported was headlines such as '*Big Fat Gypsy Funeral – Gypsy families ignore coronavirus social distancing rules as 40 turn up to funeral*' (Pattinson, 2020). Yet as we can see with the photos above, we can see the measures the GRT communities took:

‘If one of my children [referring to her children who are adults and married] or my grandchildren fell ill I would go to them and that would be that and if I got the virus then I get it.’

(Bella, 2018).

Considerable concern was expressed that some customs could not be carried out during this time. ‘The thing is that carrying out the rules to keep all safe is fine but it is a big ‘but’ what has been done now, say like not attending a funeral, we have to live with for the rest of our lives.’ (Jim, 2018).

The majority of those taking part in this research and living in housing felt separated from fellow community members even when living close to a site. It was interesting that whilst settled in housing, except the Roma, all other family clusters felt moving back into a caravan was a good action when under threat.

6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, we discussed education and health and how these affect the decision-making process of Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller community members when settling down. It can be seen that there are many factors affecting the health and education of GRT, with lack of access to service across the UK. Many members of these communities have a shorter life-span and leave education early, or leave with poor grading. Thus, many are moving into settled communities in order to be able to access higher quality services.

Throughout this thesis, we have looked at research and have included photos and quotations from Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities who are living the life, together with those who have worked closely with Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities over several years together with academics/researchers of Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller

communities. However, every little progression has been achieved in terms of amalgamation indeed returning to Maslow's hierarchy of need we can see overall little progress has been made in progression of psychological need or, for that matter, safety needs.

Chapter 7-Working and Employment Within GRT Communities

7.1 Introduction

We have established cultural norms and values for the GRT communities concerning birth, marriage and death. It was also proven, primarily through the work of Todaro (2013), that some traits are used by several ethnic groups. However, whilst this needs to be acknowledged, as stated throughout this present thesis this work is not a comparative study, but is from the GRT communities in East Anglia and those that work closely with them to understand the situation for families that settle. Within this chapter, we initially look at the work circuit before moving and the economic activities of GRT community members.

7.2 The Work Circuit

In this context, the work circuit refers to the activities undertaken by people to achieve a purpose or a result. The development and sustainability of this circuit sometimes span generations and produce historical connections with an area. One of the greatest influences on the work circuit was motorisation:

‘This development allowed families to be stationary in one place longer as they were able to travel long distances and thus cover a much wider geographical area for work.’

(Acton, 1994, p.47).

Many clusters that have worked on a particular farm may well be able to live on the farmer's land, however, once the work was completed, they would be expected to move on. Also, we need to remember that the law was still mainly around them moving off from lay-bys etc. For others, whilst they may be able to secure work, they are unable to stay on the farmer's land and thus have to move onto byways etc. In cases such as this, the whole family may go into the fields due to the high risk of violence and prejudice in local villages.

Traditionally, additional or new work was undertaken in two main ways. Firstly, some traditional seasonal work is anyone's, therefore, any family can go onto a field and work crops (such as peas or strawberries which are priced per box or bag and fall under this category), secondary work on a particular farm is considered a cluster family domain, with families coming back year on year through generations. With the first type of work, whilst families intended to earn money, it was also a good time for socialising. Many of the young people doing the work spent some time 'just having a quick word with' an old friend. It was a time to rekindle friendships with fellow community members. In the second situation, the cluster family who work for the farm session may not be able to do all the work. At this point, other family clusters were invited to help, or certain families might become aware that another was struggling to find work. In which case they might offer part of the work to them. In this situation, the head male of the first clusters would ask the farmer if the others could stay on the land and include the second clusters under his personal 'management' in terms of quality of work. Families seeking work were deeply frowned upon if they approached a farmer, whilst knowing other families were already established on the farm and they had not involved them in the negotiation.

The hostile attitude towards Roma workers being blamed for the limited farm work available lies in the Gypsy Roman and Travellers communities' perception, regarding the ethics of obtaining work from a farmer.

'It's not the farmer, we have an unwritten rule to don't take work from other families if they are working on the farm and you talk to them first, but these Roma from other countries don't do that, they just come along and do the work no matter how long your Family has been going to the farm.'

(Billy, 2018).

It is not possible to determine the percentage of farmers who allow Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Travellers to live on their land. All those taking part in this research reported that once the work was finished, they were expected to move on within a few days. However, a relationship between farmers and the GRT communities existed. I have been told by family members that when my father died, a group of farmers and farmhands from the farms we worked on came to his funeral. This was not an exception to the rule but rather was (and still is) the normality, to see farmers attending the funeral of someone from the GRT communities with whom they have built a relationship over years of work. Many farmers also showed great compassion to families in times of need. For example, when a young child died in a caravan fire in Cambridgeshire, the farmer who owned the field the caravan was on, said that he would not work that section of the field so that the families could go back to the spot of the accident if they so wished.

When looking at the function of attachment, once Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Travellers are considering their attachment to a place, they also look at how they transfer skills from nomadism to settlement.

‘For Gypsy or Irish Travellers (16 and over) in employment, elementary occupations (such as farm workers, process plant workers or service/staff) were the most common type of employment at 22% (11% for England and Wales). The second highest occupation was skilled trades at 19% such as agricultural, electric and building trades, higher than England and Wales and all other ethnic groups. However, the 2011 British Census also found that Gypsies and Irish Travellers were the ethnic groups with the lowest employment rates and highest levels of economic inactivity. Gypsies and Irish Travellers also had the highest unemployment rate.’

(Cromarty, 2019).

When looking at barriers to accessing employment, Ryder and Greenfields (2010) and, Greenfields and Smith (2011), examined government strategies to deal with unemployment in Black & Minority Ethnic (BME) groups. Whilst governments have put into place strategies concerning unemployment and getting people into employment from BME groups, ‘...little attention has been paid to the economic position or working practices of Gypsy Roma/Romany and Travellers.’ (Greenfields and Smith, 2011, p.50). Berlin (2015) argues that:

‘Travellers have tried to adapt to modernisation, but increased urbanisation resulting from the loss of traditional stopping places and reduction in employment opportunities, coupled with the lack of caravan sites, has forced many unwillingly ‘settled’ members of the communities to abandon self-employment and made them more dependent on state benefits.’

(Berlin, 2015, p.82).

This all gives a disparaging view of Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller skills. Nothing is acknowledged about the transferable skills from fieldwork to industry; for example, the skills of a ganger are on par with those of a factory supervisor. Breaking down the skills, we can see interpreting instructions from farmers requires the same level of skill as interpreting instructions from a factory manager to a supervisor, and from a supervisor to a factory worker. Another way in which these skills are used, but which is seldom written about, is Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Travellers communities who run businesses employing local people from both the settled and the GRT groups.

‘My brother who is a bit older than me owns a lorry-driving business and his sons now run the business. For years they have employed gorgers as he said as long as they

have their HGV licence, want regular work and know how to collect and deliver haulage then he does not care who they are. They are employed and get their wages like they would in any firm. The business is a big one and he has accounts, lawyers and so on. Like we always said not bad for a man who finds it hard to sign his name, but not being able to read and write does not make you stupid it means you have to have a good memory and do things to overcome the problem. His boys run the business now and they are good scholars, but he used to go to meetings, meet with the accountant and lawyers and his wife could read and write a bit so they managed.’

(Frank, 2018).

Frank is not alone in discussing how Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers can, and do, undertake various jobs and hold various employment positions:

‘My girl and my brother's boy run a high company for weddings. The company is contacted by the family when someone is getting married and then they go and do all the decorations in the church or venue where getting married and if different also where holding the reception. I am so proud of them, they did not just sit back and say ‘We don’t have a job, so give us money’, they went out and earned it. The business is all above board so anyone can come and look at their books.’

(Harry, 2018).

Evidence from this research suggests that business is built up from existing skills being developed. Once again, the majority of those who run businesses, and therefore function in the field of business, do not make their ethnicity known in the business world, particularly when bidding for contracts and setting up suppliers. Those I have spoken to like to get back to the family graves once a week, so do not like to be too far away.

‘I just cannot understand how [non-Gypsy Roman/Roma and Travellers] people think we just move around all over the place. How do they think we make a living or look after graves and things? I like to get back to the graves once a week, so I do not like to be too far away.’

(Cat, 2018).

The general European migrant population (of which Roma are a part) has grown significantly in England since 2004, when several Central and East European states joined the EU. When Roma came to England, many were willing to undertake low-skilled jobs including farm work, which has traditionally been the domain of the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers communities.

This casual labour culture increases competition for available jobs, particularly in wages, with many immigrants agreeing to lower wages than the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers workforce. At the same time, developments in farm technology mean less manpower is required to undertake farm work. The simple economics of supply and demand means that the increased availability of labour, together with a decline in the need for that labour, results in a drastically decreased need for seasonal casual workers. The continuation of this situation means that for many Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers undertaking traditional work, it is getting more difficult to find each year.

Information from the Human Rights Law Centre (2012) is clear, that for Roma living in England:

‘...work is for low wages on temporary contracts organised by gang experts and recruitment agencies. Their vulnerable position is often exploited... Many live-in substandard accommodations and are shared with other families.’

(Human Rights Law Centre, 2012, p. 19).

Chris from cluster family E, gives an insight into how the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers communities feel about the situation:

‘Years ago, I worked on a farm that was all of us but bit by bit they [the foreigners] came. They came and kept talking and talking but were in a foreigner’s way of speaking so none of us could understand them. One day I said to this man ‘What they keep talking about mate’ and he said they do not want you on the field with them, I am telling you God’s truth that is what he said. At the end we left, we just walked off the field and did not go back there for years. He [Frank] did not do that, he was on a lorry, and he knocked all their strawberry boxes over to serve them right.’

(Chris, 2018).

A discussion with cluster family C went on to give examples of how this ‘go anywhere’ may have come about. The result was that the majority of those present felt that it had developed from the traditional occupations undertaken (such as dancing and fortune telling) could, and was, shown in history to be used so therefore, the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers were able to travel in various directions and still make money. However, it was pointed out that if this was the case then the image of the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller communities was vastly out of date.

Goffman (1959), working on an observational study of individuals, noted how individuals wanted others to see them in a way that they found credible and someone worth spending time with. His work looks at how a person may undertake actions which they feel make them the person they claim to be. In an interview with Laka, they stated:

‘Since we have been in this house I do wear a bit of make-up, just really because the other women always seem to have it on when I go down the shop in the village, so I put it on. You got to try to be like them if you want to get on, but I’m not going to fare with all this, it’s all right wearing a bit of lipstick, but I still am a Roma.’

(Laka, 2018).

However, with face-to-face interaction, the other person bases their assumption of the person on unintentional actions, mannerisms, and gestures. From this foundation, Blumer (1969) and Deleuze (1992) worked on social interaction and the process of using face-to-face encounters, including technologically mediated encounters (for example, using Skype) and the pre-established behaviour patterns individuals can and are expected to follow. The symbolic interaction that takes place when members of the GRT or indeed any group change their values and also self-concept and in the majority of cases is about the mainstream community that they engage with.

7.3 Women in Work

Throughout history, Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller women have tried to earn money through hawking, i.e., selling items door to door.



Figure 12- Woman making items to sell



Figure 13- Members of the Buckley family undertaking one of the many 'domestic home tasks.'

As the Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller settle, the gender roles are becoming less defined and in the cluster family who took part in this study, all had women and girls who were undertaking non-traditional work roles of the home. We will see throughout this chapter that whilst the role of women and girls has changed, it is not in keeping with mainstream society's views.

Several issues were identified concerning women and girls from the GRT and work. The majority of those who go outside the home to work, consider their job to be secondary to their role as daughter, wife or mother. In the GRT communities, women and girls' key roles are traditionally considered to be looking after the home and children. Historically, they added to the income of the family by making and selling items door-to-door, but only after carrying out the role of caregiver and homemaker.

Whether settled long term or nomadic, the vast majority of Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers (both male and female) still consider that the priority of the woman is to be a homemaker:

‘I have never wanted to be actively working and making my own money it is not what we do. We are important because we look after the home and bring up the children. My poor old mother God rest her soul [using the words ‘my poor’ indicated the person is deceased] used to say to me ‘You look after the home make it clean and comfortable and he will want to come home and will not stray’. That is my job to look after the children and make the home nice for us all.’

(Stephanie, 2018).

‘Being a woman and a Gypsy Traveller is challenging work, you are brought up to be the homemaker and you learn all your life that this is what you are born for. When people come along and start talking about going to school so you can get an excellent job, it means nothing to us because we know that we are going to get married and have children.’

(Bella, 2018).

‘My mum used to say ‘If you’re a woman you have to make silver into gold [asked what this means]. It is that if a woman has a say in her purse, she has to make it work like a £1.’

(Peggy, 2018).

Irrespective of the ethnicity, the majority of women interviewed, all retain the values of the traditional role of women in terms of viewing ‘their job’ and how they consider themselves to be ‘head of finance’ in terms of administering the payment of bills, etc. However, the man is still the head of the family and, thus, the ultimate decision-maker. Consequently, if the man decides to do things in a different way to the woman, his decision will take precedence.

Charlie, and NGO worker states:

‘Whilst this traditional role of women and girls from the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers communities is the most common, this has been misrepresented as women not undertaking work outside of the home. This study clarifies the situation – as Charlie, an NGO worker, points out. The people worked and grafted. This thing about it being shameful for Traveller women to work and earn a living must be very recent because it is alien to my experience. Our life was nothing like that. We all knew how to earn money.’

(Charlie, 2016).



Figure 14- Cooper family women at work, Miley private collection

This can be seen in Figure 13 which shows women and girls doing fieldwork. Traditionally, when they were nomadic, the women undertook fieldwork (such as sugar beet hoeing) although their primary role remained as homemakers. However, in more of the settled families:

‘If I have not been bringing money in, I have seen my job as making the money work as hard as it can. We Traveller women do what we must do for the best of our families. When we decided to stop and move into a house I worked hard with our money, but I will be honest the bills just kept

coming. I used to walk down the old lane here. It is just outside of the village and where we had stopped every year when we were travelling, it is my thinking place, the place I feel at home. It is the place that holds my memories.'

(Bet, 2018).

Yet all respondents from the GRT communities were clear that the work of women and girls outside of the home is still secondary to their role of wife, mother, and sister. When undertaking work in mainstream society, the majority of those taking part in this research talk about how, if possible, they hid their identity in the workplace:

'I have done work in a factory before and to be honest I enjoyed it. I worked with a couple of nice girls, well I thought they were, but after a while, they said did, I want to go over to the pub on a Friday dinner time for a drink. The pub was opposite the factory loads of people in the factory used to go over there, but I knew that my dad would go mad if he found out so I said 'No thanks' I did feel different I felt like the outsider and the longer I worked there the more I felt it, so I was glad when I left because after a while they did not include me in the jokes or messing about, I was very lonely.'

(Sue, 2018).

This is in keeping with the findings of Greenfields and Smith (2013) who explains 75% of women in the cluster family, tell of hiding their ethnicity in the settled workplace. The majority of the women interviewed held part-time jobs cleaning private houses. Others worked in the care industry, thus using their experience of 'looking after and keeping home'. When working with people outside of the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers communities,

the vast majority of women taking part in this research felt that relationships were on a superficial level and easily broken.

‘I have known flatties [settled non-Gypsy Roman/Roma and Travellers] who I worked with, but whilst we talk and laugh they are not your friend because if something goes wrong or missing you are the first person they look at and it is that which has to change before anything else changes. [Asked how they know that they are being blamed] You just do, it’s trivial things like once they know they keep bags up and before that they have asked trivial things like if you could get them a drink from the café’ or something, that all stops. It may be nothing big that happens, but you can feel it, it is just under the skin, just under the surface waiting to come out. It’s not a nice feeling.’

(Cathy, 2018).

It was interesting to note that whilst the women from cluster groups talked about the role of women in the home and workplace, it was the male members such as Chris, who talked about situations in terms of management, particularly concerning the allocation of traditional fieldwork. This contrasts with the ‘funny story’ previously told by Bet, concerning her leaving her job and also handing in her family members’ notice. Looking at the male and female stories being told, it is noticeable that the male members took a firmer approach, whereas the female is much more concerned about the irony of the situation.

7.4 Racism

Hiding of ethnicity is done in several ways. Jenny discusses how her father at work made sure that his appearance and paperwork were, as he felt, up to the standard required:

‘Most of us in this family are second-generation housed but the feeling is innate and from my father. He would never go to work without a shirt and tie on and was always on time. I call it ‘stay away from the edge’ and he was particular with paperwork and his timesheet, we had to help to fill it in at home because he could not do it but would not think of asking someone at work to help. When we went with him in his lorry it was a treat, but some rules were followed. He would stop before we got to where he delivered the goods, he would do his hair and tell us to do our hair and make sure we were presentable.’

(Jenny, 2018).

Jenny also gave an example of how discrimination at work can manifest itself. The position Jenny is talking about was a middle management type of position she held in the service sector for which she was fully qualified and had in-depth experience. She talked about how the non-Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers were going to ‘get her’. She also talked about the fact she felt it was not a case of if they got her, but when. She described her experience in terms of holding a position of authority, yet still feeling unable to do anything about the situation.

‘It has been over a year now since I worked where I did and the boss did what she did. I honestly believe and I use the word believe very carefully, but I do believe that the Chief Executive of the organisation that I was honest with about being a Traveller/Gypsy, then decided to attack me because of my honesty. I was 56-year-old what I knew in my guts was still true, four comes before 5 and 5 before 6 were facts so was this a fact? It was not a feeling it was a fact, such a fact that it damaged my health for a period. There was no way she was going to let me stay once she knew [asked about the law] You know and I know the law is great but there is a difference between what happens in real life and what the law says.’

(Jenny, 2018).

Another example of discrimination at work by fellow workers was told by Bet, a Gypsy. She gives an in-depth account of how discrimination resulted in her and a family member handing in their notice (what Bet called 'taking the sack'):

'When me and her [pointing to another female in the group] first started work, we got this job. It was a factory job but not many people worked there. Anyway, we worked there for a time and this one man kept on saying things about Gypsy Roma/Romany and Travellers not to us but in our earshot. Well after about two months I became unwell, it was just a bad head cold, but I decided to not go to work that day. In the afternoon away she came home and when I went up to her place [her family home] and asked what had happened she said he'd been on again about Gypsies this and Gypsies that so she had taken the sack from the employment and come home, so I said, well I'm not going on my own so I'll do the same when I go back, don't worry came her reply I've already taken the sack for you as well We couldn't stop laughing at her not only had she took the sack but took it for me as well, it was so funny.

[Asked if did they anything such as report the person making the remarks?] No, don't be silly, he was one of the workers and they could all hear him saying things and no one said anything. I am not saying they all felt as he did but not one person would tell him to be quiet or leave us alone.'

(Bet, 2018).

The majority of those spoken to were sure that being from the GRT communities was detrimental to being employed, and therefore all had at some time in their life did not divulge their ethnicity at work due to feeling they would be treated worse than, or at best differently,

from other employees. Several strategies are commonly used in the workplace to disengage from ethnicity identification. These include using a family member's house address that is considered settled. In large Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers communities, it is more difficult, and they might have to engage with those such as the tax office when starting new employment:

‘When I started to work in the care home, I tried to be friendly, but I did not tell them I was a Traveller because if I am honest, I did not want the hassle of it all. I just wanted to do the job, come home and that was that. It was the first time I had to decide if I would tell or not, we lived in a trailer on a site so it was obvious who we were.’

(Sally, 2018).

Whilst Sally talks openly about not telling other members of the working group about her ethnicity, it was not until another member of the GRT communities entered the environment (albeit for a brief time), that Sally began to relay the negativity of hiding ethnicity.

‘One day at work I spotted [name]. He is a well-known Traveller man around these parts and he and his boy had come to get some metal just bits and pieces that the home had. I did not know what to do, I wanted to say hello to him because he is a nice man, but then if I did that would be that the other staff would know. So, what I did was hide in the women's toilet until I thought he would be gone or at least moved away from my bit, I did not think he had seen me. But a few weeks later I was with the family and visiting someone when he and his family showed up, he said to me that he thought he had seen me at home and I said that I had not seen him, he looked straight at me and said, ‘that's all right girl I understand’ and smiled. I felt a total and

utter pig and ashamed of myself, but I had already heard them [other staff members] saying things about the Gypsies and other names, so God alone knows what they would have done if they had found out.'

(Sally, 2018).

Newspaper articles over recent years have started to not only place Roma as 'other', but also as the enemy of the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers communities. An example of this is an article by Hennessy (2010) in the *Wisbech Standard* 13 August p6 who reported that:

'Seasonal labour is nothing new for the Fens, it has been a feature of life for centuries. In decades past, travellers and gypsy's students and the poor from London came during harvest time. ... Eastern Europe accents matched if not outnumbered those of the locals. One-third of the population is believed to be foreigners.'

(Hennessy, 2010).

Although the report is sympathetic, it places Roma as the outsider. Taylor (2008) writes extensively about work and also how 'Gypsies have been portrayed as helpless in the face of industrialisation, modern technology and urban advance.' (Taylor, 2008, p.19). However, findings from the NGO workers and cluster families in this research are clear that although they are portrayed as helpless, this is not the case. The majority will use skills obtained from the past when undertaking new industrialised working practices. However, poor literacy levels do mean that jobs in modern technology needing computer literacy may be more difficult to access. Information from the 2011 British Census indicates that skills developed through working the land can be transferred to occupations such as the service industry or the electrical and building trades.

7.5 Settling

Whilst the local settled community may treat them differently, there is also pressure from the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers communities for a person to conform to the etiquette of cultural norms. It is not common to hear ‘trying to be like a gorger’ being said as a derogatory comment, particularly among the younger generation. Whilst visiting the cluster families I was, on occasion able to also talk to those outside of the cluster groups. When I asked why this was used, I was told by the youths on one site I was visiting:

‘It is that you’re selling out, stop being us and starting to try and be like them the gorgers, it would be like one black man telling another that they were trying to be white.’

(Tom, 2018).

When settling, Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers families may not have a regular guaranteed income, but they will now have to deal with regular outgoing financial commitments. Many families, for the first time, could find themselves having to access the benefits system. Analysis of feedback by key service providers shows fears that Universal Credit will have a detrimental effect on the communities and may force many families back on the road.

‘The highly mobile statistic of the last three years of 30-40 unauthorised encampments and this year we have had one hundred unauthorised with the largest percentage being from the Irish Traveller communities. We have more settled Gypsies than Irish Travellers, it appears that the communities are more mobile, but we do not know if this is because a lot of the Irish Traveller sites are in London and with the PIP [Personal Independence Payment] and Universal Credit money being capped and it is

so expensive to live in London because our pitches are £67 per week theirs are £140 per week. Those on benefits are being hit by it so big families are being capped so could not find the money to pay the rent, for new families you are capped at three children, and you are capped at £24,000 anyway Now what I do not understand is why not cap the money but carry on paying the rent, etc. and cap the fags and beer money.'

(Anonymous 2, 2016).

Linda also gives an example of the above situation:

'I have a resident, who has an alcoholic husband, and she has ten children she has been capped, so he drinks the money, and she just could not pay the rent. She is still getting X amount per year but out of that she is trying to keep twelve people and pay her rent and water rates. I have another tenant, a young girl of twenty-three with three children and she now gets Universal Credit, and she could not cope. She is used to living week to week and she could cope with this, but for four weeks with no money and then a big lump she could not cope, and this is what will push people back onto the road.'

(Linda, 2016).

Anonymous 2 and Linda discuss the benefits situation in terms of living on-site, but the same point was made by Clark and Greenfields (2006) for families moving into housing:

'Not only do families have to come to terms with living among potentially hostile neighbours, but there is limited research evidence (and anecdotal information gathered from communities NGO workers and Travellers themselves) which indicates that Travellers often find it quite difficult to cope with the necessity of paying rent

and water bills as opposed to purchasing gas and fuel as and when they are needed. Consequently, budgeting problems frequently arise for newly housed Travellers and some families can find themselves in debt for the first time in their lives.'

(Clark and Greenfields, 2006, p.108).

Whilst members of the general society, reinforced by the media, maintain the perception that the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers communities live on benefits, in the communities themselves, very few women would admit to having a low income in the home. Those who do would change the negative predicament of low income into a positive account of how the families, and particularly the women, cope with this.

The way money and wealth are portrayed in these communities when settling down and engaging with the local community gives a false impression that the family has substantial wealth which is not always true. This can mean that families are not getting the benefits they are entitled to, and many will overspend in an attempt to show they have wealth. For example, a cousin of mine said the school had asked if everyone could bring something in for Christmas so they could then have a Secret Santa, but the family were not able to afford this. However, she wanted to show how they were able to give their children anything they wanted, so she did not pay the rent but bought it for every child in the class.

'If I have not been bringing money in, I have seen my job as making the money work as hard as it can. We Traveller women do what we must do for the best of our families.'

(Joan, 2018).

Mary, a key worker with the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers communities in East Anglia, goes one step further and considers the future in terms of economic trends, and the resulting position for Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers over the next 50 to 60 years:

‘I think the economy does not look as rosy as it could be and if people start to find it hard to earn a living, then people historically have looked to find a minority to blame. This is a real caveat for some factual issues. But if that is overcome and it can be overcome, even if it is slowly over time ‘full’ integration and understanding will occur. If we think 50 to 60 years down the lifeline a lot of people will be interested in learning about the traditional ways of Travellers, unless things go pear-shaped in the economy and people have to go back on the road because they cannot afford to live in a settled way, very gradually a nomadic way of life will be phased out.’

(Mary, 2018).

7.6 Conclusion

To understand what makes a Roma family choose England to settle and try to make their home here, an engagement took place with Roma from Hungary (cluster family B) who explained their reasons for leaving Hungary and coming to England:

‘It is expensive in Hungary so we come here and work and earn money, then we can save and help our families back home. One day we can go home and live a good life. We do not want to be given money, we can do a lot of jobs and are willing to do them. Some of us have learned how to do things like be a carpenter but we do not have the papers so people will not take us on. Men like me, back home, work with animals and wood but because of the lack of education usually without recognised papers, we cannot find work. I hope soon to get a job here in England in the building works. In

Hungary women and girls go and do the selling things at the marketplace place but here this cannot happen because of all the rules the government has, so we join an agency and they find us garden [working in fields] and we share them with Gypsy, Romany and Travellers, but although we are all from the same people and have same experience, in England the GTR do not like us, yet we face the same problems as them when getting employment and have to decide if to say we are Roma or not say.'

(Zelor, 2018).

As a further example, in the 1970s, Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Travellers living on sites found it difficult to register with GPs, hence their dependence on A&E departments at hospitals (Okely, 2020). GRT community members often do not consider they are poor and indeed many run businesses, are self-employed and are affluent. Although the aforementioned report says employment rates are low, this refers to employment by others and not self-employment. The culture of family-centred living is considered by them to be the ideal way of life, but because of social exclusion, they are in a state of poverty resulting in inequality of life chances. This results in their self-esteem often being low and they do not feel their voice is heard in the decision-making processes of general society.

Whilst the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller divide exists, the sad fact is that throughout this section, it has been made clear that when they are employed in mainstream society, all felt that racism and prejudice were part of the working life, so much so that some took the step to conceal their ethnicity. This suggests a lack of confidence in the protection of the law.

7.6 Conclusion

As we have established within this chapter the role of Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller women has changed over recent times, however, the question remains is that: have the views

and values changed in line with modern-day general society? Here we compare the British Social Attitudes Survey 2018 with the findings of this chapter. It is worth noting that whilst this research is across the region of East Anglia, there is no reason to presume that the finding would be significantly different if undertaken in another region, and thus a comparison between Britain and East Anglia is of value.

Sharon Marris of Sky News in 2019, reported on *The British-social-attitudes survey 1983* concerning a shift away from traditional roles. She reported:

‘Nancy Kelley, deputy chief executive at the National Centre for Social Research, said: "It's encouraging to see that the vast majority of the public support sharing parental leave - a driver for equality in the workplace as well as a policy that helps families make decisions about home and work that are right for them.

‘On the other hand, it is clear that both practical barriers and cultural norms about women's place in the home and at work do persist.’

(Marris, 2019).

As can be seen from such as Joan (cluster group A) quotation, plus others, within this work, whilst there is some movement of equality for women in the GRT community in general it is still ‘the women's job’ to look after the home and family by cleaning, budgeting and looking after the children and the males to being in the money, make key issues for the family. Thus, in the case of GRT and as outlined above, cultural norms do have a detrimental effect on equality.

When related to Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs, we can see the lack of fulfilment of these needs and thus motivation to self-actualisation. It has been established that difficulty in employment together with recognition and freedom makes a sacrifice in the struggle for self-

actualization. Whilst it is recognised that Maslow's Hierarchy of needs is not 'stepping stones' it is a marker to ascertain the lifecycle and needs.

Chapter 8- Trails of Ethnicity

8.1 Introduction

So far, this thesis has explored birth, marriage, death, work roles and financial elements of the GRT communities. This chapter follows on to consider the respect, or lack thereof, for the ethnicity of these communities, including identity labelling. It investigates issues such as if the communities feel any patriotism to England, and do they have any traditions, behaviours, or traits which they feel identify them as separate from mainstream society.

As discussed in chapter four, UK laws and their effects on the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities are still being used negatively. It is common to hear that GRT ‘should be like us’ from mainstream society. The depth of racism and prejudice has been acknowledged by many researchers on the subject, such as the research by Friend Family and Travellers findings in 2023 which stated:

‘Led by the Centre on the Dynamics of Diversity, and supported by Friends, Families, and Travellers, the survey had the largest number of Gypsy, Roma, and Traveller participants in any national survey to date.

The research showed that:

- 62% of Gypsies and Travellers had experienced racial abuse, which was the highest out of all minority ethnic groups surveyed;
- 47% of Roma people had been racially assaulted; and
- 37% of Roma people have been physically attacked.

The wider effects of discrimination led to Gypsy, Roma, and Traveller people experiencing the highest levels of social and economic deprivation, with:

- More than half of Gypsy, Roma, and Traveller people have no educational qualifications;
- 85% of Gypsy or Traveller men and 65% of Roma men were in precarious employment, compared with 19% of white British men.'

(Friends Family and Travellers, 2023).

New Travellers now simply commonly termed 'Travellers' by society, still experience prejudice from members of the settled community even though this is the community they originated from. Whilst we have established the lack of affiliation of cultural norms expresses negativity about the engagement between the New Travellers and other Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller groups. Some do, however, form relationships:

'Believe it or not, we used to be friends with a hippy girl, her husband and their baby. She used to keep her baby spotless and her home, although not what I would like, was always clean. They were a nice couple and even stayed with us for a couple of weeks, but then they went to build some group housing or something. My mum used to say, See if you are nice to people, nine times out of ten they are alright to you. That's a lie I've been nice to people who live round here, but they are never nice back. The man next door hates us. He calls the council almost weekly about something or other we have done to him. The councilman told us that if he keeps calling them out to nothing, they are going to start charging him for the call-out.'

(Jill, 2018).

A Cambridge News article by Luxon (2021) on how New Age Travellers have the same pitfalls as the ethnic Gypsy, Roma, and Traveller (GRT) states:

‘New Age Travellers run into the same pitfalls as the ethnic Gypsy, Roma, and Traveller (GRT) community, such as lack of camps, roadside stopping places and access to education and healthcare. However, they are often not accepted by the wider GRT community, which has existed for centuries as an ethnic group. They have fought for their right to live nomadically for centuries, despite often brutal marginalisation.’

(Luxon, 2021).

Before Luxton’s report, Pugh (1994) of the Independent Newspaper wrote an article expressing:

‘New Age travellers and gypsies [Gypsy] do not happily co-exist, however. 'The old-style gypsies [Gypsies] look down on the new travellers,' Mr Sandford says... “They believe the newcomers don't know how to live properly on the road. A typical example of the difference is the attitude to sex. With traditional gypsies [Gypsies] there would be fearful retribution for those who might vary their sexual partners. But the New Age traveller has the sexually permissive mores of the rest of the population...’

(Pugh, 1994).

As discussed throughout this thesis concept of similarity is denied by many from the GRT community, stating New Travellers have taken on the lifestyle but not the culture. However, looking at Luxon and Pugh above, New Travellers are in many ways, such as racism and lack of sites, generally persecuted in the same way as other members of the GRT communities. I have discussed this concept with the cluster groups and each cluster have an aversion to the fact they have taken the name Traveller as a form of identity.

I would suggest that considering the way laws are enforced, and evictions carried out, it is the image that has been portrayed so negatively in the media. However, we cannot dismiss the difference in cultural norms and customs and the effect of these when engagement takes place between Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller and settled communities which are the greatest barriers to the process of engagement. In terms of Showmen, Circuses have, throughout history, been more accepted when arriving at a place, simply due to the fact much mainstream society views them as ‘entertainment’ rather than a problem.

8.2 Patriotism and allegiance

Being patriotic and identification of self to the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers communities in England and factors implementing image and thus identification is shown in the following quotations.

‘I am an English Traveller it is that simple I do not go about thinking
am I English am I a Traveller?’

(Frank, 2018).

When asked if they felt British or English¹³:

‘For God's sake, they are not now saying we're not English. I am
English I do not have to think it or say it. I just am.’

(Billy, 2018).

¹³ Whilst the above is obviously on Englishness, ‘other’ includes Wales and Scotland and are therefore Britishness.

This sense of Englishness was also found in the work of Webb (2017):

‘I am an English Gypsy. I was born here, my parents were born here, and their parents were born here. You know, my grandparents fought for this country in the war [...] I love this country. I have travelled every part of it [...] I was born here and I will die here.’

(Webb, 2017, p.203).

On the 9th of September, the e-newsletter and online magazine *Travellers Times* had the headline ‘*Gypsies and Travellers grieve for the Queen*’. The article showed photos of the Queen, a candle lit to pay tribute and children amongst the crowds outside the gates of Windsor Castle. The community charity One Voice 4 Travellers was but one example of the community service providers who, in all its e-mails wrote:

‘We would like to take this opportunity to say our thoughts are with the Royal Family after the sad news of Queen Elizabeth's death. The high admiration and respect which she held, not just in this country but across the world, was achieved by hard work, commitment and dedication, together with a strong faith. Finally, we would like to say God Save King Charles.’

(One Voice 4 Travellers, 2023).

When meeting family or friends, the Queen's death and King Charles's coming to the throne were discussed, but once again there was a gender divide. Many of the women I spoke to, talked about the female members of the family; for example, how sad Princess Ann looked, what a good job she and others such as Kate did, and how dignified they were in showing their respect. Male members tended to discuss King Charles coming to the throne and the difficulties he would face, particularly as we had a new Prime Minister at the time, Elisabeth

Truss, who was appointed only on 6 September 2022. She was one of the few to meet the Queen just before she died.

8.3 The ideology of unity of ethnicity

The ideology of unity of ethnicity¹⁴ irrespective of national origin has in recent years been proclaimed by some such as Roma activists. The enhancement of such recognition can be traced back to developments in 1971 when the first Romany Congress was held in London. Key NGO workers and activists from across Europe attended to start a process of worldwide Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Travellers solidarity. Those taking part in this Congress were perceived to be working towards a public show of solidarity:

‘The over-involvement of non-Romany activists in the planning and execution of International Romany Day events has left it ineffective and open to ridicule. Where it has been observed, events have been attended by Roma, with little involvement from the Romany Gypsy communities. It has been utilised as a community outreach exercise in neighbourhoods experiencing interethnic tensions. It has failed to unite, in any significant way, the Roma at both a national and transnational level.’

(Webb, 2017, p.276).

As can be seen by reading Roughneen (2010) work and Webb (2017), whilst Black History Month is about the people on the street celebration, Gypsy and Traveller History Month has been put together due to the ‘over-involvement of none-Romany activist ... Roma has attended events with little involvement from Roma Gypsy communities.’ (Webb, 2017).

¹⁴ A unity of ethnicity relates to those who affiliate to the group and having traits in common such as religion, values, and beliefs in common.

Thus, this clearly shows how the involvement of ‘the people’ is needed to give value to the activity being undertaken.

In 2008, provoked by society’s non-recognition of GRT communities and culture, members of those communities and associated NGO workers suggested a ‘Gypsy and Traveller History Month’, which is gradually becoming better known. However, those involved with setting it up (as with those in Webb’s research) were committed Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller activists. In contrast, the majority of the GRT are more concerned with decisions and events in their own lives. The families I worked with in gathering this research, and friends and families from the GRT communities who were not activists or involved with public speaking, were unaware of any of them. When made aware, they were dismissive of such things leading to any real change place in the lives of what one person referred to as ‘the common Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Travellers person’. The majority felt it was just ‘lip service’ to keep the communities quiet by being seen as working with them rather than addressing real issues of the lack of provision of accommodation, education and healthcare:

‘What do they mean we got our flag and national anthem, how can we have them, I have never heard of it before. I sing the English National Anthem and if I am putting up a flag it is the English flag. It is all these that keep on that they are our leaders and elders of the Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Travellers, I even heard one woman calling herself the ‘Queen of the Gypsy, I thought to myself instead of going about saying she was Queen of the Gypsy she should go home and brush that mop she got on her head.’

(Mandy, 2018).

8.4 Labelling- Gypsyism

The umbrella name that is used to a considerable extent in documentation relating to the GRT communities is 'anti-Gypsyism' or 'Gypsyism'. According to Holler (2015):

'In the last ten to fifteen years, the term 'Anti-Gypsyism' has reached a high international dissemination, in science and media and public discourse. At the same time, there are still controversial debates about the theoretical concept and usefulness of neologism as such [...] 2005 it finally reached high political levels, when the OSCE and the Council of Europe applied it officially. 'Anti-Gypsyism' [...] appeared in recent years and found a large circulation. Hence, the formation of theoretical concepts and terminology is still a work in progress.'

(Holler, 2015, pp.85).

The definition of anti-Gypsyism and thus discriminatory practices, can still be seen throughout Europe and the United Kingdom, particularly as increasingly GRT in England settle long term in housing and on sites. More than at any other time in history, clarification of the various names (i.e., Gypsy, Traveller, Romany, Bargees etc.) are needed to define the groupings, rather than using the umbrella names and presuming that all the cultures are the same.

Professor Margaret Greenfields, one of England's leading researchers of Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Travellers, told of the confusion concerning the correct use of the terms Romany, Gypsy, Roma and Traveller. According to Greenfields, this is not a new issue, and she feels that difficulties go back some 30 to 40 years. People who would at one time have called themselves Travellers, have now started to self-define either as 'Irish Travellers' or 'English Travellers'. In addition, many English Travellers are now referring to themselves as Romany, and those coming to England from Europe referring to themselves as Roma.

Okely (2012) told of an invitation to give the keynote speech at a seminar in Berlin in 2004. She was informed by the facilitators of the event that she should not use the word Gypsy; however, she insisted and continued to use the term. In her interview, for this present work she stated:

‘I refused this [not use the word Gypsy] saying who am I to dictate what the people I lived with should call themselves. The EU and Roma lobbyists think Gypsy is the same as Tzigane. They have no idea it comes from the label Egyptian, a term once given to all incoming foreigners to England.’

(Okely, 2020).

A workshop held at the University of Huddersfield and convened by Dr Jodie Matthews, explored the academic literature focusing on the history and representation of Romany, Roma and Travellers in England. The workshop was part of a project which included desk-based research, and analysis and consultation of an expert panel. Outcomes from the workshop showed:

‘There was a strong objection to using the term ‘Traveller’, which is so broad that it cannot accurately describe anyone’s ethnicity; it is felt that this term is used lazily when the speaker or writer does not have the will to investigate how individuals or group want to be described and what their culture is. It has become a euphemism, used frequently by people who have something negative to say about Gypsies, Romany, Irish Travellers or Scottish Gypsies. In addition, ‘Traveller’ perpetuates the myth that one is only of that ethnicity if ‘you roll around on four wheels’. The self-ascription to the term ‘Traveller’ has changed dramatically. After the ‘Battle of the Beanfield’ at Stonehenge in 1985 and the subsequent Criminal Justice Act in 1994,

the term was thought to imply hippies or New Travellers, meaning that some who originally used it to describe themselves had returned to the use of ‘Gypsy’.

(Matthews, 2012, p.3).

Okely, Greenfields and Matthews, discuss the identification name and the confusion that exists concerning clarification (both written and verbal) on which names should be used in referencing the Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Travellers communities. The interviewees for this study were asked about their ethnicity and gave their answers, thus ethnicity in this work is by self-definition:

‘See we call ourselves Romany because Gypsy is a name made up by the settled people. Also, I am an old woman and I can count on one hand how many times I have been called Romany and then had an insult in the same sentence, but saying Gypsy then an insult, well I have lost count.’

(Cath, 2018).

In my family, the word Gypsy was a difficult label. It had so many negative connotations, such as ‘dirty Gypsy’, and was also used positively as an identity label of recognition of ethnicity. However, sadly the negative connotations far outweigh the positive. When I was growing up, the word Traveller was much more used as a label.

In 2011, the European Framework for National Roma Integration was launched, giving an outline of integration strategies up to 2020. As a member of the framework, and (at the time) member of the EU, the UK was one of the few countries included in the decisions regarding the terms used for the identification process. The use of the term ‘Traveller’ remains open to interpretation; however, the EU banned the name ‘Gypsy’. An abstract from the Council of Europe website shows the rationale for this recommendation:

‘To no longer use it [Gypsy] in official texts, in particular at the request of the International Roma Associations who found it to be an alien term, linked with negative, paternalistic stereotypes which still pursue them in Europe. Consequently, in the majority of European states:

‘It is recommended that the word Gypsy or its equivalent no longer be used, as it is felt to be insulting by most of the people concerned. There are indeed some countries where the term Gypsy or its national equivalent does not have strong negative connotations, is sometimes accepted by the people concerned and may occasionally be appropriate’.

(Council of Europe, 2012).

8.5 Roma defining identity

We have established the definition of English Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Travellers in terms of cultural identity and how the families retain this even when not living the traditional lifestyle, but not where this holding on comes from. Even more so, whether it is unique in East Anglia and thus England, now we have a settling of the GRT communities. To explore this, we now turn our attention to Roma in Europe and their view of identity:

‘To date, European countries have not managed to effectively integrate Roma into the society in which they reside. Such a situation has given rise to new challenges concerning Roma migrating to other countries. Some countries have experienced difficulties coping with Roma migrants seeking to remain on their territory. Some have failed to address negative attitudes towards Roma on the part of the general population, often stoked by hostile media reports.’

(Cahn and Guild, 2010, p.3).

Also, from the website Social Europe, the work of Zachos (2018) states:

‘In the period following the birth of modern nation-states, Roma individuals and groups did not possess the characteristics that most of the newly born Western countries wished to portray as key elements of their national identity. As a result, Roma came to be considered at best exotic deniers of modern civilisation and, at worst, dirty, lazy, social parasites.)

(Zachos, 2018).

The impression of the GRT communities in England and Europe is summed up on Bancroft (2005), which states:

‘Despite the contribution Roma and Gypsy-Travellers have made to European life, across the continent they are reviled as scroungers and parasites, as incorrigibles and, in the words of the former Slovakia Premier Vladimir Meciar, ‘socially unadaptable.’

(Bancroft, 2005).

In England, GRT are increasingly restricted from pursuing a nomadic way of life. In the former communist countries of Europe, Roma are excluded from the labour market and are frequently the object of populist violence supported by police indifference:

‘The arrival of Czech, Slovak and other Roma asylum seekers in England during 1997 and 1998 brought their suffering into British news headlines and the considerations of policymakers for a short time.’

(Clark and Campbell, 2000, cited in Bancroft, 2005, p.9).

A report entitled *The situation of Roma EU citizens moving to and settling in other EU member states* by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2009) indicates that

more than at any other time in history, extensive global migration has increased in countries in the EU becoming multi-cultural.

A concern for the GRT communities in the EU is that several member states have challenged the concept that they belong to their nation of origin. A perception has developed and continues to be argued that these people belong everywhere and therefore, any issues and situations which arise in a national context relate to the international GRT communities (Bancroft, 2005)¹⁵.

Whilst ethnicity continues to be defined, in many arguments there is a perception leading to the position that these communities should be 'normal' like other groupings in mainstream society. Many in settled society feel that the answer to the community's 'problem', is simple; all they need to do is to settle down and become normal. Normalisation would act as an antidote to their exclusion, lack of integration and persecution (Mayall, 1995).

Whilst we talk of 'normal', other concepts need to be acknowledged simply because they share centre stage in defining the rationale of thinking that society can justify its actions through moral law – the law of human nature – when coupled with the herd instinct of trying to do what others want.

'If two instincts are in conflict and there is nothing in a creature's mind except those two instincts, then obviously the stronger of the two must win.' (Lewis, 1952). When a Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller family moves to an area, there is often a body of people that do not want them living locally. Whilst they may not openly be prejudiced towards the arriving family, they do little to prevent any form of negativity.

¹⁵ This does not include groups who have no original connection with India or South Asian heritage.

Butler (1990) looks extensively at the concept of power and how it can be achieved. They argue that how society writes about and perceives a group of people is an act of power, and those who are subject to these writings and discourses are affected by it.

Much of the negativity has gone unchallenged due to low levels of literacy in the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities. However, as the communities increasingly settle on sites and in housing, attendance in education is increasing, resulting in the younger generations gaining literacy skills and being able to challenge negativity and give a more balanced reflection. Those who agree with Butler (2004) consider that by challenging power we acknowledge that it exists. However, for these communities acknowledging the power of mainstream society in terms of government, local councils and services is sadly a fact.

Without challenging misconceptions and distortion plus negative attitudes, Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Travellers cannot hope to change their position in society from that of 'other'.

The idea of 'otherness' is a key factor in the hostility towards GRT people wherever they are. Rowe and Goodman (2014) look at prejudicial talk about Gypsies in discussion forums. After analysing information using discourse analysis, they found that one of the identified strategies being used to argue against the rights of Gypsies was to state that they are 'other': 'Gypsies are referred to as the "other" and as abnormal when compared to others' (Rowe and Goodman, 2014, p 30).

The concept of 'otherness' means that, when a GRT family moves into a house, their neighbours and local councils and service providers (such as schools or doctors) can justify to themselves that, whilst they are performing tasks related to the general communities, because GRT are 'other', they do not have to give the same level of commitment.

The concept of emphasis on difference, rather than similarities, enables the dominant mainstream society to highlight the non-conformity of ‘normalisation’. Relating normalisation specifically to Gypsy Roma/Romany and Travellers, Allen states:

‘For example, the perceived actions of Travellers and Gypsies are not acknowledged by society as being mutually conducive to the concept of social conformity, normalisation theorises how society perceives them as being subversive McVeigh (1997). According to Wolfersberger and Thomas (1983), this prejudicial judgement then determines the types of racist stereotypes which Cemlyn et al. (2009) state have been placed upon Travellers and Gypsy children, families and communities throughout history.’

(Allen, 2013, p.19).

Whilst the GRT are placed as ‘others’, during times of war when their country of origin is threatened, they do and will take part in defending the country they affiliate to. In the two World Wars, many GRT fought for the UK, feeling it was their country:

‘Unbelievably my great Grandfather had this house. In them days it was just an old shack, but each family that has lived in it ended up doing a bit to it. Anyway, during the Second World War, my great-grandad was in the Army and his brother was in the Navy. Both did not come back, but after the war, the village people put up a memorial to those in the forces who died, but you go up to this village and take a look, their names are not written up. It is sad because they like so many gave their lives and yet they are not remembered. I could understand it if we were travelling back and forward but we were not. I lived here and lived in this house all my life, yet after all this time, we are still not recognised as being part of the village people.’

(Wendy, 2018).



Figure 15- Soldiers from the Tidd



Figure 16- Buckley family

The lack of acknowledgement of the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller contribution is seen in several ways. Before discussing the usual course of action taken by England, it needs to be acknowledged that exceptions do exist including John Cunningham, who was a private during the First World War and at only 19 years of age, was awarded the Victoria Cross for his bravery. However, the war memorials placed in towns and villages across East Anglia rarely state the name of GRT who gave their lives, simply because they are not considered to have been from the local community. Many GRT families, including those with whom I worked during this research, remain proud of individuals from their families who did go and join the armed forces, during both the First and Second World Wars. This pride of having members in the armed forces who were fighting for justice and freedom was sadly reinforced once it was known that the Nazis had incarcerated between 250,000 and 500,000 Gypsies¹⁶ in concentration camps, where they were experimented on and killed during World War II. This part of the community's historical life is referred to by Gypsies as 'Pararhymes'.

Today, it is not unusual for families to have members in the armed forces:

¹⁶ Referred to as Gypsies but included associated community groups such as Romany/Roma and Travellers etc.

‘My brother's son is in the Army and has been for a few years now. He likes it, but he said that he does not say his ethnicity because it would not go down well. I’m proud of him, after all this is our country, he was born here and grew up here, see I think we are part of England and so we should also protect it.’

(Harry, 2018).

Le Bas, a Roma, has long campaigned for the 16th of April to be a Remembrance Day for the Romany Resistance who were active during WW2, but as yet without success.

Whilst we have looked only at the armed forces, this is not unique, nor is it only historical events, which shape the perception of Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller. No exact figures are available, but members of the communities work in all aspects and at all levels of employment. This lack of acknowledgement works to exclude rather than include and serves to justify a self-perception of prejudice, racism and persecution.

This leads to negativity in writing about, and subsequently the image of, the communities.

Numerous surveys have been undertaken over recent years which show that respondents are prejudiced against GRT and consider them to be in the realm of ‘other’ in society.

Consequently, this establishment of the GRT enables mainstream society to exclude rather than include them within policy, such as *Written submission from Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (GRT0003)* (2018), which concluded that:

‘Roma, Gypsy and Traveller communities are amongst the most disadvantaged in British society. The publication of these results is a bold a crucial step which will have a lasting impact on public policy. We are proud of our commitment to transparency and welcome the wide public debate that will follow [...] England has come a long way in promoting equality and opportunity, but this audit is definitive

evidence of how far we must still go to truly build a country that works for everyone. The Prime Minister was clear that more needs to be done to make sure nobody is excluded or left behind and has challenged government Departments to explain or change the disparities identified by the audit by the autumn of 2018 [...] The poor integration of Gypsy, Roma and Traveller communities [...] are amongst the most disadvantaged in British society. And the recently published Race Disparity Audit shines a light on the disparities of these ethnic groups.'

(Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2018).

The main challenges that the audits found, together with other research including this study, show the depth and complexity of the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller communities' barriers to integration. One key area where having a Gypsy campsite address is a hindrance is in the labour market. Most community members taking part in this research stated that, once in housing, it was much easier to find full-time permanent employment, simply because the address given did not indicate they were from the GRT communities. A common approach to overcome this was to use a friend's or family member's address because it was a 'housed' address.

8.6 Othering, Inclusive and Belonging

Turning to the question of whether social exclusion automatically drives a community into poverty, the concept of social exclusion and its relationship to poverty is complex, to say the least. Before 1997 within the Labour government, the term 'social exclusion' was rarely, if ever, used when discussing social policy in England. Rather, the word 'poverty' was used as an all-encompassing term to describe situations where people lacked many of the opportunities that were available to the average citizen. Whilst low income was central to this

notion, it also covered other factors relating to severe and chronic disadvantage. However, some used the word 'poverty' in the narrower sense of simply low income. It was to ensure that the wider notion that disadvantage can cover a wider range of factors than just low income was not lost, thus, the government started using the term social exclusion. (Townsend, 1979).

The understanding of social exclusion and integration is diverse and can be interpreted in several ways. However, one of the simplest explanations is:

‘Social exclusion happens when a ruling class or party denies political, economic and social opportunities to certain groups. Reasons for such disenfranchisement include race, ethnicity, gender, religion and political persuasion. The term derives from a 1994 study by the ‘International Labour Review’ concluding that social exclusion is a major cause of poverty and other social problems.’

(Friends, Family, and Travellers, 2009, p.5).

Therefore, we can say that social exclusion happens when the section of society which has the power to dominate the national social structure, has, in some way, put in place practices and principles of working which exclude marginalised groups from accessing what in the mainstream is considered to be the norm.

Grattan Puxon from the Gypsy Council continually argues that social exclusion is explicitly political and intentional. It has to be said that not all oppressors are necessarily aware of how they perpetuate oppression (Puxton, 2010). An example of this is the recently implemented NHS system for repeat prescriptions. If you have little or no literacy, then you cannot access this system simply because you cannot fill in the form:

‘Certain groups are arguably at greater risk of social exclusion either because they differ in some way from the dominant population or because of their position in society. Individuals or groups who, to some degree, do not accept the values, norms or lifestyle of mainstream society are more vulnerable if they are also affected by one or more of the other dimensions of social exclusion. Nationality, ethnicity, language and religion are obvious aspects of group differences.’

(Percy-Smith, 2000, p.11).

Looking at the effect of TV documentaries such as *Cathy Come Home* (1966), we see the effect of poverty and the resulting social exclusion. Poverty can also be defined as relative or absolute. To talk about relative poverty, we first need to look at what we consider ‘relative’ to mean:

‘Relative is an overly broad notion. One must always ask relative to what? Answers may include relative to society’s present or past standards, relative to other people or groups in the country or other aspects of comparison such as the degree of inequality in Society.’

(Flaherty et al., 2004, p.16).

Smith previously explained:

‘If you have money in your pocket (in mainstream society) as a businessman, general society will take your money irrespective of you in other words. your lifestyle, but if you are a Traveller man and you have money in your pocket no one wants your money however much you have, because of who you are.’

(Smith, 1998).

Absolute poverty however also exists in the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller peoples, in terms of community members not having enough money for essentials such as food, clothing and adequate heating.

Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller peoples are nomadic as defined under s157(2) *Housing Act 1996*, yet nomadism is considered by many in the communities to have been a historical ideal and thus not a sign of poverty at all. Therefore, when talking about poverty, the main definition is based on the monetary aspects of life, the haves and have nots.

Inequalities experienced by Gypsy Roma/Romany and Travellers communities: A review by the Equality and Human Rights Board (2009) indicate one of the most pressing political, social and human rights issues facing Europe in modern times. The report highlights, amongst other inequalities, the lack of suitable, secure accommodation and also confirms many of the inequalities that Gypsy and Traveller communities experience.

‘Lack of access to culturally appropriate support services for people in the most vulnerable situations, such as women experiencing domestic violence. Gipsies' and Travellers' culture and identity receive little or no recognition, with consequent and considerable damage to their self-esteem.’

(Cemlyn et al., 2009, p.61).

There are yearly events in England by different ethnic minorities which shout loud and clear the pride of the community, the recognition of the history of the people, and the celebration of their existence. The Notting Hill Carnival has been a yearly carnival since 1970, and whilst it lives under the threat of being stopped in one way or another, it continues to be a sign of pride in the Caribbean culture. Black History Month in the UK is held annually in October to

celebration and promotion of Black contributions to UK history (The origins of Black History Month in the UK go back to the United States during the 1920s with the establishment of Negro History). One can't deny that both the Notting Hill Carnival and black history month have opened conversations and improved knowledge of the ethnic communities involved.

However, they are not the only celebrations. One such celebration is The Gypsy Traveller and Roma History Month which commenced in June 2008 and has been yearly since. Whilst it is more recently formed than the Nottingham Hill Carnival or Black History Month, events are organised to inform, celebrate, and promote the history and culture of the GRT communities. To date, GRT History Month has a very low acknowledgement in the UK. Yet GRT is England's oldest and most recognised nomadic ethnic minority. Indeed, looking at the historical and transgenerational experiences of Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller people Allen, Greenfields, and Smith (2019) explain that:

‘During the 15th and 16th century Europe, Romany people with painted, wagons or tents, were often welcomed in the various countries, including England, in which they lived, as they were highly valued as suppliers of skilled labour (including craftwork) and entertainment. Fraser, (1995) noted, however, that over time, initial acceptance of the populations was replaced by conflictual relationships and rejection of Romany peoples as negative and racist stereotypes replaced fascination with these ‘eroticised’ strangers.’

(Allen, Greenfields, and Smith, 2019, p. 1687).

Tensions between the GRT and settled mainstream society have resulted in a tendency for local communities to try to stop members of the GRT from living in their vicinity This is fuelled by the concept promoted by Gypsyloists such as Acton (1974, 1994, 2000) who

estimated the position of the Gypsies in Britain during the twentieth century and the significance in their overall history. Gypsyologists are citing the developments of attitudes and economic conditions. This has given the substantial interest in Gypsies assessment and the 'true-blooded' Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Travellers. Those such as Taylor (2008) established how the notion of 'true blood' has been developed and the dangers of developing this concept. Whilst trying to record the life of Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller they have transferred their fantasies and prejudices, emphasising the exotic, the foreign, and the natural (Taylor, 2008).

One sector of the community, the Roma, is not nomadic, yet faces not only the racism and discrimination inflicted towards Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers but also the negativity forced on them for being asylum seekers. The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights in November (2009) states:

'Roma from new EU accession countries have established a significant community in many towns and cities in England, yet their needs and the responsibilities of local authorities are often unknown to local decision-makers'

(European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2009, p.4).

It can be seen throughout this thesis that many of the GRT community's prejudice and racism which when trying to settle and engage with local communities, work as a barrier to engagement and becoming settled. Bonnes et al. (2008) cited the work of Giuliani (2003) to draw attention to the explanations of how attachment to a place exists and develops over time. Although Giuliani's (2003) work was in Livingstone not England, it showed that ethnic mix was the one dimension of area mix that respondents appeared to recognise. Concerning the concept of ethnic mix in a geographical area, respondents almost universally saw 'mix' as

positive, and it did not reduce their attachment. All the white respondents expressed tolerance for non-white ethnic groups. Similarly, respondents from minority ethnic groups indicated that they had few problems with their neighbours because of race. (Livingston et al., 2008, p.70). Giuliani (2003) raises the question of why Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Travellers who have a legitimate attachment to a particular area, be it affluent or deprived, are rejected by the local settled communities in the majority of situations once their ethnicity is known.

The distinction between individual and collective attachment is important here. Giuliani's (2003) work, for example, at the individual level, the presence of children may provide more opportunities for the development of place attachment by parents through their involvement in child-centred, local activities. However, for other adults in the area, higher child densities may detract from the attractiveness of the neighbourhood due to perceptions of disturbance associated with children; we do not know at what level of child density such a negative effective would occur. Sampson (1988), highlighted the role of 'systemic' community factors upon an individual's integration into a community (in terms of their friendship ties, local social activities and place attachment). Two factors stand out. First, the community's residential stability is based on the percentage of residents brought up in the area which affects the level of local friendship ties at the communities level and in turn the individual's local friendship ties and place attachment; second, the mean level of place attachment at the communities level is positively associated with the level of attachment felt by the individual (Livingston et al., 2008, p.15).

John Bowlby is credited for being the first to use the term 'attachment theory' (Encyclopedia of Evolutionary Psychological Science, 2021). Since Bowlby, the concept of attachment in infants has developed by such as Hamilton (2018). The term attachment is used to describe a

disposition, which promotes proximity-seeking behaviour in infants when they are hurt, alarmed or separated from their familiar caregiver. (Hamilton, 2018).

8.7 Segregation by Location

Community sites are built on the edge of local society resulting in geographical segregation. This fuels a ‘them-and-us’ mindset and perpetuates the belief among the GRT communities that they are not ‘invited’ by the local settled community to be part of local mainstream society.

The situation when GRT move into housing and their ethnicity is known to the local settled community has attracted limited research.

‘Many can opt to conceal their ethnicity as phenotypic characteristics are more difficult to use to mark out this group. Tradition of its own, including families and social customs and manners.’

(Law, 2010, p.90).

This is the ‘chameleon effect’, or what is described by Cornell and Hartmann (1998) as ‘symbolic ethnicity’. Waters (1990) gives a clear description of how ‘symbolic ethnicity’ works with groups such as white European Catholics, who can and do use the term ‘ethnicity’ only when they choose to. Whilst Waters’ work is with European Catholic immigrants, it is useful to see how this relates to housed Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Travellers. However, in her later work, she clarifies that this is not an option for visible minorities (Waters, 1990). The GRT communities’ ethnicity is sometimes ‘visible’ and at other times not, depending on the level of identification labels attached to a family or individual. This section looks at GRT self-identification as it relates to location. Richardson (2007) writes that:

‘The identity of Gypsy Roma/Romany and Travellers is wrapped up in the place where they live, accommodation on a site, rather than in a house, is inextricably linked to Traveller identity.’

(Richardson, 2007, p.52)

Today it is common to find members of these communities living in houses. Some families may be second or third generation housed, yet the vast majority will still maintain their cultural life values albeit for some it is behind closed doors. One person stated:

‘You’re born a Gypsy, Romany and you die a Gypsy, Romany and it doesn’t matter if you try and hide the fact you still are what you were born, it’s like a black man trying to be white you can’t do it, well unless you’re Michael Jackson but even he with all his money could not change, he may have made his skin white, but he was still known as a black man.’

(Amy, 2018).



Figure 17- Members of the Smith/Cooper family

From the late 1950s, members of the communities started to move into housing. Today those families, like many others, live in a wide range of homes but still identify as Travellers and abide by the cultural norms.

One of the most recent studies concerning relationships between the settled community and housed GRT on a local level, was undertaken by Greenfields and Smith (2013). However, their research is very much in the context of moving into a house and employment, rather than engagement strategies and outcomes.

Data from this fieldwork indicates that the majority of those interviewed live with the perception that the settled community does not understand them or the communities they are from:

‘No they [society as a whole] do not understand us, it’s not their life they don’t understand because they can’t be bothered to think about it, it’s our normal, not theirs so they don’t understand at all [...] See gorgers think in say three years you wouldn’t be able to get a job unless you have the right education, but we don’t think like that because we got to get as much as we can today because we got times in the year when we got no work so they think about the future and we think about now.’

(Jim, 2018).

Another research participant follows this on with:

‘See it is like this, we say we are Irish Travellers, and we are proud of this, but the country people [settled] think because we are called Travellers, we are always going to be travelling. This is not true we don’t have to be moving about all the time. I know some Irish Travellers and English who have lived in a house all their lives, but they are still Travellers they do not and cannot change that, it is like saying a black man can become white it just cannot happen.’

(Bobby, 2018).

Furthermore, when asked in regards to the same topic, suggested that:

‘Being a Traveller does not mean you are constantly moving – that is impossible for any human and anyone who says otherwise is an idiot. Do I stop being a Traveller if I am sat in traffic or on a bar stool having a pint of beer or in a hotel in Spain for a week? Of course, I do not. It is my ethnicity. And the world keeps spinning and orbiting the sun, whether we like it or not. I have travelled all over Europe earning my living. But I would be seen as a 'settled Gypsy' because my family owned their places and because I went to school. I think when people draw a hard line between 'nomadic' or 'roadside' and 'settled', this is sometimes a sort of code for how much control you have over your life.’

(Charlie, NGO worker, 2016).

This perception of not being part of the wider local community comes from several actions that members of these communities have been subject to over several years. Therefore, whilst these comments do not show if the settled local community understand the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers or not, many community members describe feeling aware of difference (Drakakis-Smith, 2007). In comparison an example of negativity is not hard to find. Lincoln (2024) reporting for *CambridgeshireLive* reported:

‘Councillors from all parties in North Northamptonshire have objected to plans for a potential Traveller's stopping site in undeveloped green space next to a major road. During a full council meeting discussing NNC's capital budget for 2024/25 an amendment was raised to banish plans for £1.3m of funding to be put towards a stopping site for the county.’

(Lincoln, 2024).

In addition, GRT perceive themselves to have little power compared to non-Travellers and statutory service providers. These findings echo those of Trease and Shepherd (2006). Thus, GRT feel that instead of being seen as part of the local community, they are on many occasions seen as the local problem.

8.8 Settling In Modern England and The Caravan

The resulting factors of English mainstream society and implementation of barriers mean that for those Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers families who are trying to settle, the choice of how this is achieved is limited:

‘I think the idea of a hard split between travelling and being settled is a bit of a glorified way of looking at it. It is not that our lives have not changed – they have changed massively, basically due to our acquisition of motors, which gave you a far bigger range than the horse. But I do not like this binary talk of 'settled' and 'roadside' that a lot of the Traveller organisations come out with. Many Travellers are not one thing or the other, they settle when it suits them and are mobile when it suits them. Contrary to what people think, this is very traditional. Travellers always travel more in the warmer seasons. When you have lived on the road like I have you know why that is. Everything is harder in the winter; the elements are against you.’

(Charlie, 2016).

The results of this research clearly show that the blurring of the distinction between settled and nomadic is indicated in the way that many Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers like to hold onto the feeling of being able to go back into a caravan at any time:

‘When we first moved in, we didn’t get rid of the trailer even though we didn’t have any money for furniture. We just kept it in the garden then every year we went off for

a few weeks and did some of the farmer's work, then in-between farmers we came back here to make sure things were all right. We did this work a few years ago, but things got so complicated with children at school and pulling them out and what have you we stopped doing it.'

(Cath, 2018).

Cath enables us to understand a situation in which the majority of respondents had personal experience with or had extended family members who had gone from settled to nomadic and then back to settled. Shirley (cluster family C) expands on this, by explaining that the majority of housed Gypsy Romany/Roma Travellers keep a caravan in the garden or near where they live:

'I do not know why we all [referring to members of the Gypsy Romany and Travellers communities] do it, but we all, no matter how grand the house is, want to have a trailer [caravan] that we can call our own. I know families that live in housing and hardly have enough to buy food, but they will not get rid of the trailer [caravan]. It's like when we're in housing, we can look at that trailer and say 'Yes that's me' I know once we sold the trailer we had and it was a good few weeks before we got another one. We were living in the house so you would think there was no worry, but do you know during that time I had trouble sleeping and all I kept thinking was that if we had to leave the house, although there was no reason why we should, but if we had to, we would not have a trailer to go into. Silly I know but I just feel better when I look out the window and see a trailer sitting in the garden, I feel safe, I feel I can cope.'

(Shirley, 2018).

The concept of retaining a caravan is used by the GRT communities as a ‘security blanket’ by being in an ethnic comfort zone. A caravan is an object which symbolises a strong aspect of the ethnicity of the GRT, not only in terms of being a tool enabling nomadism, but it is there if life in housing or a prefabricated, chalet or large caravan on site becomes difficult. Once settled many buy large caravans which are difficult to move or if finance allows a prefabricated type of caravan that cannot be towed by a motor vehicle:

‘The communities (if room allows) always keep a trailer [caravan] in the back garden. When they feel lonely or down, they will go and sit in the trailer [...] you can take the Traveller, out of the trailer but you can’t take the trailer out of the Traveller.’

(Barrett, 2013, p.16).

The practice of keeping a caravan as a reminder of a previous life also reflects the feeling of being able to revert to it at any given time. Virtually all the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers respondents in this study reported that service providers doing home visits considered a caravan parked outside to be a potential source of income for the families concerned and recommended that they sell the caravan with no regard for the cultural importance of the ‘caravan in the garden’. This situation is also clearly shown in the research undertaken by Barrett (2010) for the charity One Voice 4 Travellers titled ‘*Housed Travellers Women in Suffolk*’.

It should be noted here, the majority of Eastern European Roma live in shanty towns. For Roma choosing to move to England, whilst some choose to live in caravans, it is not a token of lost life and thus, the importance of acknowledging nomadism is not needed. As a result, the ‘caravan in the garden’ is not needed.

8.8.1 Caring for The Environment

One of the reasons New Travellers give for leaving a settled lifestyle and becoming nomadic and living a life similar to that of the Gypsy Romany/Roma Travellers, is that they feel that have a smaller carbon footprint and are more at one with nature.

‘From the very beginning, as far back as ‘The Summer of Love’ in 1967, the Hippies’ love of ‘the natural’ and their horror of all things ‘plastic’ had pointed towards rural life. The rustic (but far from pastoral) commune portrayed in 1969 film *Easy Rider* had thousands of real-life counterparts scattered across North America. In Britain, the favoured locations were Wales, Cornwall and Scotland.’

(M, 2014).

Much of the stereotypical image of the communities shows families living with what many in mainstream society consider to be rubbish. While in any community there will be families



Figure 18- Roadside family possessions outside of caravan

that do not have the same level of cleanliness as the majority, there is little acknowledgement that a family may have to have many items (for example, water cans for washing) outside the caravan, plus the tools the men use for work, which can look like rubbish. This inside/outside living can be continued when moving into housing:

‘When we first moved in, I thought to myself that I would put a shed up and put my washing machine and dryer in there. We had plenty of room at the front so that is what we did, we put up a couple of sheds, pulled the trailer in the drive and the boys started to do their cars. At the back, we put up sheds and washing lines like you would. Then we got a letter from the council and when we got it read, they wanted us to stop the boys from doing the cars, take the sheds down, that is when he [she pointed to her husband] decided he hates the house. If I were well, we would be out of here, but I am not so we just carry on and I think to myself why they did not [neighbours] just come and talk to us instead of running off to the council like little children running to their mums.’

(Shirley, 2018).

With the backdrop of this negativity, it is no surprise that when a family moves into housing, and the local community know they are from the GET community, a concern of littering is given. However, caring for the environment is a consideration for most Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller community members.

In an attempt to engage with wider society, both the cluster families and NGO workers engaged in strategies that they felt showed the local settled community, that they did care about the local environment and community, which in a non-verbal invitation for a dialogue to take place:

‘The bottom of the land included a public right of way for walkers; this was in a very overgrown unusable space. My family cut back all the weeds and brambles, had accessible gates and rebuilt the stile. They also placed a bench for walkers to use. We talked to locals when negative articles were written in the parish newsletter, we

encouraged them to come and talk. We encouraged people to visit from the village and to bring their children to see the animals. We took the horse and trap into the village to gain opportunities to open dialogue. We encouraged brief conversations to flourish more. The children were enrolled into the local school and the family were asked if they would be marshals for a village fun run. Yet even after doing all this we still were not considered part of the village life. [...]. It was always them and us, I don't know how to put it, you just know when push comes to shove they will turn on you.'

(Vivian, 2015).

As can be seen by Vivian's quotations, even when families try to engage and open dialogue with the local community, they still have the feeling of them and us, and not being part of the local community life still exists.

8.9 Conclusion

This section explores the specific concerns of the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller communities in England, around housing conditions as they have certain exclusion criteria. It is not generalised and formalised like the 'othering' of the mainstream settled community. The 'you don't tell outsiders anything' code developed as a result of mainstream society obtaining information from Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller community members, and then using it against them. Examples of this are numerous, but it is correct to observe that media reporting, both local and national, is the main culprit in modern England.

How the GRT communities react to rejection by mainstream society, be that through access to services or moving into bricks and mortar, enables us to ascertain the coping margins of the communities. According to Allen et al. (2019), the analysis shows:

‘Responding to social rejection. The way that Romany and Traveller people manage to survive social rejection and indeed in some circumstances thrive, despite sharing some of the lowest socioeconomic outcomes of any ethnic group, has been subject to a growing range of analysis in diverse countries (Vanderbeck 2005). Empirical findings agree, however, that those Romany and Traveller people who experience a prolonged Council counter with hostility and social rejection are more likely to experience negative emotions (most notably hurt feelings) and lowered self-esteem, with long-term impacts on their life chances and well-being. As shown by Maeson (2015), Njegovan (2011) and Smith (2011).’

(Allen et al., 2019, p.20).

Council and housing association sites are in many cases built on land which is undesirable for some reason on the outskirts of towns or wasteland or rubbish dumps. The sites have few amenities; rarely do they have footpaths leading to the site or are close access to a bus route. Those families who have decided to settle by moving into housing find that whilst they may have expressed preferences in terms of the type of setting, the majority are allocated housing that is in an ‘undesirable area’.

Gypsy Roma/Romany and Travellers information produced by various local councils is available. Looking through the documents, you could be forgiven for thinking that each council is supportive of the communities and only wishes the best for them; sadly, this is not the case. Most planning applications for sites are met with negativity and are usually rejected. Berlin (2015) work on housing gives a clear indication of the effects of moving into housing. It has been recognised in law that there is often a cultural aversion among Gypsies and Travellers towards living in contemporary housing (Pyke and Johnson, 2003). This alone indicates that housing-related issues are especially relevant to Gypsy and Traveller well-being. Mental and physical well-being can be seriously undermined when they are put into

accommodation that disrupts the maintenance of supportive extended families (Power, 2004, p.47). Feelings of isolation typically manifest as stress, anxiety and an exaggerated sense of loss of freedom when experiencing a total change of lifestyle by moving from sites into settled housing (Cullen et al (2008); Smith and Greenfields (2013)).

In 1942, Sir William Beveridge created the report titled *Social Insurance and Allied Services*. This set the foundations for Micheal Gove (2022), Housing and Communities Secretary of the time, to give a statement involving the expectation of a 5 year rise in the Healthy Life Expectancy (HLE). However, the situation may be much harder to change:

‘The communities endure forms of hostile treatment that many assumed had been confined to the vaults of genocidal history. This is not the case. Various forms of legislative and public policy discrimination continue across all the key UK social policy areas: evidence demonstrates that Roma, Gypsy and Traveller people are the neighbours, workers, patients and public and pupils that no one wants. It is surely shaming that in 2017 Beveridge’s infamous ‘Five Giants’ continue to thrive amongst our most marginalised communities. This unacceptable situation must end.’

(Clark, 2017).

Whilst we have established the basics of English society and Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller's position in society, one area that is constantly cited is that the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller do not have any attachment to a geographical area. Thus, when applying to extend a private site or apply for housing, the constant argument put forward by various reports and articles too numerous to mention, is that the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers have no attachment to the area. Referring to Maslow once again, motivation is not achieved.

Chapter 9 Racism and Prejudice

9.1 Introduction

As so much has been written in this area, a person may feel that nothing more can be said without repeating the facts. However, this is not the case, simply because as circumstances change, so does the effect of racism and prejudice. Thus, within this chapter, we discuss the fact that as the GRT are settling, racism and prejudice are not reducing, but changing in content. However, before looking at the situation of race and prejudice towards Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Travellers, it is worthwhile to first define what we mean by the terms ‘Prejudice’, ‘Discrimination’, ‘Harassment’, ‘Victimisation’, and ‘Stigma’.

9.2 Defining Terms ‘Prejudice’, ‘Discrimination’, ‘Harassment’, ‘Victimisation’, and ‘Stigma’

Discrimination can be defined as the prejudice against any persons due to the ‘protected characteristics’. These include:

- ‘Age
- Gender Reassignment
- Being married or in a civil partnership
- Being pregnant or on maternity leave
- Disability
- Race including colour, nationality, ethnic or national origin

- Religion or belief
- Sex
- Sexual orientation'

(Gov.uk, Unknown).

This research focuses on the characteristics of race. Discrimination is evident when someone treats another person differently or in a negative way, due to their nationality, race, ethnicity or colour, or when an organisation uses policy(s), or ways of working that put certain people at a disadvantage. However, in some circumstances, objective justification is used. The Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service (2024) states:

‘Under the law, there can be objective justification if the employer can prove both of the following:

- there's a 'legitimate aim', such as a genuine business need or a health and safety need
- the discrimination is 'proportionate, appropriate and necessary' – this means the legitimate aim is more important than any discriminatory effect’

(ACAS, 2024).

We also use the wording Harassment and Victimisation. Harassment is ‘...when someone repeatedly behaves in a way that makes you feel scared, distressed or threatened.’ (Police.uk, unknown). Harassment can affect all walks of life, but if it affects the workplace, then the employer must prove they have done everything in their power to stop this from happening.

The person that feels they have been harassed can make a claim, not to the employer, but to the person doing the harassment themselves. When a person makes a complaint under the Equality Act due to discrimination, or you support a person who makes a complaint of race-related discrimination, victimisation can occur. This victimisation is defined under the Equality Act (2010) as: ‘A person (A) victimises another person (B) if A subjects B to a detriment because—

(a) B does a protected act, or

(b) A believes that B has done, or may do, a protected act.’

(Equality Act, 2010).

There are, however, particular circumstances when being treated differently due to your race is lawful:

‘Belonging to a particular race is essential for the job. This is called an [occupational requirement](#). For example, an organisation wants to recruit a support worker for a domestic violence advice service for South Asian women. The organisation can say that it only wants to employ someone with South Asian origins

An organisation is taking [positive action](#) to encourage or develop people in a racial group that is under-represented or disadvantaged in a role or activity.

For example, a broadcaster gets hardly any applicants for its graduate recruitment programme from Black Caribbean candidates. It sets up a work experience and mentoring programme for Black Caribbean students to encourage them into the industry’

(Equality Human Rights Commission, 2020).

9.2 Race in England

The APA Directory of Psychology (2023) defines racism as a form of prejudice. It has the assumption that members of any racial group, such as the Gypsy, Roma, and Travellers, have characteristics which are different to the main society. Examples of these defining characteristics can be seen in chapters four to eight of this thesis, where the basic characteristics of the cultures which make up the Gypsy Romans and Travellers such as values, language etc have been outlined.

All that have taken part in this research, be they Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller community members, service providers or academics, use the word racism and talk about race. For the GRT and NGOs, ethnicity and race are used interchangeably with prejudice.

Whilst we talk about ethnicity, race, and racism in general terms, one element is clear: in the Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller communities you have to be ‘pure-blooded’ in which case you can travel in your wagons, stopping at villages and towns, but if you prefer living in a caravan, suddenly you are not ‘pure’ GRT and so need to stop travelling and settle down:

‘It’s like this my love, you should be pure-blooded, not like these New travellers and people like that, but to be pure-blooded you should know the ways of the Gypsy, Romany Travellers, things the Gorgers (none GRT) don’t know. [asked what sort of thing] things like how we know were talking to one of us and not a wannabe, it’s as simple as that.’

(Beatrice, 2018).

Adding in the labels placed on the Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller communities of ‘hard-to-reach’ and ‘disengaged’, together with the elevated levels of racism and prejudice faced by the communities, it is possible to see GRT live multidimensional in terms of their

experiences. This results in families and individuals experiencing social isolation from the local settled community. Rionach (2014) is clear that the construction of Gypsy-Travellers as ‘outsiders’ has provided the ideological justification for their persecution over the centuries, and the sustained discrimination and racism they experience is well documented by Vanderbeck (2005) and Rionach (2014), ‘This has resulted in a range of negative outcomes including health inequalities, discrimination in employment, access to housing and poverty.’ (Rionach, 2014, pp. 3-4).

9.3 What the Equality Act says about race discrimination

In 1965, British government passed the Equality Act and thus became one of the very first countries in Europe to do so. Since this time, England has amended the Act by extending measures to prevent discrimination. Whilst this act was a cautious attempt, Professor Anthony Heath from the British Academy of Philosophy stated:

‘The 1965 Race Relations Act was a pioneering, but rather cautious, attempt to deal with the problems that minorities (many of whom, such as the Windrush generation, had come from the Caribbean) faced in Britain. The Act made it a civil offence to discriminate on grounds of colour, race, or ethnic or national origin, in places of public resort’, such as a restaurant. It was criticised at the time for its limited ambitions and its main value was probably symbolic rather than practical.’

(Heath, 2019).

Since the 1965 Act, we have had various additions and amendments to prevent discrimination i.e. 1968, 1976, 2000, 2006 and 2010. The reasoning behind the amendments is in response to the growing evidence that ethnic minorities, such as those from the commonwealth countries, have disproportionately high rates of such as unemployment.

The key amendments were:

- 1968 Race Relation Act for the first time made it illegal to refuse housing, employment or indeed any public service on the ground of ethnicity, race, colour or national origin. The Act echoed Enoch Powell's 'River of Blood' speech in which he criticised the Act as he felt a landlord should be free to offer or indeed refuse accommodation to who they wished.
- From the position of the 1968 Race Relations Act, we have the 1976 Act, which for the first time had the concept of indirect and direct discrimination. Since this point, we have had the 2000 Race Relations (Amendment) Act and, the 2006 Racial Religious Hatred Act. The most recent Act is the Equality Act.

9.4 Infracommunication

It was commonly believed that our social attitudes were a system of beliefs. However, the emphasis is now much more emotional; feelings such as anger, disgust fear and sympathy are more important than why the feelings are present. Looking at the basic categorisation, it is commonly considered that in-groups are more favoured than out-groups, (Stangor et al., 2022), and it is GRT communities that are considered to be out-groups by the majority of English society (Abrams, 2010).

The survey by Worcester (2003) is old, yet it is most cited when establishing prejudice against Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Travellers. The poll showed that 34 per cent of respondents admitted to being prejudiced against Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller, and since 2003 several incidents have occurred. One of the most prominent cases concerned a serving Metropolitan Police officer and a retired officer who set up a private Facebook group and placed derogatory comments with terms including 'Pikey'. This was initially reported by

the *Travellers Times* to the Metropolitan Police, and then, following an unsatisfactory response, the matter was referred to the Independent Police Complaints Commission. However, the outcome of the investigation is seen as a whitewash¹⁷ (Lane et al., 2014). The findings showed that discrimination and harassment towards Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers in England were still commonplace among the Police and other public authorities. Lack of acknowledgement works to exclude rather than include and serves to justify a self-perception of prejudice, racism and persecution. Examples of racism and prejudice towards the GRT communities cited throughout this thesis are a clear indication of what Butler (2006), sees as placing them as ‘other’ and consequently, not part of the ‘us’ of mainstream society.

The European Commission produced a staff working document (2019)¹⁸. In the document, the section on England stated that the section of society that has developed late is disadvantaged [meaning the GRT community] with ‘poor integration’ and elevated levels of racism and prejudice, which manifests itself in the lives of the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers communities in several ways.

The Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller communities in England live in a state of social exclusion and therefore social poverty due to racism and prejudice, however, many from the communities would be considered affluent if they were in mainstream society. Whilst the following work is dated, the situation of position of a group or individual is the same today as then. It is stated that:

¹⁷ Whitewashing refers to the act of absolving a person or situation by means of through biased presentation of data

¹⁸ Other sections in the other nations in the UK were also covered.

‘To look at the position of a group or individual in poverty in the context of social exclusion it is easy to judge whether a certain minority consider themselves to be the victims of collective discrimination. They will express a feeling of disengagement and feel that they lack a voice or a say in the development of policies for effective services relevant to their communities.’

(Wirth, 1945, p.347).

Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers communities use their unique language and connections through families and friends as the criteria for their place in the community. There is an informal one-to-one process not based on racism or prejudice.

There are many forms of racism and prejudice, but one mindset in England is the social tension created by the Brexit debate which has been a driver of racism. Reports, such as Weaver (2016) in *The Guardian*, are clear that a marked increase in race-hate crimes against Eastern European Roma since the 2016 referendum.

Overall, the situation of Brexit and Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Travellers communities is summed up by Williams's (2020) work on the electronic immigration network, in which she asks what Brexit will mean for the Roma communities:

‘Brexit is the source of a multitude of threats for Roma, Gypsies and Travellers and we must act quickly and urgently to engage in the proper dialogues and take the proper actions to prevent these threats from becoming a reality.’

(Williams, 2020).

The construction of Gypsy and Travellers as ‘outsiders’ has provided the ideological justification for their persecution over the centuries and the experiences are well documented

(Vanderbeck, 2005; ; Van cleemput, 2010). Racism and discrimination are also very much a part of Gypsy Roma/Romany and Travellers life across Europe, an issue that has been highlighted by Brearley (2001) and Rionach (2014).

Berlin's (2015) thesis subtitled *A comparative study of housing and living-related wellbeing of Finnish Roma and housed Gypsy and Traveller in England* states:

'It can also be argued, that even if members of Gypsy and Traveller communities (for whatever reason), end up moving into settled accommodation, the stigma of their past 'differing' lifestyle follows them and is externalised as enacted discrimination and anti-Gypsyism by the wider society among whom they seek to settle (culture as nature).'

(Berlin, 2015, p.49).

The Minorities and Discrimination Survey in the EU (2009) showed that Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Travellers in many countries live in substandard accommodation referred to as 'shanty towns'. In England, we do not have the label 'shanty towns' however do have sites which are, for all intents and purposes, shanty towns for Gypsy, Romany /Roma and Travellers to put their caravans on and live.

The majority of those from the GRT communities interviewed for this research feel the close connection between families is being lost. It is acknowledged by others that several outside influences have increased this development. Elevated levels of racism, prejudice, being seen as 'other' and living on the edge of society have enhanced the Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller communities, feeling that there is safety and comradeship in a cluster against those 'others', whomever they may be.

‘Nevertheless, that does not per definition imply that all names contain clear signals of ethnic-national origin nor that people are at all times successful at perceiving these signals. This is often ignored, as names are seldom explicitly pre-tested and are often assumed to be good signifiers.’

(Martiniello, and Verhaeghe, 2022, p.11).

Thus, it is worth reminding ourselves of the situation within Europe and England, in terms of the fact that whilst some members of the Gypsy community use the name Gypsy, it is a debatable identity label. Indeed, Todaro (2013) was clear that the term Gypsy is as derogatory for Roma as the term ‘Nigger’ is for African Americans. The word Gypsy was a substitute for ‘slave’ during the Gypsy slavery in Romania.

Whilst Todaro (2013) discusses the East-European equivalent of Gypsy, Clark and Dearing (1999) look at the concept of name and ask if they are indeed one ethnic group or many. They discuss the central question of racial grouping, but again we are faced with the concept of whether one group or many and thus, the phrase that comes to mind is ‘divide and conquer’. By division of naming, we are once again producing the concept of other:

‘Terms of acceptance as an ethnic grouping by the governments of the world, Gypsies and Romanies have had their own internal 'signifiers of identity. Are they one ethnic group, Romani, or many?: Tsiganes in France; Zigeuner in Germany; Ciganyok in Turkey; Gitanos in Spain; Ejifitos in Greece; Farao Nepek in Hungary; Woonwagenbewoners in Holland, Minceir in Ireland - then there are the Sinti, the Manouches, the Jenishe - it is a long and complex list that is defined by both Romanies and outsiders. The central question is whether ethnicity in terms of racial

groupings is the most helpful and inclusive way in which Europe's (and indeed the world's) travelling population should identify itself.'

(Clark and Dearling, 1999).

9.5 Europe Roma to England

European works such as the *European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey* (2009) report show that whilst the EU, and thus the countries involved, are clear that racism and discrimination are wrong, however, Roma suffer one of the highest levels of racism and discrimination in Europe. Yet, whilst many countries have embraced their multicultural society, the report reiterates concerns related to discrimination in access to education, health, employment and other vital services suffered by Roma.

When coming to England from Europe, many Roma stay under the label 'asylum seekers' rather than their ethnicity of Roma. Brown et al. (2013), and Horton and Grayson (2008) show that when Roma do identify with their ethnicity, they face the same level of prejudice and racism as English Romany. Instead of being part of 'us' they become the 'other'.

There is much literature on racism towards the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers. For example, Greenfields (2009) looks in-depth at the situation of racism against Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers. All, irrespective of whether they look at local, regional or national areas, find that racism and discrimination toward GRT are high.

Once they move into housing, Gypsy Roma/Romany and Travellers encounter problems unique to their situation and widespread prejudice and discrimination that the whole communities encounter (Cullen, Hayes, and Hughes, 2008).

Prejudice is defined by Adams as:

‘Prejudice and discrimination can affect people’s opportunities, their social resources, self-worth and motivation and their engagement with wider society. Perceptions of equality and inequality are themselves drivers of further discrimination.

Consequently, establishing, promoting and sustaining equality and human rights depends on understanding how people make sense of and apply these concepts in their everyday lives...Therefore the approach taken in this review is to define prejudice as: ‘Bias that devalues people because of perceived membership of a social group.’

(Abrams, 2010, pp.6-8).

Prejudice can and does take several forms. Key elements of influence are how the group is expressed and thus the way it is manifested. Adams continues:

‘Fiske’s stereotype content model sets out basic stereotype elements and captures important stereotypes. For example, Fiske, Cuddy, Glick and Xu (2002) ...found that groups were classified along the two dimensions of warmth and competency...The way people depicted each group was determined by the socio-structural relationship among the groups...perceptions are also conditioned by the extent to which groups are perceived as competitive and the extent to which they are seen as gaining unjust benefits.’

(Abrams, 2010, pp.29-30).

Furthermore, Payne (2013) gives a good basic overview of social divisions and how even in this so-called enlightened modern-day it is possible to ascertain how society is made up around the concept of advantaged and disadvantaged groups. Those who are in the advantaged category have the power to create situations where the disadvantaged face inequalities. This section explores the situation of the Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller

communities in being a disadvantaged group and thus, a group in the lower ranks of society facing high levels of racism and discrimination.

9.6 Settling and isolation

Through this thesis, the position of the Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Travellers as a standalone ethnic group has been established. We have also looked at strategies of engagement with mainstream society in various formats. Thus, it is thought that if the Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Travellers community members are settling and engaging with mainstream society, then is it logical to presume that social isolation would be reduced. However, other factors such as racism and prejudice also play an important part in social isolation. The level of racism and prejudice means that it is almost impossible to write about the GRT communities in any context without looking at racism and prejudice. Whilst racism and prejudice have been used throughout this thesis, the following looks at the concept of discrimination, racism, prejudice, and otherness of the GRT communities in England. Baldwin and Willers are clear that:

‘Gypsies and Travellers still experience discrimination of the most overt kind. By way of example, ‘No blacks, no Irish, no Dogs’ signs disappeared long ago, but ‘No Travellers’ signs, used intentionally to exclude Gypsies and Travellers, are still widespread. In 2004 Trevor Phillips, then Chair of the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), compared the prejudice experienced by Gypsies and Travellers living in the UK to that of black people living in the American Deep South in the 1950s.’

(Baldwin and Willers, 2019, p.7).

The paper dialogue of ‘protection for their traditional way of life’ which, according to Baldwin et al., has changed little over recent years, once again gives no acknowledgement to the fact that the majority of the Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Travellers in England now live in

housing. The content of the paper concerning racism and discrimination is in line with other research undertaken.

9.7 Vulnerability of Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Travellers

The Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller communities are not immediately considered to be vulnerable. However, they encounter the highest level of racism of any group in the UK.

This, together with a history of nomadism which is interpreted by mainstream society as making them one of the hardest-to-reach communities, and the images portrayed in media, makes them a vulnerable group (Aspinall, 2014).

There is some value in identifying and recognising the thinking behind the concept of mainstream society's negativity towards these people, but very little has been written which is not negative. In most cases, the situation has been used to vent racism and prejudice. It is clear that, in British society, there are individuals who are not racially prejudiced towards the GRT communities, but it is well documented that these are in the minority, not the majority.

9.7.1 Television portraits of courtship and weddings

Whilst in chapter five we have discussed the culture norms and values in modern times, many talk about the television portrait of courtship and weddings, how these were seen by the settled community and formed part of the image they had of Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller communities. Thus, when families decided to settle, this image is brought to the foreground.

In 2011, the Channel 4 program *My Big Fat Gypsy Wedding* claimed to show how courtship involved 'grabbing'. The traditional process showed young men physically grabbing young girls and being able to inflict pain to get the girl to kiss them. Whilst the program gives the impression that this is a well-known and used cultural norm, several aspects of the program

are incorrect. Firstly, unmarried girls are always chaperoned by male members of their families. Second, at functions such as weddings, same-sex members of the communities tend to congregate. Unmarried girls can be with other young people in groups that may contain the other sex, but this is generally only allowed within the sight of adults. Overall, the process of grabbing was at best fundamentally flawed and does not exist. Webb states in her research:

‘Portrayed as backward and immoral under headlines such as ‘The bizarre secrets of courtship in My Big Fat Gypsy Wedding’ Daily Mail, (2011) and ‘Gypsy teens in TV “assault” to wed’ The Sun, (2011), ‘Grabbing’ was explained as a fundamental and traditional Gypsy courtship method. As the obvious risk, that this may lead to a collective stigmatisation of Gypsies and Travellers, was overlooked, with persistent references to ‘the fact’ that violence against and oppression of women was entrenched in Gypsy culture and tradition.’

(Webb, 2017, p.136).

In the show, we are introduced to Thelma Madine, the dressmaker of the wedding dresses. She and her team are constantly displaying lavish, larger-than-life weddings, bridesmaids, christening, and confirmation dresses. She had a spin-off titled *Thelma’s Gypsy Girls*, where she had several Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller community girls working for her, undertaking various elimination tasks and the last one remaining got a job with her. The show, however, seemed to be an advertisement for her work rather than showing the cultural norms and values around marriage, christenings, and confirmations.

Gypsies Next Door, on Channel 5, was narrated by Jake Bowers, one of the very few Gypsies to become a journalist. We see a man keeping a horse in his garage and the neighbours saying they do not mind. In another frame, we see a group of nomadic Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and

Travellers moving from a place they parked up and leaving a large amount of rubbish and human excrement.

These programs have done nothing to give a clear understanding of the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities' endeavours, indeed through sensationalising they have fed into the stereotypical image of the communities. Le Bas reported in *The Guardian* (2019) that:

‘Over the past decade, Gypsy documentaries have been doing something insidious [...] These programs conjure the feeling that you are getting an intricate and balanced depiction of a hidden world. The reverse is true on all counts. They can create the impression that social problems spring up out of nowhere; that Gypsy Roma/Romany and Travellers are magically immune to common human concerns about work, money, health, and their children’s education; that everyone from a certain background or a certain gender, is the same.’

(Le Bas, 2019).

Dr Cate Trease, in her interview for this research, was clear that:

‘The TV programmers present a very skewed view of the communities and reinforce people’s prejudice such as ‘Where did they get all this money?’ This does nothing to help the communities, whereas information such as life expectancy being ten years less than mainstream society does shock people.’

(Trease, 2016).

The TV image of the communities, as Dr Trease describes it, reinforces people's prejudices. Then the prejudice generated by the reinforcement manifests itself through acts of victimisation.

In mainstream society and the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities of England, monogamous marriage is still the most common form of marriage. Same-sex marriage has started to be accepted both legally and in society but whilst there is some movement toward an increased understanding of same-sex relationships and marriage in the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities, it is way behind that of mainstream society.

The traditional structure of the families in the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities means that most couples once married will try to have children immediately and it is common to see families of five to six children with young parents. Such a large family can become difficult when settled. The first issue when moving into housing is the number of bedrooms required. This can and does create negativity in terms of the allocation of housing:

‘The first thing we got, when we asked about a house to rent, was that we would need more than three bedrooms, I said yes of course we would there are nine of us. The first thing I heard when I went to the local shop was being told we had a much larger house than most, I just knew they had got to find something to have a go at. That was the start, I knew they were going to start about how we wanted this and that.’

(Peggy, 2018).

9.8 Systemic racism, your Gypsy, Romany and Travellers access to education and health

In chapter eight we have discussed education and health and whilst have briefly discussed racism and prejudice here we look more into details of systematic racism. Before chapter ten

which focuses on education and health for the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller Communities and how It affects decisions around settling

In The opening paragraph is one of the most powerful I have read in terms of defining the forms that racism and prejudice can and do take place.

‘Some think racism is always visible and mostly comes from individuals through physical and verbal abuse and open contempt for those of a certain ethnic or cultural background. While this is a form of racism, other elements of racism, such as systemic racism, are widespread but harder to spot.’

(Barnardo’s, 2020).

9.9 Issues of stigma

Stigma, as understood by Goffman in 1963, is a social process whereby the negative reactions of others serve to ‘spoil one’s own social identity’ (Goffman, 1986). Reading the transcripts of GRT, many felt they were treated differently (including negatively), by a member of the settled community when they tried to engage and thought their ethnicity was known. Many felt that this was a barrier to access (described by Goffman 1986 as ‘enacted stigma’) which were actual direct instances of discrimination because of the GRT identity. However, there was also what is described as ‘felt stigma’ (this is the feeling or the fear of being discriminated against because of being identified and labelled as a member of GRT community groups). Whilst enacted stigma is often more blatant and direct, felt stigma can be more indirect and harder to identify. The presence of felt stigma was reported as a key reason behind people having feelings that services of support were not for them. The combination of enacted and felt stigma can work together to make GRT community members feel powerless against the face of seen and unseen persistent exclusion and marginalisation. Moving into

housing with this belief of services not being for them, together with the removal of the support network of the cluster affects emotional well-being and encourages negative feelings associated with isolation.

9.10 Turning the tables on racism and prejudice

On 16 January 2020, Afua Hirsch wrote an article for *The Guardian* on ‘playing the race card’. The article starts with the statement ‘Many British people are ignorant about how racism works. Yet when black people try to explain our experience is denied.’ (Hirsch, 2020). The article discussed Sheffield University's decision to employ students to become race equality champions. Around the same time as the ‘race equality champions’, Buck University facilitated the setting up of a network titled ‘Take the pledge’ was set up to share information, and findings from research. The aim of the pledge is an exploration of how to support GRT students who attend higher education. Participants who have signed up include community members who are students and graduates; educational and community leaders; Civil Society organisations/NGOs; policymakers; Widening Participation professionals; post-graduate students and scholars concerned with the educational inclusion of GTRSB communities. Once again, whilst GRT have had a similar support network to the black ethnic minorities, they are separated rather than inclusive. This exclusion, rather than inclusion, means that the GTRSB individuals can and on many occasions have a negative empowerment of need.

Throughout this work and the plethora of documentation, racism and prejudice towards the Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller communities is stated as fact. Government documents, together with numerous research undertaken clearly show that racism and prejudice towards GRT is considered the last tolerable form of racism in the UK. Little is known concerning how it is possible to use this negative situation for the Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller

communities to use this situation positively. The following quotations from members of the GRT communities show the situation through the eyes of community members.

‘I’ve not looked at it before, but yes there are times we use the Refugee or Asylum seeker racism cards for example moving into a house we want rather than one which is available and why should we not do this, it is used against us enough times.’

(Zelor, 2018).

Zelor has used racism and prejudice together to suggest that the division between having inflicted is a straight line. However, others such as Cat tell us how she had a summons for jury service and used her ethnicity to be removed:

‘I was sent a letter, to the address I used saying I was needed for jury service so I got my elder sister girl to fill in the forms and also write to them saying I was a Gypsy and I had a bad back so could I be excused, they wrote back and said yes, so using I’m a Gypsy works for us some times, the trouble is, is that a small amount of times it helps, but a lot of time it’s used against us.’

(Cat, 2018).

Whilst Cat has seen her status as a Romany/Gypsy as key to her not having to do jury service, the majority of those spoken to within this were able to give an account of a time which did hurt them emotionally. An example of the way they were hurt is stated by Wendy:

‘When [settled] people look down on you like you’re a nothing a nobody, that hurts, it does hurt, when it is done to someone you love it is then the pain is almost too much. Sometimes I want to shout out and say ‘Why are you doing this, what makes you think you’re so much better than us’, but I don’t because I know then they would

know how much they had hurt us and that much be what they want or they would not be doing it. I would never give them the satisfaction of knowing they had done what they set out to do.'

(Wendy, 2018).

When you have experienced racism, discrimination and prejudice, together with hearing and seeing the experiences of families and friends as you are growing up, it is possible to consider this normal behaviour. The level of racism and discrimination which is inflicted on the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers in every aspect of their lives can and does make it feel like the norm. The sad fact is you can become so used to it happening, you then presume it is racism even if it is not. When asked about this, the following was a standard type of reply:

'I am not sure about that, see if you go about thinking like that you may end up saying does racism against Gypsy, Traveller and Roma exist, well yes it does every day year in and year out. I would say that yes there may be a few cases where people think it racist and it's not, but believe me most of the time it is and this man in the story you're telling me is a grown man and I don't think he would make a mistake like that, he read the signs and he knows the score.'

(Fred, 2018).

Using the work on social interaction, it is possible to see how Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers who run a business experience the fear of the negative connotations associated with their ethnicity through their and other community members' personal experiences. Thus, it is clear that subsequent actions will, and do, play a negative part in running their business.

Racism and prejudice were discussed matter-of-factly and were dismissed with a wave of the hand or turn of the head away from the others. The fact that legislation was in place to protect

Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers was dismissed as not being for them. As a gesture of dismissal, people would start to move around making tea, having a cigarette and carrying on talking to each other indicating that their confidence in the law was minimal. When shown, Ryder and Greenfields state:

‘The Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers condemn all forms of racism or discrimination towards any individual or group of people. Our ethos is based upon fairness, respect, solidarity and the determination to improve the working conditions of Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers Police Officers and staff, along with vitally improving service provision to our communities [...] Racism and discrimination towards Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers is also very much prevalent in the UK and unfortunately, the Police service is not an exception. Our members often report incidents to us, some of which we find truly appalling and ensure are immediately acted upon.’

(Ryder and Greenfields, 2010).

This article was met with dismissal from all participant families. It was considered that it did not even warrant talking about and when I tried to make conversation about the article, I was met with no engagement, and many tried to change the conversation. One of the most meaningful quotations which came out of these conversations was when discussing Martin Luther King Jr’s ‘I Have a Dream’ (1963) speech. A Romany woman gave a poignant reminder that his speech is still relevant in society towards ethnic minorities when she said: ‘I believe in the speech “I have a dream” because I have lived the nightmare.’ (Lakey, 2018).

The sad truth is that whilst Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers and black community members have engaged in society and lived by government rules, we see little recognition of

these positive actions. We are reminded of what racism can and does lead to in society by looking at Jonny Delaney and Stephen Lawrence, whose lives were taken because they were not with the majority. We also had the killing of Police Officer Andrew Harper, who was killed by three young men from the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers communities.

When referring to the killing of Delaney and Lawrence, it is inferred by many that society is not racist; it is just these few people who carry out these and many other attacks. I would argue that each time a person uses a negative word or description, it is the first step on the ladder of racism which can and does lead to the outcome of someone's death or a person being emotionally hurt and feeling pain, which is as real as if they have been knifed or shot.

In addition to the marked difficulties faced by Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers, one sector of communities, the Roma, who are not nomadic, face not only the racism and discrimination inflicted towards GRT but also the negativity forced on them for being asylum seekers.

9.11 Glimmer of hope

The overall response from those taking part, whether from a cluster family or NGO, was that many of the actions undertaken to engage with the local settled community were, at best, simply acknowledged but were usually rejected. However, there are some glimmers of hope around the issue of relationship building.

One Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller member spoke of a local man who was known to the families living next door and recounted to them how he responded to negativity from other local community members.

‘When we moved in here, we knew the man next door so I asked him and his wife if they would like to come around and have a cup of tea. They did and he said what had

happened before we moved in, it was something like ‘They [meaning other members of the settled community living locally] said to me that the Gypsies are moving in next door to you, you want to watch out and I said to them Yes your right I got an old woman and a young girl moving in next door and I have known them for years now I have got to watch out, so have all of us up this village because they are so kind and nice to everyone they will put us all to shame’.’

(Violet, 2018).

A significant national gesture by the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers communities was widely praised throughout England. In December 2019, the communities undertook a challenge to stock foodbanks across England. GRT families were going into supermarkets, buying trolley loads of shopping and leaving them for the local food bank. Then they would record themselves challenging other friends and families to do the same by stating, for example, ‘I nominate my brother Joe to the challenge’ and posting it online. Considerable acclaim was given online regarding this action, with praise coming from the general public and some members of the local settled community commenting that mainstream society should start to question the negative image of Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers portrayed in the media. However, the extent to which this positive attitude changes perceptions at a local level remains to be seen.

One area of development is that more and more of the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller families settle and engage with settled society, and the population of mixed heritage families is increasing. This is working very much as a bridge between the settled community and GRT. However, many of the families find it difficult to come to terms with the acknowledgement that mixed marriages do exist and are indeed increasing:

‘When my sister started to talk about a boy she talked to at work, I thought to myself, this is a bit more than being friends. She started to go out with him and before long she wanted to bring him home, which she did. She wanted to marry him, but our parents were not pleased. She did marry him, and they have been married eight years and I have to say he will do anything for her. She has a nice home, and the baby has nice things.’

(May, 2018).

9.12 Returning to Maslow

It is easy to see that though negativity of racism and prejudice, which is fuelled by the them and us concept and lack of unity with other BAME groups, not only makes friendship and a sense of connection unachievable

Friendship outside of the GRT community has in the past been difficult to establish due in the main because of the different cultural norms and values. However, as the GRT communities are settling and the growing mixed heritage families, this is slowly breaking down which gives rise to the sense of connection. Sadly, for mix heritage families are prone to hearing negativity from one or both sides of the family.

Chapter 10. Conclusion- Self-Assessed Outcomes and Their Trajectory

10.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at the findings from this work and ways forward to achieve more inclusive relationships between Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller communities and local mainstream society, together with national changes to make lack of understanding of the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers' needs and wants in modern England a thing of the past.

10.2 The Lifecycle of Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers

Looking through the lifecycle of the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers (see Chapters 4 and 8), we can see how cultural norms are fundamentally different from the settled community. In these communities, certain rules apply concerning the building of relationships. The divide between sexes is clear and from birth; the majority will put babies in blue for boys and pink for girls, thus imposing the gender role from birth. The cultural education of the communities in terms of feminine or masculine is well defined. Thus, a person's gender identity which fits with the stereotypical definition of sexuality is acceptable in the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller communities; it is when a person's gender role is different that there are problems. Sadly, being gay is still frowned upon in the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller community, although some movement has been made; for example, my cousin had one of the first community gay marriages in 2021.

Perhaps one of the most noted areas where Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers and the settled community have differences is when discussing birth and sex education. Very few children who attend school attend sex education classes. Sex is not talked about in the community. In the discussions for this study, those taking part lowered their voices and many before speaking would make the gesture of looking around them, which indicated that the information being given was not appropriate for the other sex or children. Women are presumed to be virgins when they marry. However, the phrase 'marriage' includes living together. Sex education is a key area of difference, for whilst the settled community sees the advantages of young people being informed about such things, the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers, in the main, consider this to be inappropriate and unnecessary, particularly for girls.

Wedding and courtship, whilst allowing considerable laughter and funny personal stories of ‘running away’ together, also showed differences. One of the key barriers to integration when settling is that the majority of Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers still have a strong patriarchal structure to family life and therefore women are the homemakers whilst men are the providers. The almost Victorian structure to family life and the traditional divides of male and female in the GRT can be difficult for the mainstream settled community to understand as this style of family structure is in the main seen as archaic. The modern settled community family tends to have less defined roles in the family and a higher quality of relationships.

Death and funerals are another area in which there are differences in norms between GRT and the settled community. When talking about a member of the families who had died, the majority of community members looked down rather than engage in eye contact. Throughout this work, the cultural norms have been respected by the GRT. There was a little interruption when somebody talked about their family members. When talking about the deceased, the words ‘my poor’ were always put before the person’s name. The deceased were always talked about in the present tense. In terms of photographs, it is common in modern Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities to take photographs of the grave straight after the burial to show the wreaths. Some put photographs of family members taken at various occasions like weddings by the graveside. Funerals are usually large affairs and extended family are considered close family whose funeral should be attended. Again, this is different from the settled community, which tends not to place artefacts in the coffin. Floral tributes also tend to be religious.

We have seen that key events in the Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities highlight the concept of ‘normal’ as it applies to themselves and the local settled community. Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities who become housed want to integrate.

However, the key milestone events which define their cultural norms ‘out’ them to the local settled community and thus general society as not sharing mainstream norms and values.

When the Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller community members settle, they often have an attachment to the area through birth, death or marriage; therefore, as Livingston (2008) and Giuliani (2003) confirm, this is both a physical and an emotional attachment.

10.3 Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller Communities' Perceptions of The Success or Failure of Engagement

This section establishes Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller community members’ perceptions of the success or failure of engagement and settling.

‘I would like to say that now after all this time we are part of the local life and we are what you would say is part of the communities, but we are not. There is always that little bit, that something in the background that keeps on going so that we may be here and people may say ‘hello’ and we may be doing this or doing that, but at the end, there is still that little thorn of not trusting you that holds it all back, no we have not succeeded.’

(Billy, 2018).

When (with his permission) I read out Billy’s comments to cluster family C, David added:

‘I know what Billy is saying but I think we got to keep trying and perhaps not for me but for the little children, they need to have roots and they have them in the Gypsy Traveller or whatever you call yourself communities, but things are changing and they have got to get on with the gorgers as we call them so we have got to keep trying to get along, not for us but for them the littles [children].’

(David, 2020).

Violet from cluster family C added:

‘We tried it did not work and to be honest I do not care much. We got to be met halfway and if they [settled local communities] cannot be bothered then neither can I, but if they can then I will. I have done nothing wrong so I will not bow down to them and be all yes sir no sir to them I am as good as them any day of the week.’

(Violet, 2018).

Whilst Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities have options, Charlie (NGO worker) feels that a crossroads has been reached and that the GRT communities may not always know what to do:

‘[Gypsy Travellers and Romany] do not always know what to do with these options. There are still big problems. This might be a bit controversial to say, but although we are generally better off, I think a lot of Travellers wonder what the point of it all is. There is still a lot of alcoholism, depression, heavy smoking, drug taking and suicide. Even for those who have done well, like the elite boxers, they have these demons. This inner darkness from being a Traveller in the modern world. There is a feeling that we will never be accepted, so why do we bother trying? I see it in myself sometimes. Everything is going all right and then unexpectedly I will want to jack everything in and just get in the motor and drive until something finally goes bang. I always thought I was the only one who felt like this until I started talking to other people about it. It is quite common amongst Travellers, this weird self-destruction urge. It is something we need to talk about.’

(Charlie, 2016).

Dr David Smith, himself from the Gypsy Traveller communities and an academic, states:

‘Our culture is at a crossroads. It just takes time to adjust to change. We have the advantages of the modern world at our fingertips, but I do not think we are quite at home here yet. I reckon this is one reason the church has taken off for some Travellers. [The Life and Light mission has become extremely popular with England Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities]. Many of the men from the communities are becoming Preachers and increasingly accessing literacy classes to learn to read the Bible... It is responding to this feeling of being alienated from the world. It has a positive message that says, look, you can feel at home in the world.’

(Smith, 2016).

Others feel the changes that had to be made were too high a price to pay to live in a house:

‘When I think back at what we gave up [asked to explain], well we were on a nice enough site. We had people come and go off the site, but most were OK. I thought it was all so normal, what we did, how we lived the support we gave each other. I wanted to go into a house, I thought it would be better, give us more chance in life, well not really me and him, but the children. Don’t ask me why, but I thought once we got into a house the children would make friends, and so would I. I kept thinking how nice it would be for the children to go to school with their friends. Not once did it occur to me that all the prejudice and racist stuff we had done to us through the years would still happen. But it soon became obvious we had made a terrible mistake. Sometimes now I look at my children and I’m not sure I even know them and their ways. The people around us don’t want us here and we don’t want to be here, but as my old mum used to say ‘You made your bed and so you got to lay in it, but this bed is very hard to lay in.’

(Pam, 2018).

The NGO workers also found the transition from caravan to house difficult for some of the Gypsy Romany/Roma Travellers:

‘I have known families who are living happily on sites that decide to move into housing and have found that relationships with the settled community in the d is difficult. To be honest with you, most that I know seem to want to be back on the sites. I know of one family that has moved into a house and the man comes every day to the site, I think he is lonely as he was used to having the other men around him. I think it has been better for his wife, but all she seems to do is look after other families' children after school and run the other mums about. I think she thinks she has to do this or they will not let her be in the group, it's like when you're little and you are nice to the other girls so you can play with them.’

(Wendy, 2018).

As stated by Smith in 2016:

‘Religion plays a large part in the lives of many from the Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities. The majority of Irish Travellers tend to be Catholic and many have joined the Christian faith. However, whilst not a religion in the true sense historically many of the women were herbalists and it was not unusual for families to Whilst some may feel herbalism is not a religion, it is closely connected with pagan and other spiritual traditions. Within the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller communities, some have taken forward the role of their mothers, and grandmothers and become herbalists:

(Smith, 2016).

Another example of the of self-diagnosis and herbalism is given by Peggy:

‘My granny and my mum were herbalists and I used to go with them into the hedgerows to pick herbs, when I got married, I started to do the same, but when we moved into a house and we tried to fit in, my husband said not to do it, because if the people living around us saw me, they would want us out. So, I grow herbs now, but it is not the same. To be honest with you, I don’t know how they were going to see me. But he said no so that was that.’

(Peggy, 2018).

What makes Peggys’ story interesting is that whilst herbalism was a traditional craft in her family, she stopped although she had no explanation of how the local non-Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities would find out about it. Wenham-Ross (2019) reported how the Conservative Party has pledged to target Roma.

‘Who stated One long-standing and ugly form of bigotry has been completely overlooked, despite being literally written into the Conservative manifesto: anti-ziganism. Prejudice against those labeled as Gypsies, Roma, and Travellers is one of the most widespread forms of racism in the U.K., and one stoked over the last decades not only by the Conservative Party but also by its main media supporters.’

(Wenham-Rose, 2019).

Little has been reported as any sector of the general communities considering this as racist or prejudiced. It brings to mind a presentation given at various events by the Gypsy journalist Jake Bowers and a 2012 ‘frequently asked questions’ pack for *Traveller Times*. During his presentations, he shows written articles with negative statements and then presents the same articles but replaces references to the Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities with

other ethnic groups. It is always shown how GRT communities as targets for racism and discrimination are acceptable.

10.4 Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

Maslow (1943) argues that only once the basic life needs of shelter, food and drink – the biological and physiological needs – are met does anyone look to achieve the fulfilment of belonging.

As can be seen throughout this thesis, whilst internally the Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities living a traditional life feel they do have the basic needs and psychological needs, this is only achieved when the community groups are in the communities and thus their clusters. This explains why being cited as 'other' or 'hard-to-reach' is something that is not a problem for the majority of Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities:

'It's like this, when I am with my people, I'm relaxed, I know what is happening and what I should be doing. When I am around the gorgers [Settled] I get nervous, it feels like I'm under a microscope and they are looking at me and judging me all the time.'

(Bob, 2018).

Sam continues:

'I go about with my mates, some are gorgers were just mates together, but if I think about it, we are different, not in big things, but in little ways. We all take the fun out of one of our mates because we went round his house once and he was doing the housework.'

(Sam, 2018).

The levels of racism, prejudice and discrimination inflicted on the Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities means that feelings of safety needs are absent when in with wider communities but are felt when in the GRT communities themselves. However, this is slowly changing and as Sam shows us in his comment, he felt secure enough to have some fun in his group setting. The resulting factor is that whilst in the GRT communities the majority of Maslow's Hierarchy of needs is fulfilled, when engaging with mainstream communities the physiological needs are not. Unless a more positive approach to the communities, including the regeneration of the culture and ethnicity of Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities, it will be impossible for these communities to move on from the biological needs.

10.5 Racism and Prejudice

The research has established the prominent levels of racism and prejudice inflicted on the Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities throughout which results in it being one of the most disadvantaged groups in England. The police are considered to be more about the enforcement of the law than protection. Organisations such as social services are looked at as negative; they will not help the family but will take your children away and put your elderly in a home. Combined with this is mainstream society's resistance to changing their attitudes toward the Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities.

Many in wider society still believe that the majority of Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities are nomadic and living outside of mainstream society and therefore they are 'other'. The idea of settling down and living in houses like the rest of UK society is stated many times in various documents as a solution to what they perceive to be the 'problems' of the Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities. However, the majority of GRT communities do live in housing or settle on long-term sites. Yet, when they do try to settle

and become recognised members of the local community, they are faced with hostility and negativity. This enhances their feeling that mainstream society wants them to settle and be normal, but just not in their backyard.

Racism and prejudice from all sectors of society towards Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities are the most pervasive and yet most acceptable in England. No one can forget the police officers who set up a closed internet group which mainly consisted of derogative remarks about the Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities. How the Dale Farm and Woodbridge evictions and the Battle of Bean Fields, gave no regard to the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers' families' welfare or where they would go.

When trying to settle in housing or on a site, one key aspect highlighted by protesters against settlement is that the community members have no attachment to the area. Yet we have seen throughout this research that Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers do form geographical attachments which in some cases have been forming for generations through births, deaths and marriages – all key events in their lives.

The desire for GRT's to have a caravan in the drive simply as a feeling of security and place shows their wish to retain a connection to their traditional way of life. This is not something shared by the Roma, who have no such tradition.

The majority of Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities who settle long term initially try to integrate into the local community. However, most of their strategies are very much in terms of giving their skills and ability in return for acceptance; for example, fixing a car or looking after older people who live alone. This giving of skills and abilities in the hope of being accepted tends to fail because when the Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities member asks for something in return – to live in the house next door or to

access the same services – racism and prejudice re-emerge. They are reminded once again that they are still outsiders and not part of the local communities.

The use of language as discussed previously in the section insider/outsider can be perceived as a process of acculturation and absorption into the dominant society or as contributing to empowerment (McCaffery, 2011).

10.6 Concerns When Settling

The results of this study show that, for the majority of Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities, their greatest concern when settling alongside local communities in villages or towns is that their cultural norms and values will be eroded and that, after several generations have spent all their lives being settled and integrated, will be lost.

This is highlighted as a real concern, particularly now the majority of Traveller education teams have been amalgamated into the numerous cultural education departments of county councils or disbanded completely. Gypsy, Roma/Romany, and Traveller communities' History Month is not usually on a school's curriculum. However, the evidence is that younger generations of Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities' families still retain their culture even whilst living in housing and undertaking traditional daily functions such as teaching girls how to cook and clean. The fear of loss of the cultural norms and values stems from the 'all-or-nothing' approach and thus when settling will lose all the norms and values and no acknowledgement is given to the fact that they will adjust to the new situation but may need a change in priorities; for example, girls training for a job rather than learning to cook. However, learning to cook will still be on the agenda when time allows.

One of the key barriers to integration when settling is that the majority of Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers still have a strong patriarchal structure to family life and

therefore women are the homemakers, and the men are providers. This leads to differences in family life and thus makes it difficult to form relationships, particularly for women and girls. There is little acknowledgement of the defining roles for women and girls in the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller communities, including the strict rules of courtship and marriage so forming relationships in the settled community with women and girls who suffer fewer restrictions can be difficult.

Many have to listen to derogatory remarks about their own Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities without challenging them. This can arise due to a fear of losing employment, bullying of children at school or rejection by local communities. In terms of one-to-one relationships forming, the evidence from this study suggests a very mixed bag of results. Some GRT communities have talked about how a relationship was developing only to be broken once extended family members became aware of the situation. Other GRT communities state that they have friends in the local vicinity that they consider to be very dear friends. However, in general, it seems that while there are some positives in relationship building between the two communities, in all cases members of the Gypsy, Roma/Romany, and Traveller communities had experienced relationship breakdown.

These communities are settling in housing or long-term sites and want to integrate and play an active role in the local communities. To help this along they give generously of their skills and ability in the hope of forming relationships. Sadly, due to the fear in mainstream society generating racism and prejudice, positive relationships are difficult to form. An implication of this is the limited potential it offers even for a Gypsy, Roma/Romany, and Traveller communities member living in housing or long-term on sites to participate in implementing change in the general local communities.

10.7 Changes When Moving from One Culture to Another

Whilst the findings thus far focus very much on the traditional set culture, changes can and in many cases are made when living in a house and the settled local communities. In the field of cross-cultural psychology, Berry (1997) established that there are important links between cultural context and individual behavioural development:

‘Given this relationship, cross-cultural research has increasingly investigated what happens to individuals who have developed in one cultural context when they attempt to re-establish their lives in another one. The long-term psychological consequences of this process of acculturation are highly variable, depending on social and personal variables that reside in the society of origin, the society of settlement. and phenomena that both exist before and arise during, the course of acculturation.’

(Berry, 1997, Abstract).

Relating this to the situation that many Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities find themselves in when settling enables us to understand the real worry of many community members that many of the cultural norms of caring and sharing are being eroded and, in their place, a more individual ‘I’m OK’ attitude is taking its place:

‘The Travellers are not like they used to be, now they live in houses and think they are something they are not. It used to be your call to pull up and in minutes the women were making tea and the men all helping to set up the trailer, but now you are lucky if they talk to you at all.’

(Ben, 2018).

Throughout this research, one of the fears voiced by Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities when talking about settling was the loss of cultural norms. Returning to Berry (1997), we can see that:

‘Greater cultural distance implies the need for greater culture shedding and culture learning and significant differences trigger negative intergroup attitudes and induce greater culture conflict leading to poorer adaptation. Personal factors have also been shown to affect the course of acculturation. In the personality domain, several traits have been proposed as both risk and protective factors [...] However, consistent findings have been rare, possibly because, once again, it is not so much the trait by itself but its ‘fit’ with the new cultural setting that matters.’

(Berry, 1997, p.11).

Relating this to the situation of Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities settling down long-term on sites or in houses, there is a significant amount of additional research that needs to be conducted. It does, however, highlight the difficulties and choices that have to be made when you are in one culture to then change to another and whether you can move from one culture to another and keep some of the cultural norms you were brought up with.

The Gypsy, Roma/Romany, and Traveller communities demand that the same courtesy be shown to them as is shown to other ethnic minorities. Those such as Trease, Okely, and the majority of NGO workers argue that these communities need to stand up for themselves more and be proud of who they are. However, no indication of how this could be achieved is given.

10.8 Being The Helper and Giver of Skills

Although I have focused on East Anglia-based families, NGO workers from across England have also shown that a key element of Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities' efforts to integrate with settled local communities has been in taking the role of the 'helper and giver of skills and ability'. This trait of helping and sharing is common in the Gypsy, Roma/Romany, and Traveller communities, groups and community support is frequently maintained by the family members. It is not unusual on a small site or in a cluster family to find shared care for children, the elderly or the sick. If a man is fixing his car, other men on the site will help. This is the opposite of the lack of community spirit observed in many towns and villages in England today. However, Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities engage with and support each other. This clash of cultural norms may be one of the reasons for negative attitudes towards the Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities:

'Last Christmas we brought a tin of sweets and gave the children that play on the green and are always their a sweet each. I said it was from my dog because when I take him out, they all come running over to pat him. I didn't think anything of it, then a while later someone knocked on the door, so went and opened it and there stood one of the women who is mum to one of the little boys and do you know what she did? She stood there and asked me not to give him sweets again. Then she looked me up and down and said, My sister knows your little girl, she's in the same class as her daughter. My sister said that you are a Gypsy. She made it sound as if she was wiping dogs' mess off her shoes. I just shut the door in her face. It was that or hit her.'

(Joan, 2018).

What makes Joan's situation all the more difficult to hear is that it was such a simple act of kindness, yet it was still turned into a racial situation. Many times, when we think of racism

and prejudice we do think of the ‘big’ acts taking place, but Joan has shown that it is not the size of the act, but the negativity behind that makes prejudice and racism so difficult.

10.9 What Should Be Done Differently If Looking To Settle

The roots of the singer Cher in the Gypsy heritage continue to be debated. However, she sang *If I Could Turn Back Time* (1989) which sadly none of us can do. This section explores what those taking part in this research feel in hindsight they would have done differently.

Wendy, an NGO worker, feels:

‘There is nothing more we can do. Linda’s hopes for improvement are focused on her niece ‘my niece starts school soon she will be attending the village school things will improve through that.’

(Wendy, 2016).

In general, there is no support for housed Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Travellers; it is very much you sink, or you swim on your own. When a family decides to settle, they have two choices: settle on a site (their land or council or housing association) in the home they have, or move into housing. We have looked at the relationship between GRT and social services. However, moving into housing is a massive step for a family and support needs to be available for the family to access which is not part of social services.

Moving into housing may mean more internal space but allocating and defining that space can be an issue for some families:

‘We need a bit more space, both mentally and physically. And that's not just Travellers, it is everybody. You cannot express yourself and decide who and what you want to be if you do have not room for your body and your mind. The new generation

of sites is better designed, with bigger gaps, places where the children can play, trees being retained and all things that make a difference to your well-being. Feeling like the world is a better place. If you grow up living somewhere that looks brutal and the entire world expects you to turn out brutal, why should anyone be surprised when that happens? I was one of the lucky ones, I reckon. Without the fields, horses, space and light I would have gone mad NGO workers, [insane] as we say. I want those same things for everyone. That is impractical and sentimental. But there you go; it is what I think.'

(Ted, 2016).

For the male members of the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller communities, a large proportion of their day is spent outside and many who work outside the community will spend time outside fixing things when home. Whilst they have a designated place such as a garden to work on, it has to be undertaken in the definition of what a garden should be used for:

Andy, an Irish Traveller from cluster D, feels that the houses of which one of them he lives have been built in such a way that the residents in the other houses are able to see what Andy is doing in his own garden:

'These houses they put us in are all right and have rooms for different things, but it is a fact you got houses all around you. Every time I go into the garden, wherever I look, all I can see are other houses and windows which they can see what I am doing.'

(Andy, 2018).

The feeling of being confined in a house can be difficult for someone outside the Gypsy, Roma/Romany, and Traveller, communities to understand. With the COVID-19 virus in 2020, many non-Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities found for the first time that they were confined in their home. The government, through funding charities and services, has set up and run services to look after both the physical and mental health of those confined to their homes. Returning to the Gypsy, Roma/Romany, and Traveller communities, logic states that if you used to live in a caravan – quite small in most cases – then a house will surely provide more room, but this is not the case. GRT communities are used to living (either nomadically or on sites) in homes which are at ground level. Indeed, the 2011 British census showed that the majority of those living in bricks and mortar preferred a bungalow to any other form of housing. The fact that houses have a second storey means that gardens can be overlooked. Also, when they are nomadic, families only live in the confines of the caravan therefore rubbish, water cans and other items not in constant use are put outside to maximise the amount of space. Anecdotal evidence, together with literature on individual Gypsy, Roma/Romany, and Traveller communities' lives, suggest that this action of putting items outside the home has contributed to the perception that GRT communities live with rubbish all around them. This lifestyle practice continues to a lesser extent when living on sites and in housing. Both back and front gardens are used to store items such as car parts and household items not in use. This is different from the traditional use of British gardens. Flowers and lawns in the front with the back used for household items.

The majority of those interviewed said that they would not have settled in each location if they had been warned about local hostility to their moving in:

‘The town councillors and council do not like or want new Gypsy and Traveller families, with this leadership, individuals struggle to gain any fair treatment. The

families regret not putting up displays in the village Scarecrow festival, as this might have helped more.'

(Vivian, 2018).

Vivian looks at actions the families could have taken to engage more. Others including Sammy regret the time and effort her family and those in other clusters have put into engagement and she feels that next time she will not bother:

'If we had our life again what we would do is move here, there are three of us on our land and two families in housing in the village and none of us is liked, so we would move here and not try to get on with the village people. There is no point in trying we should know that by now.'

(Sammy, 2018).

10.10 Pride In Ethnicity

When with cluster groups, on several occasions the conversation turned to pride in ethnicity and the world-famous work of Martin Luther King (1968), American civil rights leader, and speech 'I Have a Dream'. Many of the women made sure that it was brought into the conversation that it was Mahalia Jackson who has gone down in history as the person who shouted Martin 'Tell me about the dream Martin'. Others talked about Rosa Parks, the civil rights activist who refused to give up her seat on a bus to a white person. More recently, the Black Lives Matter movement has developed. I had not expected these conversations to take place and was interested to find out how they acquired the knowledge. Some had been to conferences on racism and prejudice and others had read or seen information on television or radio. Relating to the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities, the majority of those taking part in the conversations were from cluster A. However, when broaching the

subject with other clusters, all talked openly although for many relating the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities to King, Parks or Black Lives Matter was difficult.

Many from cluster A felt that whilst Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller community speakers can get the voice of the communities heard, none would get the full support of the Roma/Romany and Traveller communities because previous spokespersons had not been from amongst them and many that were had been held responsible for giving an image of the stereotypical communities:

‘Look it’s like this, you’re here and you want to know what we think and feel about moving into houses or settling on sites, but they’re still on about the old ways and they have gone. We can’t now hitch up a horse and wagon and go out and find work, the wagons feel too small, running a house is expensive and there’s no work. The old times were good but we can’t go back there. The people that talk and say they are us, have got to go out and say it like it is, not like they want it to be.’

(Frank, 2018).

There are also spokespersons in the world for example, John Dav of the Gypsy Council UK, even declaring themselves ‘King of the Gypsies’. There is also National Roma Day, and the Roma flag are only recognised by a small circle of activists and their supporters. Sammy NGO and interviewed for this research, looks towards the recognition of Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities' ethnicity. However, Wendy another NGO takes us in another direction in considering the effect of housing not just in terms of the first generation but subsequent ones. She highlights the problems for some community settlers in facing a nomadic community ostracising them for being ‘gorgerfied’; living and undertaking

the normal behaviours of gorgers rather than living by the cultural rules set out in the Gypsy, Roma/Romany, and Traveller communities:

‘I don’t think Gypsy people look to settle it just sort of happens, many would say keep quiet about who you are and just blend in, others, for example, one of the young women who ended up on the X estate is proud of her heritage and you will find that many of these second/third generation families see themselves as different but they are isolated not just from gorger people but often from some Romany Gypsy families who think they are too Gorgerfied.’

(Wendy, 2016).

Wendy’s point concerning second, and third generation housed, or mixed heritage families, is a feature that has had little research. However, The Traveller Movement (2017) survey showed that over 40 per cent of those taking part would not be at all pleased if a close family member became romantical involved with a Gypsy, Romany/Roma, or Traveller.

Sammy develops this concept by discussing how nomadic people are persecuted:

‘Most nomadic people, wherever they are, have in the past or are now suffering some form of persecution because settled people could not accept that they are nomads. It is a combination of fear of the unknown and suspicion of what nomads are doing and perhaps a bit of attitude that somehow nomads are escaping their ‘responsibilities’. It is a fear of the unknown. I mean in the Arctic North of the Scandinavian countries now there is a whole debate going on about the nomadic Sami peoples retaining their culture. As these Scandinavian countries are enlightened, they allow a lot of autonomy for the Sami in leading their nomadic life. However, as many Sami herd Reindeer for a living, there is still a certain looking down on them by the settled

communities in the south of these countries. This may lead a lot of the young people to want to leave that life and move into the city – so again the nomadic lifestyle is under threat. But it is ironic that in the urbanised Western world, we have several writers who talk about our fundamental material urges to be nomadic.’

(Sammy, 2016).

Sammy’s view is very much in line with the findings of Chapter 4, and we can see the first signs of Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller research being included in a wider subject area rather than ethnically specific studies (Law, 2010).

10.11 Education – Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller Communities

‘I think they should have a Traveller school just for Travellers and we Travellers employ a teacher ourselves.’

(Bobby, 2018).

Whilst this seems an idyllic concept and we can all imagine a nice classroom where the children are not racist or prejudiced, the reality is different. The idea of having schools specifically for Gypsy, Roma/Romany, and Traveller communities has been developed in other countries. In Hungary, there are segregated schools for Roma which are run by churches. However, these schools are substandard when compared to other schools in the education system. Lack of educational materials including books together with poor teaching only adds to the substandard educational environment (Serdult, 2016). In Hungary and Bulgaria, schools have started with the best of intentions but have ended up promoting segregation and being substandard. Segregation of schools has not proved to be a positive for Roma and there is no suggestion that England would be any different.

It is common for children to be sent to school not for the education they receive but as a tool to enable the families to stay longer in one place or to be used as an instrument of engagement. My own experience outlined is an example of it being used as an instrument of engagement. Others send children to school but may view the education as of little value apart from basic literacy and numeracy.

One of the findings is that whilst mainstream education for Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller children is encouraged by the government, closing down Traveller Education and or amalgamating with multi-cultural education, together with the move to self-budgeting academies have been disasters for the GRT communities. This is in terms of support for children at school and, together with high levels of bullying, has for some been too much and children have been pulled out of school and are now out of formal education or have only a few hours of teaching from an unqualified private tutor.

Throughout this research, Gypsy, Roma/Romany, and Traveller community members have shown great concern regarding their children attending school and losing their cultural identity. This is a valid concern when we consider that Traveller Education teams worked with both schools and families to help GRT community children and young people to continue school, whilst encouraging schools to incorporate their history and culture in the school curriculum. They also help with matters such as sex education. The services were situated all over England and have been substantially downsized closed completely or amalgamated with ethnic minority education. This has reduced or done away with the home school support system which was in place. It is unlikely that any future government will reinstate the service given the cost.

One of the main stumbling blocks concerning the education of Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Travellers is that settled mainstream society only recognises one form of education;

attendance at school and the level of literacy and numeracy (what some in the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers call ‘books and pencil learning’) and gives little credit for education in any other form such as cultural education.

Whilst not covered in-depth in this research, at the time of writing Russia has invaded Ukraine. Television, radio and media have been updating people around the world on the situation. BBC News Online reported that:

‘On the westbound platforms [of Lviv] the refugees huddle in crowded corridors and stairwells hoping to board trains that will take them to safety in Poland, Hungary or Slovakia. Among them are groups of Roma Gypsies who come from Kharkiv, where Russian shelling is killing civilians. Like everybody else, they fled only with what they could carry, an assortment of holdalls and rucksacks.’

(Keanne, 2022).

At the time of writing, it was not clear how many Roma from Ukraine would come to England or indeed if Russia would also invade other countries. However, in his interview for ROMA TV, Horvath 2022 stated some very worrying facts. ‘Ukrainian Roma are being discriminated against at the border’. Furthermore, it has been said by firefighters at the scenes “‘They are people from near the border, they have abused the opportunity for us to cook them hot food here and to receive humanitarian aid’...He even went on to say that Romani Ukrainians should not be allowed to cross the border.’

(Ryšavý, and Samko, 2022).

On 8 July 2022, Boris Johnson resigned as Prime Minister and Liz Truss became Prime Minister, Queen Elizabeth II died, and we now have a new King, Charles III. At the time of

writing, it was not known the effect any of this would have on the lives of the Gypsy, Roma/Romany, and Traveller communities in East Anglia and across England.

10.12 Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

To understand how integration is achieved and if indeed it has been achieved, we return to Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs. Looking at Maslow's Hierarchy of needs in terms of achieving in the Gypsy, Roma/Romany, and Traveller communities we can relate to the situation in modern English society.

1. Physiological needs – these are biological requirements for survival: air, food, drink, shelter, clothing, warmth, sex and sleep. At the moment the majority of Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities have their basic needs met. However, the one which is not fulfilled is shelter. Whilst sites have been built, we do not have enough. Moving into housing is happening yet no support is given to families and indeed the opposite is true. Many who want to settle are faced with negativity from local settled communities. Indeed, it is not uncommon to see partitions being put up, and objections to planning permission.
2. Safety needs – protection from elements, security, order, law, stability and freedom from fear. Considering the high levels of racism and discrimination, together with laws around mobility and stopping places, many see the police as enforcement rather than protection, thus safety needs are not met.
3. Love and belongingness needs. After physiological and safety needs have been fulfilled, the third level of human needs is social and involves feelings of belonging. This is perhaps the most difficult because, in the Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities, strong bonds exist in caring for each other. However, outside those communities, interpersonal relationships are few and far between,

particularly when we add friendship, intimacy, trust and acceptance. Thus this section is only partly fulfilled.

4. Esteem needs, which Maslow classified into two categories: (i) esteem for oneself (dignity, achievement, mastery, independence) and (ii) the desire for reputation or respect from others (e.g., status, prestige). Whilst in the Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities respect is given by others, there is concern from the older generation that this is corroding. In mainstream society, this is not fulfilled and few from the Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities feel that mainstream society respects them or their culture.
5. Self-actualisation needs – realising personal potential, self-fulfilment, seeking personal growth and peak experiences. A desire to become everything one is capable of becoming. Due to the many barriers faced in all walks of life including access to services, this is yet to be fulfilled.

The objective of this thesis was to enhance the understanding of Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Travellers who settled in East Anglia, and thus England. Set in social anthropology, it consists of hearing from those who have ‘lived the life’, their hopes and fears of settling and those who have supported them. Evidence was drawn from documents ranging from Acts of Parliament to academic research.

The overall aims were to establish what is known about Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities who have settled by those government, NGO and service providers who have worked with these communities. We also established the views of the communities who endeavoured to become part of the local settled community. The research included obtaining verbal and non-verbal communication from five cluster families living in East Anglia, NGO workers, academics and service providers.

Quotations gathered were expressed verbatim as part of the person's voice and not altered for ease of reading or to make the research more 'academic' in tone. Contributors' names were anonymised. The only group of contributors who allowed their names to be used was the academics. Whilst photographs used showed members of the families, only brief descriptions (excluding locations) and family names were given.

As I am a member of the Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Traveller communities, this research has been made richer and more credible than some dry academic work undertaken by those outside those communities. It is also set apart from many other documents on the communities by a lot of new knowledge about Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers and aspects of their lives and customs that had not been published before and which most settled community members and academics would not know.

10.13 Best Agents of Change

Historically, the best agents of change are community members coming together to provide mutual support and to assist in accessing an effective lobby for change in some form or another. However, these groups tend to be drawn from sectors of society most comfortable with confronting authority and negativity and thereby effecting change. Gypsy, Roma/Romany, and Traveller communities lack the self-confidence, skills, tools and language to get the requisite information and to feel capable of challenging authority. One of the main reasons for this is the extremely elevated level of racism and prejudice which is inflicted on the Gypsy, Roma/Romany, and Traveller communities on almost a daily basis. Due to the blatant racism and prejudice shown by mainstream society, the Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities can perceive it as remote and not sensitive to their needs.

Active integration is made up of several related and interdependent elements which have to do with people's values, perceptions, skills and actions and cultural and social contexts.

These elements include identity and awareness, self-identity and awareness as local community members and can be said to exist when people perceive themselves as being part of the local communities and feel they can act deliberately to realise those rights.

Understanding and interest entail the ability to think critically, to understand the infrastructure both in terms of politics and power in the local communities and to have an interest in the life of the general communities. Expectation and self-confidence are present when people expect that they can influence issues and make a difference.

10.14 The Future

The next decade is likely to see increased difficulties for those wishing to be nomadic in England due to a lack of stopping places, the COVID-19 outbreak and its legacy of emotional and physical outcomes. Eventually, a scapegoat will be looked for and who better than nomadic people? The war between Russia and Ukraine and the change of Prime Minister in England will affect all in England including the Gypsy, Roma/Romany, and Traveller communities.

There is an increasing trend for GRT communities' families to settle in housing or long-term sites. In some ways, there is therefore a better opportunity for relationships to be formed and developed. It is therefore logical to predict that the growing number of mixed heritage families will increase. The increase in families from different ethnicities can work as a conduit for the development of different ethnicities and cultures.

There is a growing controversy surrounding the size and geographical position of the Gypsy, Roma/Romany, and Traveller communities in England and extraordinarily little data exists

concerning their accommodation needs and preferences. The following outlines the key factors from this research which contributors from the GRT communities may consider important:

- A recognition of the Gypsy, Roma/Romany, and Traveller community's ethnicity, culture, and values is needed through the education of mainstream society, both in schools and in the media.
- The general public needs to be more aware that the majority of Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities now live in housing or long-term on sites and continuing to say Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities should live like the r., is redundant.
- The Gypsy, Roma/Romany, and Traveller communities need to become more supportive of each other and stand united. Whilst recognition of the various groups is needed, it needs to be promoted that although I am part of the Romany communities, I am also part of the wider Gypsy, Roma/Romany, and Traveller communities.
- There is a phrase 'fight like with like'. Therefore, as mainstream British society functions through the written word, Gypsy, Roma/Romany, and Traveller community members need to be able to do the same and consequently, children obtaining the benefits of mainstream education is of considerable importance.
- There needs to be recognition of and support for the growing number of mixed heritage young people who may have felt that they are not part of either parents' culture.
- There needs to be more support for Gypsy, Roma/Romany, and Traveller community members moving into housing for the first time; for example, budgeting for bills,

supporting the family members in their role of being still part of the Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities, but having to cope with a different lifestyle.

- An enhancement of integration through recognition in education and promotion of key events in the Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities' calendar such as the Appleby Fair.
- Planning applications for private sites be more streamlined and straightforward rather than the situation we have at the moment, resulting in the planning process being more expensive and time-consuming.
- Support by Gypsy, Romany/Roma, and Travellers for the universities which are coming together to support Gypsy Romany/Roma and Travellers who access the University. Whilst this is in its infancy, it is a promising sign that key academics such as Margret Greenfields and David Smith are involved.
- One of the main reasons given for settling is access to healthcare. Access to health and barriers to that access need to be updated and recommendations implemented. Health staff from all positions should have the opportunity to have training on the cultural norms of the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller communities.

Undertaking this research, I am contributing to a better understanding by members of the general society, government and policymakers of the experience of members of the Gypsy, Roma/Romany, and Traveller communities when they settle and seek to integrate into the local community. Whilst it is not a new concept, they often suffer from a corrosive amalgamation of poor work opportunities and limited stopping places together with a growing need for literacy and numeracy skills to function effectively in general society.

The main question to develop from this research is whether more public site provision is needed or if this is an archaic need based on Gypsy, Roma/Romany, and Traveller communities having been nomadic.

10.15 Usefulness and dissemination of findings

To local authority councillors and officers, service providers including health, education, government agencies; charitable sector agencies and NGO workers who work with Gypsy/Traveller communities and academics Will find that as they become aware of the growing population of GRT who are settling (2011 census, Caravan count and GRATER together with this present research will become aware of the needs of GRT housed and also mix heritage families will increase.

10.16 Future study

This research is the beginning of a process of identifying why society in general is so negative to the Gypsy, Roma/Romany, and Traveller communities. Historically, we had Porajmos under Nazi Germany when they were classified as ‘asocial’ and criminals.

Throughout the world where Gypsy, Traveller, Romany or Roma form part of society, they are treated less favourably than other ethnic groups in the society.

Whilst this research does not include looking at why mainstream society in England acts the way it does, it has flagged up the need for this complementary research to find the answer.

Practically as other groups who are not from the Gypsy, Roma/Romany, and Traveller communities and have integrated.

This research has been undertaken independently of any major funding. It is self-funded and from donations from private independent contributors who believe in the need for such

research. Being independent, I have limitations in terms of personal power as no support was available from a main funder.

Whilst those such as New Travellers do not have the same baseline of cultural aspects of the traditional groups, initially invitations were given to all sectors of the Gypsy, Roma/Romany, and Traveller communities, it is unfortunate that the study does not include New Travellers, show people or bargees.

Being able to access the Gypsy, Roma/Romany, and Traveller communities as a person from the Romany people was a great asset. However, time was spent at the beginning of relationships with members of the communities involved in this research to establish my credibility as a member. I consider this research complementary to Greenfields and Smith (2013) and the start of the process of research with the GRT communities in this new and exciting development of living conditions in England.

10.17 Conclusions

These findings have enhanced our understanding of Gypsy, Roma/Romany, and Traveller community families who settle long term and their endeavours to engage and develop a relationship with mainstream society so that they may mutually live with respect for each other.

This study is based on a small sample of participants. This is not unusual when undertaking work with the Gypsy Roma/Romany and Traveller communities and the empirical findings in this study provide a new understanding of the situation for these communities settling long-term in housing or on sites and their attempts to engage with the local settled community. It has demonstrated for the first time that the GRT communities are willing to integrate and are positively contributing to an integration process. However, the barriers of racism and

prejudice by established local communities are constantly reinforced by negative media. This places the Gypsy, Roma/Romany, and Traveller communities in the position of 'other', remaining outside of the main society of England.

'Perhaps one day when my granddaughter grows up, she will move into a house with her family, not because she has no other place to live, but because she wants to. Her neighbours will know she is there, and she is a Gypsy. When they meet in the street, she will be able to say, 'Hello we are the Gypsies next door' and they will shake her hand and say, 'Nice to meet you'.'

(Sue, 2018).

Appendix

Appendix A - Table 2. Average time family cluster groups were away from the settled home per year other than for a holiday

| Cluster | County of residents | Main ethnicity of cluster | Average time away per year |
|---------|----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| A | Essex | Gypsy | Four weeks |
| B | Hungary settled in Suffolk | Roma | One |
| C | Suffolk | Romany | Four weeks |
| D | Bedfordshire | Irish Traveller | Five weeks |
| E | Cambridgeshire | Gypsy | Four weeks |

Appendix 2- Recording sheet of interest group meeting

Date:-.....

Time

Venue

The request of interest by

Subject

Attendance

.....

.....

.....

.....

Apologies.....

.....

.....

Notes of meeting.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Agreed confidentiality

Risk assessment undertaken

Appendix 3 – Interview Guide

The open questions are intended to give flexibility for in-depth discussion.

The questions are designed to move the individual or group (undertaking both individual and group work) from the general position to the personal and finally to retune to a more general question that encourages a forward-thinking position to be attained at the end of the interview.

First interview.

Openers, Recap on info already given, *talk about the project why doing, and why important. Talk about the researcher's situation why doing families contact, the fact that from the Romany Gypsy communities and thus research being primarily from the communities perspective. Also, academics, site managers members of County Gypsy, Traveller and Roma teams will be adding to the research Discusses (may need to read out and leave a recorded copy with them) information sheet and consent sheet - get them to sign if possible if not then ask them to say on recorder happy with consent, confidentiality etc.*

Age

Ethnicity

Individual's marriage.

Opening

- 1.) Have **you** lived here long? Are **you** originally from area? Where did **your** families come from? If not, why did you come here?

From this personal lead onto the families unity.

Is the area you and your immediate families live now where most of your families (or partners/husband/wife) live? If not, where do they live?

Establishing families connection and developing thoughts of families unit.

- 2.) What was it like when you and/or your families moved here?

Look at what their view of the situation was, why they felt the way they did, what was happening/had happened to make them feel the situation was as they described.

- 3.) What strategies (sort of things) you and your families undertaken towards integration (being part of) into mainstream sedentary society for example. involvement in local activities, supporting the school, working with, or employing local people where possible, etc.

5.) What are the self-assessed (your personal feel) outcomes of these strategies (things you have done) in terms of success or failure?

- 6.) If you had to move again and settle in another place, what would you and your families do differently then you did this time?

Develop this line of conversation to explore if they felt the strategies of integration would have worked at a different location, why they feel they would or would not work. Develop through processes from historical to present-day developments.

7.) What do you think are the most important things about your communities' life that those who are not part of the communities do not understand?

Develop this line of conversation to look at their views and values and how they feel they are treated by 'others' who are not part of the communities (both in the past and now).

8.) What do you think would most improve things and help people from the Gypsy/Traveller/Romany and Roma (when they come to this country to settle) and how best would this help be given?

9.) Does anything stop the communities from trying to get this help?

Develop this line of conversation to look at what is happening generally and what information is needed to be given to the communities.

Additional questions added as work developed

10) We have talk about your families can you tell me more about who is part of your ‘families’?

Develop this line of conversation to look at the family’s history, key concepts of families structure in other words. who has been included/excluded and why?

11) (For those who have families members from another sector) you have said that you have member of the families that are how does this make you feel?

Develop conversation around similarities, differences and how families unit have incorporated this difference.

12) You have told me about (Or if not, then can you consider). How do you feel about mixed heritage families?

To look at adults and offspring that they may have, how they fit into the clusters families and into society specifically, what do the families see as different or similar in this section of the families clusters.

Racism/discrimination

13) Can you tell me what the words racism and discrimination mean in terms of you, your families and communities?

Develop to look personally, families and communities, what they expect and different if directed to and from families or if different to and from communities. What they feel is racism and discrimination.

14) Is it different when you are with others from the communities or on your own in small families group (immediate families) and again in families clusters?

Develop to discuss implication of living ‘with a larger communities setting who are from own communities or different communities. The effect and feeling of being near or on site compared to housed. How they feel about being housed away from a site or near a site.

15) Would you ever call the Police (what makes you give the answer you have)

Develop to discuss historical development of how they are not in a situation that they would or would not call the Police. The effect that their discussion would make on families and/or neighbours

16. If someone came to you and said that they were from a charity or organisation and had been funded to help bring different communities together locally what sort of things you feel would help

Develop to discuss what type of service would be most expectable, how they should go about the work. (Or not as the case may be) and if would personally support them.

17. Do you feel it is easier for people to engage with local people and why do you feel this?

Develop to discuss if different ages would be different in other words. is it different for girls then women or boys then men? Is it easier for the elderly?

18. Of other communities outside of the Gypsy/Romany, Traveller or Roma communities who do you think is the most like us?

Develop to look at why they feel are the most like us and if they engage with them more than other members of the local communities and if so, why?

Appendix 4– Consent form

Consent to take part in ‘Defending communities and building bridges, Lessons from the Gypsy, Traveller and Roma communities in the GREAT ENGLAND.’

Add your initials or mark next to the statement if you agree

| | |
|---|--|
| I confirm that I have read and understand the information CD/letter dated 10/12/14 explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project. | |
| I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason up to the date of analysis taking place which is March 2016) and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any question or questions, I am free to decline. You will need to ring me (Shirley) on xxxxxxxxxx or e-Mail xxxxxxxx. All data provided by you will be destroyed, however if you have taken part in the group discussion, I cannot do this until after a four year time lapse as I have to keep the information used for the research, but I will not use anything you say. | |
| I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name or name I am known by will not be linked with the research materials. I will not be identified or identifiable in the report or reports that result from the research. I understand that my responses will be kept strictly anonymised. | |
| I agree for the data collected from me to be used in relevant future research [in an anonymised form]. | |
| I understand that other genuine researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the anonymised and confidentiality of the information as requested in this form. | |
| I understand that other genuine researchers may use my words in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs, only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality and anonymise of the information as requested in this form. | |
| I agree to take part in the above research project and will inform the lead researcher should my contact details change. | |

| | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| Name of participant | |
| Participant's signature or Mark | |

| | |
|-------------------------|-----------------|
| Date | |
| Name of lead researcher | Shirley Barrett |
| Signature | Shirley Barrett |
| Date* | 19/12/14 |

*To be signed and dated in the presence of the participant. Once all parties have signed this the participant should receive a copy of the signed and dated participant consent form, the letter/ pre-written script/ information sheet and any other written information provided to the participants. A copy of the signed and dated consent form should be kept with the project's main documents which must be kept in a secure location.

Appendix 5 - Participant information sheet

Dear Participant

I am undertaking research at Leeds University, and I would like to invite you to take part in this research project, about Gypsy, Travellers, and Roma families and why they decide to settle where they do and what sort of things they do to integrate with the non-Gypsy, Traveller Roma people around them and if what they are doing is working or not. Before you decide to participate it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take the time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. You can contact me by the return email or on a Tuesday or Thursday between 3 and 4 on xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx to ask if anything is unclear or if you would like more information, but I need to know if you and your families would like to take part in this research by March 2015.

What I would like to do with you

I would like to undertake an e-survey with you. This will require me to send you information on which I would like your response.

Some things to think about

I will need to know that ALL people from your group (if you are representing a group or if you) agree to this research being done with you.

Please remember you may withdraw your consent for me to use information you have sent at any time, up to the time I start to sort out the information given to me (this will be in May 2016) at this time it

would be very hard for me to find others to undertake the work and do all the research again and I will have started to put information into the research. If you do ask to stop, I will not use your information that you have given me and will destroy all correspondence.

You will not personally gain from the work, and You are asked to start your consent to me by e-Mail when returning you information to say you have understood and agreed to this work taking place. I would like to use a different name to your own name or even the name you are known by, but I will keep your ethnicity age and gender as you say they are. If when I am doing the work, there is something which would make it easy for people to recognise you I will e-Mail about the situation and together we can look at how to overcome this. The reason that all this is done around anonymising, is I cannot say who will read the work I do or what they will do with the information I give in the work.

After

As I have said I may need to contact you about something in the information you give to make sure that I am clear about something you have sent me ideally, I would like to do this by email or phone, so I will ask for a phone number that you can be contacted on.

Appendix 6 – Ethics approval

Performance, Governance and Operations

Research and Innovation Service

Charles Thackrah Building

101 Clarendon Road

Leeds LS2 9LJ Tel, 0113 343 4873

Email : ResearchEthics@leeds.ac.uk

Shirley Barrett

School of Law

University of Leeds

Leeds, LS2 9JT



UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

ESSL, Environment and LUBS (AREA) Faculty Research Ethics Committee

University of Leeds

31 May 2025

Dear Shirley

Title of study, **Defending communities and building bridges, Lessons from the Gypsy, Traveller, and Roma communities in the GREAT ENGLAND**

Ethics reference, **AREA 14-072**

I am pleased to inform you that the above research application has been reviewed by the ESSL, Environment and LUBS (AREA) Faculty Research Ethics Committee and following receipt of your response to the Committee's initial comments, I can confirm a favourable ethical opinion as of the date of this letter. The following documentation was considered,

| Document | Versio n | Date |
|--|---------------------|-----------------|
| AREA 14-072 Cover letter for Ethics.docx | 1 | 20/01/15 |
| AREA 14-072 Ethical Review Form V3 - done(c).doc | 2 | 05/01/15 |
| AREA 14-072 My risk assessment - done.doc | 1 | 05/01/15 |
| AREA 14-072 Risk Assessment Unis - done.rtf | 1 | 05/01/15 |
| AREA 14-072 PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET.docx | 1 | 05/01/15 |
| AREA 14-072 PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET - For E Survey.docx | 2 | 20/01/15 |
| AREA 14-072 Participant_consent_form (b).doc | 2 | 20/01/15 |

Please notify the committee if you intend to make any amendments to the original research as submitted at the date of this approval, including changes to recruitment methodology. All changes must receive ethical approval before implementation. The amendment form is available at [http://ris.leeds.ac.Great England/Ethics Amendment](http://ris.leeds.ac.GreatEngland/Ethics%20Amendment).

Please note, that you are expected to keep a record of all your approved documentation, as well as documents such as sample consent forms, and other documents relating to the study. This should be kept in your study file, which should be readily available for audit purposes. You will be given a two-week

notice period if your project is to be audited. There is a checklist listing examples of documents to be kept which is available at <http://ris.leeds.ac.Great England/Ethics Audits>.

We welcome feedback on your experience of the ethical review process and suggestions for improvement.

Please Email any comments to ResearchEthics@leeds.ac.Great England.

Yours sincerely

Jennifer Blaikie

Senior Research Ethics Administrator, Research, and Innovation Service

On behalf of Dr Andrew Evans, Chair, [AREA Faculty Research Ethics Committee](#)

Bibliography

- Abrams, D. 2010. *Processes of prejudice: Theory, evidence and intervention*. [Online]. Equality and Human Rights Commission Research Report 56. [Accessed 4 November 2018]. Available from: https://kar.kent.ac.uk/29732/1/56_processes_of_prejudice.pdf.
- ACAS. 2024. *Using protected characteristics to make decisions- Objective justification*. [Online]. [Accessed 1 December 2024]. Available from: <https://www.acas.org.uk/employer-decision-protected-characteristic/objective-justification#:~:text=there's%20a%20'legitimate%20aim'%2C,important%20than%20any%20discriminatory%20effect.>
- Acheson, D. 1988. *Independent Inquiry into Inequalities in Health*. [Online]. London: The Stationery Office. [Accessed 24 January 2022]. Available from: <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5a759e7c40f0b67b3d5c7e6f/ih.pdf>.
- Acton, T. 1974. *Gipsy politics and social change: the development of ethnic ideology and pressure politics among British Gypsies from Victorian reformism to Romany nationalism*. London: Routledge.
- Acton, T. 1994. Modernisation, Moral Panics and the Gypsies. *Sociology Review*. 4(1). Pp. 24-28.
- Acton, T. 2000. *Romanichal Gypsies*. London: Wayland.
- Acton, T. 2000. *Scholarship and the Gypsy struggle: Commitment in Romani Studies*. Hartford: University of Hertfordshire Press.
- Adams, R., Smart, P. and Huff, A. 2016. Shades of Grey: Guidelines for working with the grey literature in systematic literature reviews for Management and Organizational Studies. *International Journal of Management Reviews In press*, 0(0), pp. 1-23.
- Akkuş, B., Postmes, T., Stroebe, K., and Baray, G. 2020. Cultures of conflict: Protests, violent repression, and community values. *British Journal of Social Psychology*. 59(1), pp. 49-65.
- Alcoff, L. 1991. The Problem of Speaking for Others. *Cultural Critique*, 20(4), pp. 5-32.
- Ali, A. I. and Lerme, C. S. 1997. Comparative advantage and disadvantage in DEA. *Annals of Operations Research*. 73, pp. 215-232.

- Allen, D. 2013. *Changing relationships with the self and others: an interpretative phenomenological analysis of a Traveller and Gypsy life in public care*. Ph.D. thesis, De Montfort University.
- Allen, D., Greenfields, M. and Smith, D. 2019. Transnational Resilience and Change: Gypsy, Roma and Traveller Strategies of Survival and Adaptation. *The British Journal of Social Work*. **49**(6). pp. 1687-1688.
- Allen, G. and Carthew, H. 2024. *Police Service Strength*. [Online]. London: House of Commons. [Accessed 8 August 2024]. Available from: <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/SN00634/SN00634.pdf>.
- American Psychological Association. 2023. *Racism*. [Online]. [Accessed 1 December 2023]. Available from: <https://dictionary.apa.org/racism>.
- Amy. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 1 September, East Anglia.
- Andy. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 10 November, East Anglia.
- Anonymous 1. 2017. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 13 December, East Anglia.
- Anonymous 2. 2017. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 19 November, East Anglia.
- Anstead, A. 2010. *What do we think of Romani people*. London: Equality.
- Anti-social Behaviour Act 2003*. (c. 38). London: Stationary Office.
- Appleton, L, Hagan, T, Goward, P, Ripper, J, and Wilson, R. 2003. Smail's contribution to understanding the needs of the socially excluded: The case of Gypsy and Traveller Women. *Clinical Psychology*. **24**, pp.40-46.
- Argyle, M. 1998. *Bodily Communication*. 2nd Ed. Madison: International University Press.
- Armstrong, S. 2017. Want, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness: are Beveridge's five evils back? *The Guardian*. [Online]. 10 October. [Accessed 7 March 2023]. Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2017/oct/10/beveridge-five-evils-welfare-state>.
- Aspinall, P. J. 2014. *Hidden Needs: Identifying Key Vulnerable Groups in Data Collections: Vulnerable Migrants, Gypsies and Travellers, Homeless People, and Sex*

Workers. [Online]. Canterbury: University of Kent. [Accessed 1 April 2018]. Available from:

https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5a7ca61eed915d7c983bc0a1/vulnerable_groups_data_collections.pdf.

Association of Social Anthropologists. 1999. *Ethical Guidelines for Good Research Practice*. Unpublished.

Ath Power Consulting. 2023. Blending Methods: How to Combine Quantitative and Qualitative Research for Powerful Results. 26 May. APC. [Online]. [Accessed 13 June 2021]. Available from:

<https://www.athpower.com/blending-methods-how-to-combine-quantitative-and-qualitative-research-for-powerful-results/>.

Baldwin, T. and Willers, M. 2019. *Discrimination facing Gypsies, Roma and Travellers in the UK today*.

[Online] Briefings 67: Discrimination Law Association. [Accessed 10 March 2019]. Available from:

<https://www.gardencourtchambers.co.uk/news/discrimination-facing-gypsies-roma-and-travellers-in-the-uk-today>.

Barnardo's. 2020. How systemic racism affects young people in the UK. 21 July. *Barnardo's Blog*. [Online].

[Accessed 10 August 2023]. Available from: <https://www.barnardos.org.uk/blog/how-systemic-racism-affects-young-people-uk>.

Bancroft, A. 2005. *Roma and Gypsy-Travellers in Europe. Modernity, Race, Space and Exclusion*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Barbour, R. 1998. Mixing Qualitative Methods: Quality Assurance or Qualitative Quagmire? *Qualitative Health Research*, **8**(3), pp. 352-361.

Barbour, R. 1999. The Case for Combining Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches in Health Services Research. *Journal of Health Services Research & Policy*, **4**(1), pp. 39-43.

Barbour, R. and Kizinger, J. eds. 1999. *Developing focus group research: Politics, theory and practice*. London: SAGE Publications.

Barton, S. 2016. Access to Justice for Travellers and Gypsies. *The Law Society Gazette*. [Online]. 26 August.

[Accessed 8 December 2017]. Available at: <https://www.lawgazette.co.uk/practice-points/access-to-justice-for-travellers-and-gypsies/5057259.article>.

- Barrett, S. 2010. *One Voice 4 Travellers Housed Gypsy and Traveller women in Suffolk, England*. Unpublished.
- Barrett, S. 2013. *Gypsy, Travellers and Roma and the Gay in England*. M.A. thesis, London Metropolitan University.
- Barrett, S. and Codona, J. 2018. *Gypsy, Romany and Travellers Needs When Dying in Hospital and Hospices*. Unpublished.
- Barrett, S. and Codona, J. 2019. *End of Life Care for Gypsy and Travellers in Suffolk*. Unpublished.
- Barrett, S. and Codona, J. 2021. *Gypsy Romany and Travellers evaluation of Domestic Violence and abuse in the Gypsy Romany/Roma and Traveller communities*. Unpublished.
- Bell, J. and Waters, S. 1993. *Doing Your Research Project: A Guide for First-Time Researchers*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Bella. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 12 October, East Anglia.
- Belton, B.A. 2005. *Questioning Gypsy Identity*. Oxford: Altamira Press.
- Ben. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 14 December, East Anglia.
- Berlin, J. 2012. Housing-related problems of Roma in Finland and Gypsies and Travellers in England. In: *University of Salford. SPARC Proceedings 2011, 1 January 2011, University of Salford*. [Online]. Manchester: University of Salford, 361. [Accessed 4 October 2018]. Available from: <https://researchportal.tuni.fi/en/publications/housing-related-problems-of-roma-in-finland-and-gypsies-and-trave>.
- Berlin, J. 2015. *Assimilated Individuals and Segregation Communities. A comparative study of housing and living related well-being of Finnish Roma and housed Gypsies and Travellers in England*. B.S.S thesis. University of Eastern Finland.
- Berry, J. (1997) Immigration, Acculturation and adaption. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*. **46**(1), pp.5-68.
- Bet. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 17 September, East Anglia.

Beveridge, W. 1942. *Social Insurance and Allied Services*. [Online]. London: His Majesty's Stationary Office.

[Accessed 9 September 2020]. Available from: [https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-](https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/livinglearning/coll-9-health1/coll-9-health/)

[heritage/transformingsociety/livinglearning/coll-9-health1/coll-9-health/](https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/livinglearning/coll-9-health1/coll-9-health/).

Bhopal, K. and Myers, M. 2008. *Insiders, outsiders and others: Gypsies and identity*. [Online]. Hertfordshire:

University of Hertfordshire Press. [Accessed 29 September 2018]. Available from

<https://researchportal.port.ac.uk/en/publications/insiders-outsiders-and-others-gypsies-and-identity>.

Billy. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 1 November, East Anglia.

Blumer, H. 1969. *Symbolic interactionism: Perspective and method*. London: University of California Press.

Bonnes, M., Lee, T. and Bonaiuto, M. eds. 2008. *Psychological Theories For Environmental Issues*. Aldershot:

Ashgate.

Bonos, A. H. 1942. Roumany Rye of Philadelphia. *American Anthropologist*. **44**(2), pp. 257 - 274.

Borland, K. 1991. *That's not what I said: interpretive conflict in oral narrative research*. London: Routledge.

Bowers, J. 2012. *Travellers Times Online FAQ Pack. Gypsies and Travellers: Their Lifestyle, history and culture*. Unpublished.

Brah, A. 1996. *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities*. Routledge: London.

Brascoupé, S. and Waters, C. 2009. Cultural safety: Exploring the applicability of the concept of cultural safety to Aboriginal health and community wellness. *Journal of Aboriginal Health*. **5**(2), pp. 6-41.

Braun, V. and Clarke, V. 2006. Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*.

3(2), pp. 77-101.

Brearley, M. 2001. The Persecution of Gypsies in Europe. *American Behavioural Scientist*. **45**(4), pp. 588-599.

Brewer, M. and Gardner, W. 1996. Who is this "We"? Levels of collective identity and self representations.

Journal of Personality and Social Psychology. **71**(1), pp. 83-93.

Brio, A. 1998. What future for the Roma? An outsider's view. *Index on Censorship*. **27**(4), pp. 30-35.

British Sociological Association. 2017. *Statement of Ethical Practice for the British Sociological Association*.

[Online]. [Accessed 19 Feb 2019] Available at: <http://www.britsoc.co.uk/about/equality/statement-of-ethical-practice.aspx>.

Bridges, D. 2016. *Philosophy in Educational Research*. New York: Springer.

Brown, P., Dwyer, P. and Scullion, L. 2013. *The Limits of Inclusion? Exploring the views of Roma and non Roma in six European Union Member States*. [Online]. Roma SOURCE: University of Salford.

Brown, P. and Niner, P. 2009. *Assessing local housing authorities' progress in meeting the accommodation needs of Gypsy and Traveller communities in England*. [Online]. London: Equality and Human Rights

Commission. [Accessed 12 June 2019]. Available from: https://www.gypsy-traveller.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/research_report_13assessing_local_housing_authorities_progress_gypsy_and_traveller.pdf.

Brown, P. and Scullion, L. 2010. Doing research with Gypsy/Romany and Travellers in England: reflections on experiences and practice. *Communities Development Journal: An International forum*. **45**(2), pp.169-185.

Bryman, A., Stephens, M. and Campo, C. 1996. The Importance of Context: Qualitative research and the study of leadership. *Leadership Quarterly*. **7**(3), pp. 353-370.

Buckinghamshire, I. 2022. Britain's gypsies have seen the light. *The Economist*. [Online]. 16 June. [Accessed 20 September 2022]. Available from: <https://www.economist.com/britain/2022/06/16/britains-gypsies-have-seen-the-light>.

Buckley, A., Horter, S., and Snape, D. 2022. *Gypsies' and Traveller' lived experiences, homes, England and Wales:2022*. [Online]. [Accessed 1 May 2019]. Available from: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/housing/bulletins/gypsiesandtravellerslivedexperience/homesenglandandwales/2022>.

Bullock, M. 2017. *Shropshire Gypsy and Traveller and Travelling Showperson Accommodation Assessment 2017*. [Online]. Shropshire: Shropshire Council. [Accessed 17 January 2021]. Available from: <https://www.shropshire.gov.uk/media/8735/gtaa-gypsy-and-traveller-accommodation-assessment-2017.pdf>.

- Bulman, M. 2018. Gypsy and traveller families ‘hounded out’ of areas in act of ‘social cleansing’ as councils impose sweeping bans. Independent. [Online]. 18 November. [Accessed 29 December 2019]. Available from: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/gypsy-traveller-families-people-sweeping-ban-land-social-cleansing-england-a8637741.html>.
- Burke, M. 2009. *‘Tinkers’: Synge and the Cultural History of the Irish Traveller*. [Online]. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [Accessed 15 March 2018]. Available from: <https://academic.oup.com/book/8870>.
- Burnett, J. 2009. *Doing Your Social Science Dissertation*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Butler, J. 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. London: Routledge.
- Butler, J. 2004. *Undoing Gender*. London: Routledge.
- Butler, J. 2006. *Gender Trouble- Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. London: Routledge.
- Cahn, C. and Guild, E. 2010. *Recent Migration of Roma*. [Online] 2nd Ed. Strasbourg: Council of Europe. [Accessed 3 October 2023]. Available from: <https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/4/d/78034.pdf>.
- Cambridge Biomedical Research Centre. 2017. *A guide for Focus Group, Steering Group and Advisory Panel Members*. [Online]. [Accessed 19 January 2024]. Available from: <https://cambridgebrc.nihr.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/PPI-panel-focus-groups.pdf>.
- Caravan Sites and Control of Development Act 1960*. (c.62). London: Stationary Office.
- Caravan Sites Act 1968*. (c.52). London: Stationary Office.
- Casey, R. 2014. ‘Caravan wives’ and ‘decent girls’: Gypsy-Traveller women's perceptions of gender, culture and morality in North England. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*. **16**(7), pp.806-819.
- Casey, R. 2019. Britain’s Roman community fears post-Brexit future. [Online]. [Accessed 18 November 2017]. Available from: <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2019/3/25/britains-roma-community-fears-post-brexit-future>.
- Castles, S. and Miller, M. J. 2009. *The Age of Migration*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Cat. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 20 November, East Anglia.
- Cath. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 1 December, East Anglia.

Cathleen. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 2 November, East Anglia.

Cathy. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 2 November, East Anglia.

Cathy Come Home. 1966. BBC. 16 November, 21:05.

Cemlyn, S, and Briskman, L. 2002. Social (days) Welfare within a Hostile State. *Social Work: Education*. **21**(1), pp. 49-69.

Cemlyn, S., Greenfields, M., Burnett, S., Matthews, Z. and Whitwell, C. 2009. *Inequalities experienced by Gypsy and Traveller communities: A review*. [Online] London: Equality and Human Rights Commission Research Report Series. [Accessed 1 July 2018]. Available from: https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/sites/default/files/research_report_12inequalities_experienced_by_gypsy_and_traveller_communities_a_review.pdf.

Ceyhan, S. 2003. *A Case Study of Gypsy/Roma Identity Construction in Edirne*. M.S. thesis. Middle East Technical University.

Charlie. 2016. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 29 November, East Anglia.

Chevalier, J. M. and Buckles, D. 2019. Participatory Action Research: Theory and Methods for Engaged Inquiry. [Online]. London: Taylor and Francis. [Accessed 17 May 2018]. Available from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/331183566_Participatory_Action_Research_Theory_and_Methods_for_Engaged_Inquiry.

Chhabra, G. 2020. Insider, Outsider or an In-Between? Epistemological Reflections of a Legally Blind Researcher on Conducting Cross-National Disability Research. *Scandinavian Journal of Disability Research*. **22**(1), pp. 307-317.

Chris. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 7 December, East Anglia.

Clark, C. and Dearling, A. 1999. *Romanies, gypsies, travellers or nomads*. [Online]. [Accessed 7 May 2018]. Available from: <https://www.crimeandjustice.org.uk/sites/crimeandjustice.org.uk/files/09627259908552802.pdf>.

Clark, C. and Campbell, E. 2000. 'Gypsy Invasion': A critical analysis of newspaper reaction to Czech and Slovak Romani asylum-seekers in Britain, 1997. *Romani Studies*. **5**(10), pp. 23-47.

Clark, C. (2001). *Invisible Lives the Gypsies and Travellers of England*, PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh.

Clark, C. and Greenfields, M. 2006. *Here to Stay the Gypsies and Travellers of England*. Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press.

Clark, C. 2017. How the youth of Britain's Roma, Gypsy, and Traveller communities fight the injustices they face. 30 November. *LSE BPP*. [Online], [Accessed 20 May 2019]. Available from:
<https://blogtest.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/roma-gypsy-traveller-youth/>.

Clifford, J. and Marcus, G. 1986. *Ethnographic Methods*. University of California Press: California.

Codona, J. and Barrett, S. 2019. *Gypsy, Romany/Roma and Traveller and Health Services Understanding of Each Other*. Unpublished.

Cohen, A. 1946. *The Symbolic Construction of Community*. London: Tavistock Publications.

Cohen, L., Manion, L. and Morrison, K. 2007. *Research Methods in Education*. 6th ed. Routledge: London.

Cohen, S. 2011. *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*. Routledge: London.

Collier, A. 2019. *Why Telling Our Own Story Is So Powerful for Black Americans*. [Online]. [Accessed 2 February 2020]. Available from:
https://greatergood.berkeley.edu/article/item/why_telling_our_own_story_is_so_powerful_for_black_americans
 .

Condon, L., Bedford, H., Ireland, L., Kerr, S., Mytton, J., Richardson, Z. and Jackson, C. 2019. Engaging Gypsy, Roma, and Traveller Communities in Research: Maximizing Opportunities and Overcoming Challenges. *Qualitative Health Research*. **29**(9), pp. 1324-1333.

Condon, L., and Salmon, D. 2015. 'You like your way; we got our way': Gypsies and Travellers' views on infant feeding and health professional support. *Health Expectations*. **18**(5), pp.784–795.

Connors, J. Unknown. Battle of Brownhills. 'Pop's' Johnny Connors. *From Puck to Appleby*. Gloucestershire: Musical Traditions.

Cooper, H. 2022. *Research Synthesis and Meta-Analysis: A Step-by-Step Approach*. London: SAGE Publications.

- Corden, A. and Sainsbury, R. 2005(a). Volunteering for Employment Skills – A Qualitative Research Study. *Social Policy Research Unit*. pp. 1-35.
- Corden, A. and Sainsbury, R. 2005(b). Exploring ‘Quality’: Research Participants’ on Verbatim Quotations. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*. **9**(2), pp. 97-100.
- Corden, A. and Sainsbury, R. 2005(c). The impact of verbatim quotations on research users: Qualitative exploration. *Social Policy Research Unit*. pp. 1- 56.
- Corden, A. and Sainsbury, R. 2006. Using verbatim quotations in reporting qualitative social research: researchers views. *Social Policy Research Unit*. pp. 1-35.
- Cornell, S, and Hartmann, D. 1998. *Ethnicity and Race*. Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press.
- Council Of Europe. 2008. *Report of High-Level Task Force on Social Cohesion: Towards an Active, Fair and Socially Cohesive Europe*. [Online]. Strasbourg: Council of Europe. [Accessed 30 June 2017]. Available from: <https://rm.coe.int/report-towards-an-active-fair-and-socially-cohesive-europe-janv-2008-t/1680939181>.
- Counterfire. 2022. Spies, lies, and sabotage: How the state infiltrated the far left. [Online]. [Accessed 15 May 2022]. Available from: <https://www.counterfire.org/article/spies-lies-and-sabotage-how-the-state-infiltrated-the-far-left/>.
- Creswell, J. W. and Creswell, D. J. 2022. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. 6TH ed. London: SAGE Publications.
- Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994*. (c.33). London: Stationary Office.
- Crofton, T. 1888. Early Annals of the Gypsies in England. *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. **1**, pp.5-24.
- Cromarty, H. 2019. *Gypsies and Travellers*. (HC 08083). London: House of Commons.
- Crossman, A. 2019. The Definition of Marriage in Sociology. [Online]. [Accessed 15 May 2020]. Available from: <https://www.thoughtco.com/marriage-3026396>.
- Crowder, K., Pais, J. and South, S. J. 2012. Neighborhood Diversity, Metropolitan Constraints, and Household Migration. *American Sociological Review*. **77**(3), pp. 325-353.
- Crowe, D. 1995. *A History of Gypsies of Eastern Europe and Russia*. New York: Palgrave Macmillian.

Crowe, G. 1994. *Community Life: An introduction to local social relations*. [Online]. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf. [Accessed 9 April 2018]. Available from:

<https://archive.org/details/communitylifeint0000crow/page/n3/mode/2up>.

Cullen, S., Hayes, P. and Hughes, L. 2008. *Good Practice Guide: Working with housed Gypsies and Travellers*. London: Shelter.

D'Arcy, K. 2012. *Elective Home Education and Traveller families in contemporary times: Educational Spaces and Equality*. Ph.D. thesis. University of Sheffield.

Daily Mail Reporter. 2011. Revealed: The Bizarre secrets of courtship in My Big Fat Gypsy Wedding. *Daily Mail*. [Online]. 19 January. [Accessed 13 February 2017]. Available from:

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-1348402/My-Big-Fat-Gypsy-Wedding-The-grisly-secrets-courtship-revealed.html>.

Daniel. 2016. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 28 November, East Anglia.

David. 2020. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 31 October, East Anglia.

Dawson, C. 2009. *Introduction to Research Methods*. 4th ed. Little Brown Book Group: Boston.

Deleuze, G. 1992. *Expressionism in philosophy: Spinoza*. New York: Zone Books.

Denzin, N. K., Lincoln, Y. S., Giardina, M. D., and Cannella, G. S. eds. 2023. *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 6th Ed. SAGE Publications: London.

Department for Children, Schools and Families. 2008. Departmental Report 2008. [Online]. Cheshire:

Department for Children, Schools and Families. [Accessed 2 November 2017]. Available from:

https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5a7dedd5ed915d74e6222fc1/dcsf_departmental_report_2008.pdf.

Department for Communities and Local Government. 2007. *Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Needs*

Assessments. [Online]. London: Communities and Local Government. [Accessed 1 December 2021]. Available from:

<https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5a796bf5e5274a3864fd6d97/accommneedsassessments.pdf>.

Department for Communities and Local Government. 2012. *National Planning Policy Framework*. [Online].

London: Communities and Local Government. [Accessed 12 July 2022]. Available from:

<https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/ukgwa/20180608095821/https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/national-planning-policy-framework--2>.

Department for Communities and Local Government. 2015. *Planning policy for traveller sites*. [Online].

London: Communities and Local Government. [Accessed 12 July 2022]. Available from:

https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/658198bb23b70a000d234c03/Final_planning_and_travellers_policy.pdf.

Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities. 2022. *Levelling Up the United Kingdom Executive Summary*. (CP.604). London: The Stationary Office.

Derrington, C. and Kendall, S. 2004. *Gypsy Traveller Students in Secondary Schools: Culture, Identity and Achievement*. Stoke on Trent: Trentham Books.

Descriptive Glossary of terms relating to Roma Issues. [Online]. 2012. s.v. Gypsies. [Accessed 17 June 2017]

Available from:

<https://rm.coe.int/1680088eab#:~:text=The%20term%20%E2%80%9CRoma%2FGypsies%E2%80%9D,it%20to%20be%20an%20alien>.

Dezider Horvath. 2022. *TV VIVA ROMA*. [Online]. [Accessed 10 December 2023]. Available from:

https://www.facebook.com/watch/live/?ref=watch_permalink&v=389613786317924.

Dick. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 9 October, East Anglia.

Dragomir, C.I. (2019) Nomads, Gypsies and Criminals in England and India from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century. *Critical Romani Studies*. 2(1), pp. 62-81.

Drakakis-Smith, A. 2007. Nomadism a Moving Myth? Policies of Exclusion and the Gypsy/Traveller Response1. *Mobilities*. 2(3), pp.463-487.

Du Bois, W. E. B. 2003. The souls of Black folk. [Online]. New York: Barnes & Noble. [Accessed 25 March 2017]. Available from: <https://archive.org/details/soulsofblackfol300dubo>.

Durkheim, E. 1982. *The Rules of Sociological Method and Selected Texts on Sociology and its Method*.

[Online]. New York: Free Press. [Accessed 1 September 2018]. Available from:

https://archive.org/details/rulesofsociologi0000durk_l2z6.

Dwyer, W., and Buckle, J. 2009. The Space Between: On Being an Insider-Outsider in Qualitative Research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*. **8**(1), pp. 54-63.

East Herts Council. 2022. *Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Needs Assessment (GTANA)*. [Online].

Swansea: Opinion Research Services. [Accessed 30 November 2016]. Available from:

<https://democracy.eastherts.gov.uk/documents/s58787/East%20Herts%20Council%20Gypsy%20and%20Traveller%20Accommodation%20Needs%20Assessment%20-%20Appendix%20A.pdf?J=2>.

Eddy. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 3 November, East Anglia.

Ellis, G. and McWhirter, C. 2008. Land-use Planning and Traveller-Gypsies: Towards Non-prejudicial Practice. *Planning Practice and Research Practice & Research*. **1**, pp. 77-99.

Encyclopedia of Evolutionary Psychological Science. 2021. s.v. John Bowlby: Pioneer of Attachment Theory, pp. 4289-4296.

Equality Act 2010. (c. 15). London: Stationary Office.

Equality and Human Rights Commission. 2016. *'Is Britain Fairer?': Key facts and findings on Gypsies, Roma and Travellers*. [Leaflet]. London: Equality and Human Rights. Commission.

Equality and Human Rights Commission. 2020. *Race discrimination*. [Online]. [Accessed 20 February 2023]. Available from: <https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/equality/equality-act-2010/your-rights-under-equality-act-2010/race-discrimination>.

Equality and Human Rights Commission Scotland. 2014. *Equality and Human Rights Commission Annual Report and Accounts*. [Online]. London: Equality and Human Rights Commission. [Accessed 10 September 2022]. Available from: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5a7e199440f0b62305b80ccc/EHRC_ARA_13-14_web_accessible.pdf.

Eurobarometer. 2009. *Discrimination in the EU in 2009*. [Online]. Brussels: European Commission. [Accessed 13 April 2022]. Available from: <https://library.leeds.ac.uk/referencing-examples/9/leeds-harvard/92/e-book--online-or-via-e-book-reader->.

European Commission. 2019. *Commission Staff Working Document- Roma inclusion measure reported under the EU Framework for NRIS*. [Online]. Brussels: European Commission. [Accessed 11 October 2020].

Available from: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52019SC0320>.

European Dialogue. 2009. *New Roma Communities in England- The Situation of Roma from new Member States of the European Union and the Role of Local Authorities in their Settlement and Inclusion*. [Online].

London: European Dialogue. [Accessed 29 June 2022]. Available from:

<https://www.scribd.com/document/37037214/Strategic-Guide>.

European Network Against Racism. Unknown. *Frequently Asked Questions*. [Online]. [Accessed 20 May 2020].

Available from: <https://www.enar-eu.org/Frequently-asked-questions-1167/>.

European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. 2009. *The situation of Roma EU citizens moving to and settling in other EU member states*. [Online]. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European

Communities. [Accessed 19 June 2023]. Available from:

https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/705-Roma_Movement_Comparative-final_en.pdf.

European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. 2009. *European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey- Main Results Report*. [Online]. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European

Communities. [Accessed 19 June 2023]. Available from:

https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/663-fra-2011_eu_midis_en.pdf.

Fang, J. 2023. Application and Limitations of the Expectancy Theory in Organizations. *Advances in Economics Management and Political Sciences*. **54**(1), pp. 7-12.

Fay, B. 1996. *Contemporary Philosophy of Social Science: A Multicultural Approach*. Cambridge: Blackwell.

Fényes, C., McDonald, C. and Mészáros, A. eds. 1999. *The Roma Education Resource Book*. Budapest: Open Society Institute.

Fielding, S. 2022. *What Is Maslow's Hierarchy Of Needs? A Deep Dive Into The Research & Criticisms*.

[Online]. [Accessed 7 August 2023]. Available from: <https://www.mindbodygreen.com/articles/maslows-hierarchy-of-needs-research>.

Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J. C., Glick, P., Xu, Jun. 2002. A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived status and competition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. **82**(6), pp. 878-902.

Flaherty, J., Velt-Wilson, J., and Dorman, P. 2004. Poverty. 5th ed. London: Child Poverty Action Group.

Foley, A. 2010. *Trailers and Tribulations: Crime Deviance and Justice In Gypsy and Traveller Communities*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Cardiff.

Fonseca, X., Lukosch, S. and Brazier, F. 2018. Social cohesion revisited: a new definition and how to characterize it. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*. **32**(2), pp. 231-253.

Forrest, R. and Kearns, A. 2001. Social Cohesion, Social Capital and the Neighbourhood. *Urban Studies*. **38**(12), pp. 2125-2143.

Foster, B. and Norton, P. 2012. Education for Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children and young people in the UK. *The Equal Rights Review*. **8**, pp. 85-112.

Foucault, M. 1980. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*. New York: Patheon Books.

Fox, G. L. and Murry, V. M. 2000. Gender and families: Feminist perspectives and family research. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*. **62**(4), pp. 1160-1172.

Fox, J. E., Morosanu, L. and Szilassy, E. 2012. The Racialization of the New European Migrations to the UK. *Sociology*. **46**(4), pp. 680-695.

Frank. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 3 December, East Anglia.

Fred. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 12 October, East Anglia.

Friends, Families and Travellers. 2009. *Friends, Families and Travellers June- Sept 2009*. [Leaflet]. Brighton:

Friends, Families and Travellers. [Accessed 17 March 2020]. Available from: https://www.gypsy-traveller.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/june_09.pdf.

Friends Families and Travellers. 2021. *Briefing: Accommodation issues facing Gypsies and Travellers in England, February 2021*. [Online]. [Accessed 1 January 2023]. Available from: <https://www.gypsy-traveller.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/Briefing-Accommodation-February-2021-1.pdf>.

Friends Families and Travellers. 2021. *Prejudice Survey*. [Online]. London: YouGov. [Accessed 3 March 2022]. Available from: <https://www.gypsy-traveller.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/YouGov-Prejudice-against-Gypsies-and-Travellers-survey.pdf>.

Friends Families and Travellers. 2022. *FTT Statement on Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Bill*. [Online]. [Accessed 1 January 2023]. Available from: <https://www.gypsy-traveller.org/news/fft-statement-on-pcsc-bill/>.

Friends Families and Travellers. 2023. *National survey exposes racism and discrimination faced by Gypsy, Roma and Traveller people*. [Online]. [Accessed 20 January 2024]. Available from: <https://www.gypsy-traveller.org/news/national-survey-exposes-racism-and-discrimination-faced-by-gypsy-roma-and-traveller-people/>.

Freire, P. 2000. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed: 30th Anniversary*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Fuller, G. 2011. *A caravan burning at Dale Farm in Essex on 19 November 2011, as a planned eviction got under way*. [Online]. [Accessed 6 June 2022]. Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2021/oct/21/a-massive-injustice-ten-years-on-from-dale-farm-traveller-site-essex-evictions-pain-and-trauma-remain>.

Gardiner, S. 2011. "Gypsy blood"- an eviction of travellers at Blaxhall in Suffolk. 12

September. Those Who Will Not Be Drowned. [Online]. [Accessed 23 March 2020].

Available from:

<https://thosewhowillnotbedrowned.wordpress.com/2011/09/12/153/#:~:text=The%20East%20Anglian%20Magazine%20often,subject%20in%20the%20nineteenth%20century>.

Garner, R. 2007. Romas and travellers fare worst in school exams. *Independent*. [Online]. 12 December. [Accessed 3 May 2019]. Available from: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/education/education-news/romas-and-travellers-fare-worst-in-school-exams-5337694.html>.

- Garrouette, E. M. 2003. *Real Indians: Identity and the Survival of Native America*. Oakland: University of California Press.
- Gentleman, A. 2017. *Fighting Gypsy discrimination: 'What people ask me is insulting'*. The Guardian. [Online]. 16 May. [Accessed 20 November 2020]. Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/16/gypsy-travellers-discrimination-stigma-poster-campaign>.
- Gibbs, A. 1997. Social Research Update: Issue 19. [Online]. Surrey: University of Surrey. [Accessed 1 June 2018]. Available from: <https://sru.soc.surrey.ac.uk/SRU19.html>.
- Gilligan, C., Spencer, R., Weinberg, M. K. and Bertsch, T. 2003. On the Listening Guide: A voice centered relational method. In: Camic, P. M., Rhodes, J. E. and Yardley, L. (eds). *Qualitative research in psychology: Expanding perspectives in methodology and design*. Mishawaka: Better World Books, pp. 157-172.
- Giuliani, M.V. (2003) 'Theory of attachment and place attachment'. In: Bonnes, M., Lee, T. and Bonaiuto, M. (Eds.) *Psychological Theories for Environmental Issues*. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp.137-170.
- Goffman, E. 1953. *Communication Conduct in an Island Community*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago.
- Goffman, E. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Doubleday Anchor.
- Goffman, E. 1986. *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. London: Penguin.
- Goodman, M. and Thompson V. S. 2017. *Public Health Research Methods for Partnerships and Practice*. New York: Routledge.
- Goss, L. and Barnes, M. E. eds. 1989. *Talk that talk: an anthology of African-American storytelling*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Gottschall, J. 2012. *The Storytelling Animal: How Stories Make Us Human*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.
- Gov.uk. Unknown. *Discrimination: your rights*. [Online]. [Accessed 12 June 2023]. Available from: <https://www.gov.uk/discrimination-your-rights>.
- Goodman, M. S. and Sanders Thompson, V. L. 2017. The science of stakeholder engagement in research: classification, implementation, and evaluation. *Translational Behavioral Medicine*. 7(3), pp. 486-491.

Graham, K. 2004. *Socioeconomic Inequalities in Health in the UK: Evidence On Patterns And Determinants*.

[Online]. Lancaster: Lancaster University. [Accessed 8 January 2024]. Available from: <https://disability-studies.leeds.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/40/library/graham-socioeconomic-inequalities.pdf>.

Greenfields, M. and Brindley, M. 2016. Impact of insecure accommodation and the living environment on Gypsies' and Travellers' health. [Online]. London: The Traveller Movement. [Accessed 6 January 2017]

Available from:

[https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/490846/NIHB - Gypsy and Traveller health accs.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/490846/NIHB_-_Gypsy_and_Traveller_health_accs.pdf).

Greenfields, M. and Homes, R. 2006. *Cambridge Sub-Region Traveller Needs Assessment*. [Online].

Cambridge: Cambridgeshire County Council. [Accessed 3 March 2020]. Available from

https://www.scambs.gov.uk/media/3132/mh1_cambs_sub_region_gtaa_may_06.pdf.

Greenfields, M. 2009. *Better Housing Briefing 10: Gypsies, Travellers and Accommodation*. [Online] London:

Race Equality Foundation. [Accessed 1 April 2020]. Available from:

<https://bnu.repository.guildhe.ac.uk/id/eprint/9794/1/Housing%2011%20pdf2.pdf>.

Greenfields, M. and Ryder, A. 2012. Research with and for Gypsies, Roma and Traveller: combining policy, practice and community in action research. In: Richardson, J. and Ryder, A. *Gypsies and Travellers:*

Empowerment and inclusion in British Society. Bristol: Policy Press.

Greenfields, M. and Smith, D. 2011. *Housed Gypsies and Travellers in England*. London: Sage England.

Greenfields, M. and Smith, D. 2011. Housed Gypsy Travellers, Social Segregation and the Reconstruction of Communities. *Housing Studies*. **25**, pp. 397-412.

Greenfields, M. and Smith, D. 2013. *Gypsies and Travellers in Housing: The Decline of Nomadism*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Greenfields, M. 2017. Good practice in working with Gypsy, Traveller and Roma

Communities. *Primary Health Care*. **27**(10), pp. 24-29.

Guerin, S. and Hennessy, E. 2022. Pupils' definitions of bullying. *European Journal of Psychology of Education*. **17**(3), pp. 249-262.

- Guest, G., Macqueen, K.M. and Namey, E.E. 2012. *Applied Thematic Analysis*. London: Sage Publications.
- Gunaratnam, Y. 2003. *Researching 'Race' and Ethnicity: Methods, Knowledge and Power*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Guskin, J. and Wilson, D. 2017. *The Politics of Immigration*. 2nd ed. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Gypsy and Traveller Communities (Housing, Planning and Education) Bill*. 2018. (HC 285, 2017-2019). [Online]. London: Stationary Office. [Accessed 20 March 2022]. Available from: <https://bills.parliament.uk/bills/2311>.
- Gypsies Next Door*. 2019. Channel 9. 18 April, 21:00.
- Gypsy, Roma & Travellers Police Association. Unknown. *About Us*. [Online]. [Accessed 8 August 2024]. Available from: <https://grtpa.co.uk/about-us>.
- Hall, B. L. 1992. From margins to center? The development and purpose of participatory research. *The American Sociologist*. **23**, pp. 15-28.
- Hallett, E. 2014. *Police in riot gear surrounded a coach which had been circling a field near Stonehenge where violence erupted in 1985*. [Online]. [Accessed 4 May 2020]. Available from: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-27405147>.
- Hamilton, P. 2018. Engaging Gypsy and Traveller pupils in secondary education in Wales: tensions and dilemmas of addressing difference. *International Studies in Sociology of Education*. **27**(1), pp. 4-22.
- Hamilton, P. 2018. *Gypsy and Traveller Attachment to People and Place: a contradiction in terms?* Ph.D. thesis, Royal Holloway University of London.
- Hancock, I. One Romani Origins and Identity. *The Romani Archives*. Pp. 1-4.
- Harry. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 14 December, East Anglia.
- Hawes, D. and Perez, B. 1996. *The Gypsy and the State: The Ethnic Cleansing of British Society*. 2nd ed. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Heaslip, V. A. 2015. *Experiences of Vulnerability from a Gypsy/Traveller Perspective: A phenomenological Study*. Ph. D. thesis, Bournemouth University.

- Heath, A. 2019. How ethnic minorities are still discriminated against in the UK job market. 22 January. *The British Academy*. [Online]. [Accessed 3 April 2020]. Available from: <https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/blog/how-ethnic-minorities-still-discriminated-against-uk-job-market/>.
- Hennessy, M. 2014. Special report on Wisbech. *Wisbech Standard*. [Online] 14 February. [Accessed 19 May 2018]. Available at <https://www.wisbechstandard.co.uk/news/22678477.video-special-report-wisbech-visiting-irish-journalist-why-love-wisbech-video/>.
- Hesse-Biber, S. and Leavy, P. eds. 2004. *Approaches to Qualitative Research*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hidalgo, M. C. and Hernandez, B. 2001. Place Attachment: Conceptual and Empirical Questions. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*. **21**(3), pp. 273-281.
- Hickson, M., Stacks, D. W. and Moore, N. J. 2004. *Nonverbal Communication: Studies and Applications*. Los Angeles: Roxbury Publishing Company.
- Hirsch, A. 2020. The 'playing the race card' accusation is just a way to silence us. *The Guardian*. [Online]. 16 January. [Accessed 15 February 2023]. Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/jan/16/playing-the-race-card-racism-black-experience>.
- Hochschild, J. L. 2009. *Workshop on Interdisciplinary Standards for Systematic Qualitative Research*. [Memo]. Cambridge MA: Harvard University.
- Hodkinson, M. 2016. Rose Brash, 20, is led away by police at the Battle of the Beanfield, June 1985. *The Guardian*. 15 Jan. [Accessed 4 Mat 2020]. Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2016/jan/15/battle-of-the-beanfield-stonehenge-1985-rose-brash-photograph>.
- Hogget, P. 1998. Contested Communities: Experiences, Struggles, Policies. *Journal of Social Policy*. **27**(2), pp. 279-306.
- Holler, M. 2015. Historical Predecessors of the Term 'Anti-Gypsyism'. In: Selling, J., End, M., Kyuchukov, H., Laskar, P., and Templer, B. eds. *Antiziganism: What's in a Word?* Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp. 82-92.
- Holmes, P. and Farnfield, S. eds. 2014. *The Routledge handbook of attachment: Theory*. London: Routledge.

Homelessness Act 2002. (c. 7). London: Stationary Office.

Honer, D. and Hoppie, P. 2004. The enigma of the Gypsy patient. *RN*. **67**(8), pp. 33-36.

Horton, M and Grayson, J. 2008. Roma research – the context. In Horton, M. and Grayson, J. (eds) (2008) *Roma New Migrants: Local Research in the United England and European Contexts*. Burngreave Vestry Hall: Burngreave.

House, R. J. and Mitchell, T. R. 1975. *Path-Goal Theory of Leadership*. [Online]. [Accessed 7 August 2024].

Available from: https://d1wqtxts1xzle7.cloudfront.net/59476998/robert_house_path-goal_leadership_theory20190601-3998-tnf6o8-libre.pdf?1559388293=&response-content-disposition=inline%3B+filename%3DPATH_GOAL_THEORY_OF_LEADERSHIP.pdf&Expires=1723046389&Signature=VRb3c6hKkaNCcgObxwrQaw4ZellZ64-Fy7d0qxNPSFbPX426KtIUHhMuViLGk0Z8d1LO1cIww-btDFyJXiyFI9eLa2jnugqPzycCvvW8ej4fQSYy4WQi6j07OMQo98~2ucqNS41PItsaeZXXKdr6UU02OvPcuu3LldX88BM36hfdRncDUjxCJ6Y8tq220GDHtKTkhmr3N0eZ57pT~vUSYKOafSAAa86bKekilECaTRjOXiUW X7bToz4dtJk9wQb9IWs203m1KZ0DvLzB6o~sP7yOVN7348NzZiDe9UfcJ1IB38MTiwfeYATS4fJhf5~cMCDQ9zsOA68zrBK7eOLAdQA_&Key-Pair-Id=APKAJLOHF5GGSLRBV4ZA.

House of Commons. 2004. Gypsy and Traveller Sites: Thirteenth Report of Session 2003/04. [Online]. London: The Stationary Office. [Accessed 12 July 2020]. Available from: <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200304/cmselect/cmodpm/633/633.pdf>.

Housing Act 1996. (c. 52). London: Stationary Office.

Housing and Regeneration Act 2008. (c. 17). London: Stationary Office.

Human Rights Law Centre. 2012. FRANET National Focal Point Social Thematic Study - The situation of Roma. [Online]. Nottingham: University of Nottingham. [Accessed 3 September 2022]. Available from: <https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/situation-of-roma-2012-uk.pdf>.

Human Rights Act 1998. (c.42). London: Stationary Office.

Hughes, D. and DuMont, K. 1993. Using focus groups to facilitate culturally anchored research. *American Journal of Community Psychology*. **21**(6), pp. 775-806.

Index on Censorship. 1998. *Gypsies: Life on the edge*. [Online]. [Accessed 20 June 2018]. Available from:

<https://www.indexoncensorship.org/1998/07/gypsies-life-on-the-edge/>.

Ireland's National Inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage. Unknown. *Cant/ Gammon*. [Online]. [Accessed 20

July 2022]. Available from: <https://nationalinventoryich.tcagsm.gov.ie/cant-gammon/>.

Irwin, S. 2016. 'What type of society is Britain today?': Lay perceptions of inequality. [Online]. [Accessed 9

February 2018]. Available from: <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/lay-perceptions-of-inequality/>.

Jackson, E. 2013. Choosing a Methodology: Philosophical Underpinning. *Practitioner Research In Higher Education*. 7(1), pp. 49-62.

James, Z. (2013) Offenders or Victims?: An exploration of Gypsies and Travellers as a policing paradox. In:

Phillips, C. ed. *New Directions in Race, Ethnicity and Crime*. London: Routledge, pp. 139-159.

Jenny. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 20 November, East Anglia.

Jensen, J. S. 2011. Revisiting the Insider-Outsider Debate: Dismantling a Pseudo-problem in the Study of

Religion. *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion*. 23(1), pp.29-47.

Jill. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 19 December, East Anglia.

Jim, 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 2 October, East Anglia.

Jimmy, 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 29 October, East Anglia.

Joan. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 17 November, East Anglia.

Johnson, C. 2010. Gypsies and Travellers on Unauthorised Encampments: The Law Relating to Welfare

Enquiries and Humanitarian Considerations. [Leaflet]. London: The Stationary Office.

Kabachnik, P. and Ryder, A. 2013. Nomadism and the 2003 Anti-Social Behaviour Act: Constraining Gypsy

and Traveller mobilities in Britain. *Romani Studies*. 23(1), pp.83-106.

Kapoor, A., Youssef, N. and Hood, S. 2022. *Confronting Injustice: Racism and the Environmental Emergency*.

[Online]. London: Runnymede Trust. [Accessed 3 June 2022]. Available from:

<https://www.runnymedetrust.org/publications/confronting-injustice-racism-and-the-environmental-emergency>.

Kathleen, 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 25 October, East Anglia.

Keanne, F. It is terrible: For Ukraine's Jew and Roma, was revives old traumas. *BBC News*. [Online]. 4 March. [Accessed 7 November 2022]. Available from: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-60613433>.

Ken, 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 19 November, East Anglia.

Kendrick, D. and Bakewell, S. (1995) *On The Verge: Gypsies of England*. 2nd Ed. Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press.

Kendrick, D. 1999. *In the Shadow of the Swastika*. Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press.

Kendrick, D. 1999. Moving on: the gypsies and travellers of Britain. [Online]. Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press. [Accessed 10 June 2022]. Available from: <https://archive.org/details/movingongypsiest0000kenr>.

Kendrick, D. 2007. *Historical dictionary of the Gypsies (Romanies)*. [Online]. 2nd ed. Lanham: Scarecrow Press. [Accessed 4 November 2022]. Available from: https://archive.org/details/historicaldictio0000kenr_x8h1_2nded.

Keval, H. 2009. Negotiating constructions of 'insider'/ 'outsider' status and exploring the significance of dis/connections. *ENQUIRE (Electronic Nottingham Quarterly for Ideas, Research and Evaluation)*. **4**, PP. 51-72.

Kidd, C. 2020. *Prejudices against Gypsy, Roma, and Travellers*. M.A. thesis, Bournemouth University.

King Jr, M. L. 1963. *I Have A Dream*. [Online]. 28 August, Washington. [Accessed 23 August 2023]. Available from: https://www.google.com/search?q=martin+luther+king+jr+i+have+a+dream+speech&oq=martin+luther+king+jr+i+ha&gs_lcrp=EgZjaHJvbWUqCggAEAAAY4wIYgAQyCggAEAAAY4wIYgAQyBwgBEC4YgAQyBggCEEUYOTIHCAMQABiABDIHCAQQABiABDIHCAUQABiABDIHCAYQABiABDIHCAcQABiABDIHCAGQABiABDIHCAkQABiABNIBCTE1MTMwajBqN6gCALACAA&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8#fpstate=ive&vld=cid:12ca6d5d,vid:vP4iY1TtS3s,st:0.

Kim. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 13 October, East Anglia.

Knibb-Lamouche, J. 2013. A Culture as a Social Determinant of Health. In: Anderson, K. M. and Olson, S. eds. *Leveraging Culture to Address Health Inequalities: Example from Native Communities*. Washington D.C.: The National Academies Press, pp. 5-12.

Kots, K. 2022. Anthropology vs. Sociology Degree. [Online]. [Accessed 6 December 2022]. [Available from: <https://www.northcentralcollege.edu/news/2021/02/25/anthropology-vs-sociology-degree>].

Klein, C. 2011. Social Capital or Social Cohesion: What Matters For Subjective Well-Being? *Social Indicators Research*. **110**, pp. 891-911.

Klüver, H. 2020. The survival of interest groups: evidence from Germany. *West European Politics*. **43**(7), pp. 1436-1454.

Krueger, R. A. 2014. *Focus Groups: A Prctical Guide for Applied Research*. 3rd ed. London: SAGE Publications.

Laka. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 20 December, East Anglia.

Lahey. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 11 December, East Anglia.

Lally, S. 2015. Gypsies and Travellers: their history, culture and traditions. *Community Practitioner*. **88**(1), pp. 30+.

Lane, P., Spencer, S., Jones, A. 2014. *Experts by Experience: Reviewing England Progress on the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies*. [Online]. Cambridge: Anglia Ruskin University. [Accessed 14 October 2023]. Available from: [\(PDF\) Experts by Experience: Gypsy, Traveller and Roma: REVIEWING UK PROGRESS ON THE EUROPEAN UNION FRAMEWORK FOR NATIONAL ROMA INTEGRATION STRATEGIES \(researchgate.net\)](#).

Law, I. 2010. *Issues of Ethnicity as contextualised in Contemporary England Occasional Paper*. [Online]. Central European University: EDUMIGROM. [Accessed 12 June 2019]. Available at http://www.edumigrom.eu/sites/default/files/field_attachment/page/node-5387/edumigromoccasionalpaperissues-of-ethnicityuk.pdf.

Lawrence, D. H. 1926. The Virgin and the Gypsy. In: Herbert, M., Jones, B. and Vasey, L. eds. 2005. *The Cambridge Edition of The Letters and Works of D. H. Lawrence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 5-78.

Lee, D. and Newby, H. 1983. *The Problem of Sociology*. London: Routledge.

Les Bas, D. and Acton, T. 2010. *All Change! Romani Studies Through Romani Eyes*. Hertfordshire: University of Hertfordshire Press.

Le Bas, D. 2014. *The Written Romani Language – Never Say Never*. [Online] [Accessed 19 May 2020]
Available from: <https://romediafoundation.wordpress.com/2014/03/18/the-written-romani-language-never-say-never>.

Le Bas, D. 2018. *The Stopping Places: A Journey Through Gypsy Britain*. London: Chatto & Windus.

Le Bas, D. 2019. *Patronising and totally false: my despair at TV about Gypsies*. [Online]. [Accessed 3rd November 2023]. Available from <https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2019/feb/11/patronising-and-totally-false-my-despair-at-tv-about-gypsies-a-very-british-history-bbc>.

Lee. 2018. *Interview with Shirely Barrett*. 13 December, East Anglia.

Lee Ann. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 17 October, East Anglia.

Leanne. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 18 October, East Anglia.

Leeds Council. 2020. *Gypsy and Traveller sites*. [Online]. [Accessed 10 March 2021]. Available from: <https://www.leeds.gov.uk/housing/gypsy-and-travellers>.

Lenny. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 16 December, East Anglia.

Levinson, M. P. 2007. Literacy in English Gypsy Communities: Cultural Capital Manifested as Negative Assets. *American Educational Research Journal*. **44**(1), pp. 5-39.

Lewis, C. S. 2012. *Mere Christianity*. Honley: Collins.

Lincoln, N. 2024. Cross-party objections to Northamptonshire Traveller's Stopping Site. *CambridgeshireLive*. [Online]. 27 February. [Accessed 10 August 2024]. Available from: <https://www.cambridge-news.co.uk/news/uk-world-news/cross-party-objections-northamptonshire-travellers-28707591>.

Lincolnshire County Council. Unknown. Ethnic Minority and Traveller education. [Online]. [Accessed 4 March 2023]. Available from: [Ethnic minority and Traveller education – Lincolnshire County Council](#).

Linda. 2016. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 29 August, East Anglia.

- Livingston, M., Bailey, N. and Kearns, A. 2008. *People's Attachment To Place- The Influence of Neighbourhood Deprivation*. [Online]. London: Chartered Institute of Housing. [Accessed 2 May 2024]. Available from: [Place attachment text \(jrf.org.uk\)](#).
- Localism Act 2011*. (c.20). London: The Stationary Office.
- Lowman, J., and Palys, T. 2014. The betrayal of research confidentiality in British sociology. *Research Ethics*. **10**(2), pp. 97-118.
- Lunt, P. and Livingstone, S. 1996. Rethinking the Focus Group in Media and Communications Research. *Journal of Communication*. **46**(2), pp. 79-98.
- Luxton, D. (2021) What it's like growing up as a New Age Traveller living on the road. *Cambridgeshire Live*. [Online]. 8 July. [Accessed 10 May 2022]. Available from: <https://www.cambridge-news.co.uk/news/local-news/what-its-like-growing-up-20958211>.
- M. 2014. New Age Travellers: History. 21 October. *MMSUBCULTURESPROJECT*. [Online]. [Accessed 19 October 2020]. Available from: <https://martasubculturesproject.wordpress.com/2014/10/21/new-age-travellers-history/>.
- Macdiarmid, P. 2011. *Police in riot gear advance across a field as evictions begin at Dale Farm Travellers camp*. [Online]. [Accessed 6 June 2022]. Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/blog/2011/oct/19/dale-farm-evictions-live>.
- Mandy. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 14 November, East Anglia.
- Marmot, M. 2004. *Status Syndrome: How Your Social Standing Directly Affects Your Health and Life Expectancy*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Marris, S. 2019. How is British society changing and what does this mean for us? *Sky News*. [Online]. 11 July. [Accessed 10 March 2013]. Available from: <https://news.sky.com/story/how-is-british-society-changing-and-what-does-this-mean-for-us-11760262>.
- Martiniello, B. and Verhaeghe, P. P. 2022. Signaling ethnic-national origin through names? The perception of names from an intersectional perspective. *PLoS One*. **17**(8), pp. 1-20.
- Mary. 2016. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 10 November, East Anglia.

Mary. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 12 October, East Anglia.

Maslow, A. H. 1943. A Theory of Human Motivation. *Psychological Review*. **50**(4), pp. 370-396.

Masolo, D. A. 2002. Community, identity and the cultural space. *African Philosophies: Crossings of Experiences*. **36**, pp. 21-51.

Mason, J. 2017. *Qualitative Researching*. 3rd ed. London: SAGE Publications.

Matache, M. and West, C. 2018. Roma and African Americans share a common struggle. *The Guardian*.

[Online]. 20 February. [Accessed 13 June 2019]. Available from:

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/feb/20/roma-african-americans-common-struggle#:~:text=of%20the%20victims,-.From%20early%20on%20in%20their%20histories%2C%20Roma%20and%20African%20Americans,%2C%20social%20power%2C%20and%20privilege.>

Matthews, J. 2012. *Gypsies, Roma, and Irish Travellers: Histories, Perceptions, and Representations, A Review*. Project Workshop Summary. (Unpublished).

Matthews, J. 2015. Seeing the Past- Gypsies and Travellers Through Non-Gypsy Eyes. 5 May. *Traveller Times*. [Online]. [Accessed 10 January 2023]. Available from: <https://www.travellerstimes.org.uk/features/seeing-past-gypsies-and-travellers-through-non-gypsy-eyes>.

Matsumoto, D. and Hamilton, A. 2021. Speaking of Psychology: Nonverbal communication speaks volumes, with David Matsumoto, PhD. *Speaking of Psychology*. [Sound Recording]. Worchester: American Psychological Association.

May. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 21 October, East Anglia.

May, T. 1993. *Social Research: Issues, Methods and Process*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Mayall, D. 1995. *English Gypsies and State Policies*. Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press.

Mayall, D. 1988. *Gypsy-Travellers in Nineteenth-Century Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mayall, D. 2004. *Gypsy/Romany Identities 1500-2000: From Egyptians and Moon-men to the Ethnic Romany*. London: Routledge.

- McCaffery, J. (2011) *Exploring literacy among adult Gypsy and Travellers in the authorities in Sothern Education*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Sussex.
- McCaughey, J. 2011. *Exploring Literacy Among Adult Gypsy and Travellers in the Authorities in Southern England*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Sussex.
- McIntosh Gray, A. 1982. Inequalities in Health. The Black Report: A Summary and Comment. *International Journal of Social Determinants of Health and Health Services*. **12**(3), pp. 349-380.
- Medina, V., DeRonda, A., Ross, N., Curtin, D. and Jia, F. 2019. Revisiting Environmental Belief and Behaviour Among Ethnic Groups in the U.S. *Frontiers in Psychology*. **10**, p. 629.
- Mercer, J. 2007. The challenges of insider research in educational institutions: wielding a double-edged sword and resolving delicate dilemmas. *Oxford Review of Education*. **33**(1), pp.1-17.
- Merton, R. K. (1972). Insiders and Outsiders: A Chapter in the Sociology of Knowledge. *Journal of Sociology*. **78**(1), pp.9-47.
- Millan, M. and Smith, D. 2019. A Comparative Sociology and Gypsy Traveller health in the UK. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*. **16**(3), pp. 379.
- Millan, M.A. 2018. *Mixed Methods Comparative Case Study Exploring the Relationships between Accommodation and Planning Situations and the Experience of Health and Wellbeing for English Gypsy Communities in South Buckinghamshire and Irish Traveller Communities in Ealing*. Ph.D. thesis. University of Greenwich.
- Miller, M. 2019. *Tackling inequalities faced by Gypsy, Roma and Traveller communities*. Unpublished.
- Mills, C. and Zavaleta, D. 2015. Shame, Humiliation and Social Isolation: Missing Dimensions of Poverty and Suffering Analysis. In: Anderson, R. E. *World Suffering and Quality of Life*. London: Springer, pp. 251-266.
- Milton Yinger, J. 1985. Ethnicity. *Annual Review of Sociology*. **11**, pp. 151-180.
- Mindtools. Unknown. *Adam's Equity Theory*. [Online]. [Accessed 7 August 2024]. Available from: <https://www.mindtools.com/azv3n0k/adams-equity-theory>.

Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government. 2018. *Written submission from Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (GRT0003)*. Unpublished.

Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government. 2023. *National Planning Policy Framework*. [Online]. London: The Stationary Office. [Accessed 4 January 2019]. Available from: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/669a25e9a3c2a28abb50d2b4/NPPF_December_2023.pdf.

Ministry of Justice. 2021. *Ethnicity and the Criminal Justice System, 2020*. [Online]. London: Ministry of Justice. [Accessed 1 December 2022]. Available from: <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/ethnicity-and-the-criminal-justice-system-statistics-2020/ethnicity-and-the-criminal-justice-system-2020#executive-summary>.

Mirga-Kruszelnicka, A. 2018. Challenging Anti-gypsyism in Academia. *Critical Romani Studies*. **1**(1), pp. 8-28.

Mobile Homes Act 1983. (c. 34). London: Stationary Office.

Moncur, A. (2016). How West was won, and travellers found no rest – archive. *The Guardian*. [Online]. 2 June. [Accessed 8 Jan 2018]. Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/profile/andrewmoncur>.

Moor, M. M. 2010. Human Nonverbal Courtship Behavior—A Brief Historical Review. *The Journal of Sex Research*. **47**(2), pp. 171-180.

Morse, J. M. 2010. “Cherry Picking”: Writing From Thin Data. *Qualitative Health Research*. **20**(1), p. 3.

Mousavi, S.H. and Dargahi, H. 2013. Ethnic Differences and Motivation Based on Maslow's Theory on Iranian Employees. *Iran J Public Health*. **42**(5), pp.516-521.

Munasinghe, V. 2018. Ethnicity in Anthropology. *The International Encyclopedia of Anthropology*. Pp. 1-12.

Murchison, J. (2009). *Ethnography Essentials: Designing, Conducting, and Presenting your Research*. Jossey-Bass: San Francisco.

Moving People Changing Places. 2011. Living Together: How are migrants received and included in societies. [Online]. [Accessed 14 March 2019]. Available from: <https://movingpeoplechangingplaces.org/index.html>.

My Big Fat Gypsy Wedding. 2010-2015. Channel 4. 18 February, 21:00.

Nancholas, B. Unknown. What is the public sector? [Online]. [Accessed 2 June 2021]. Available from: <https://online.york.ac.uk/what-is-the-public-sector/>.

National Research Council. 2012. *The Early Childhood Care and Education Workforce: Challenges and Opportunities*. [Online]. National Research Council: Washington DC. [Accessed 20 February 2021]. Available from: <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/24624473/>.

Nickerson, C. 2023. *Herzberg's Two Factor Theory of Motivation-Hygiene*. [Online]. [Accessed 7 August 2024]. Available from: [https://www.simplypsychology.org/herzbergs-two-factor-theory.html#:~:text=Herzberg%20\(1959\)%20considers%20two%20factors,job%20satisfaction%3A%20hygiene%20and%20motivation.](https://www.simplypsychology.org/herzbergs-two-factor-theory.html#:~:text=Herzberg%20(1959)%20considers%20two%20factors,job%20satisfaction%3A%20hygiene%20and%20motivation.)

Niner, P. 2002. *The Provision and Condition of Local Authority Gypsy/Traveller Sites in England*. London: Office of the Deputy Prime Minister.

Niner, P. 2004. Accommodating nomadism? An examination of accommodation options for Gypsies and Travellers. *Housing Studies*. **19**(2), pp.141–159.

Noel, L. A. 2016. Promoting an emancipatory research paradigm in Design Education and Practice. In: Lloyd, P. and Bohemia, E. eds. *Future Focused Thinking- DRS International Conference 2016*. Brighton: Design Research Society.

Office for National Statistics. 2011. *2011 Census*. [Online]. England: Newport. [Accessed 30 June 2019]. Available from <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/bulletins/2011census/2013-05-16>.

Office for National Statistics. 2014. *2011 Census analysis: What does the 2011 Census tell us about the characteristics of Gypsy or Irish travellers in England and Wales?* [Online]. England: Newport. [Accessed 30 June 2019]. Available from <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/ethnicity/articles/whatdoesthe2011censusstellusaboutthecharacteristicsofgypsyoririshtravellersinenglandandwales/2014-01-21>.

Office for National Statistics. 2021. 2021 Census. [Online]. [Accessed 8 February 2022] Available at https://census.gov.uk/?utm_source=google&utm_medium=dynamic_search_ads&utm_campaign=national_campaign&utm_content=search&gclid=CPKLIP7M_O4CFYKEGwodFb.

- Office for National Statistics. 2022. *Gypsies' and Travellers' lived experiences, education and employment, England and Wales: 2022*. [Online]. [Accessed 2 December 2023]. Available from: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/educationandchildcare/bulletins/gypsiesandtravellerslivedexperienceseducationandemploymentenglandandwales/2022>.
- Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (2004) *Examination of Witnesses (Questions 20-39)*. [Online]. London: House of Commons. [Accessed 13 March 2019]. Available from: <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200304/cmselect/cmodpm/549/4042603.htm>.
- Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (2004) *Housing, Planning, Local Government and the Regions- First Report*. [Online]. London: House of Commons. [Accessed 1 December 2021]. Available from: <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200405/cmselect/cmodpm/62/6202.htm>.
- Okely, J. 1983. *The Traveller-Gypsies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Okely, J. and Callaway, H. 1992. *Anthropology and Autobiography*. Routledge: Abington.
- Okely, J. 2012. *Anthropological Practice, Fieldwork and the Ethnographic Method*. Routledge: Abington.
- Okely, J. 2012. Constructing culture through shared location, bricolage, and exchange: the case of Gypsies and Roma. In: Fillits, T. and Jamie Saris, A. eds. *Debating Authenticity, Concepts of Modernity in Anthropological Perspective*. New York: Berghahn Books, pp. 196-210.
- Okely, J. 2020. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 14 January, East Anglia.
- O'Loughlin, I. 2010. Learning Without Storing: Wittgenstein's Cognitive Science of Learning Memory. In: Peters, M.A. and Stickney, J. eds. *A Companion to Wittgenstein on Education: Pedagogical Investigations*. Springer: Singapore.
- One Voice 4 Travellers. 2018. *Wagon Wheels and Eastern Skies*. [Sound Recording]. Hilton: ZigZag Music.
- One Voice 4 Travellers. 2023. *Email to volunteers, stakeholders, NGO's and clients*, 9 September.
- Open Spaces Society. Unknown. *Green Belt Land- Definition and Protection*. [Online]. [Accessed 3 March 2023]. Available from: <https://www.oss.org.uk/protecting-green-belt-land/>.
- Ozzy. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 21 October, East Anglia.

- Panford, L. 2023. *Creole Languages*. [Leaflet]. London: Pearson. [Online]. [Accessed 19 January 2024]. Available from: <https://www.pearson.com/content/dam/one-dot-com/one-dot-com/uk/documents/subjects/modern-languages/E00028-PTS-Creole-worksheet.pdf>.
- Parry, G., Van Cleemput, P., Peters, J., Walters, S., Thomas, K., and Cooper, C. 2007. Health status of Gypsies and Travellers in England. *J Epidemiol Communities Health*. **61**(6), pp. 198-204.
- Parsons, T. 1951. *The Social System*. London: Routledge.
- Pattinson, R. 2020. Big Fat Gypsy Funeral Gypsy family ignore corona virus social-distancing rules as 40 turn up to funeral. *The Sun*. [Online]. 31 March. [Accessed 26 June 2021]. Available from: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/11298885/gypsy-family-funeral-no-social-distancing/>.
- Payne, G. 2013. *Social Divisions*. 3rd ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pease, B. and Pease, A. 2006. *The Definitive Book of Body Language*. London: Orion.
- Peggy. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 10 December, East Anglia.
- Percy-Smith, J. 2000. *Policy Responses to Social Exclusion*. [Online] Maidenhead: Open University Press. [Accessed 19 June 2021]. Available from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/254631494_Policy_Responses_to_Social_Exclusion.
- Petulengro, P. 2018. *Our Gypsy Traditions and Customs*. [Online]. [Accessed 23 March 2024]. Available from: <https://www.petulengro.com/our-gypsy-traditions/>.
- Pittaway, E., Bartolomei, L. and Hugman, R. 2010. 'Stop Stealing Our Stories': The Ethics of Research with Vulnerable Groups. *Journal of Human Rights Practice*. **2**(2), pp. 229-251.
- Plant, R., Lesser, H. and Taylor, P. 1980. *Political philosophy and Social Welfare: Essays on the Normative Basis of Welfare Provisions*. London: Routledge.
- Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004*. (c.5) London: Stationary Office.
- Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Act 2022*. (c.32). London: Stationary Office.
- Police.uk. Unknown. *What is stalking and harassment?* [Online]. [Accessed 3 March 2024]. Available from: <https://www.police.uk/advice/advice-and-information/sh/stalking-harassment/what-is-stalking-harassment/>.

Powell R. 2008. Understanding the Stigmatization of Gypsies: Power and the Dialectics of (Dis)identification. *Housing, Theory and Society*. **25**(2), pp.87-109.

Power, C. 2004. *Roam to Roam: England's Irish Travellers*. [Online]. London: The Community Fund.
[Accessed 10 September 2020]. Available from: <https://www.gypsy-traveller.org/pdfs/RoomtoRoam.pdf>.

Prakash, D. and Sudhakar, G. 2010. Plamer C- Line Variation Among Yerukula, a Nomadic Tribe of South India. *Antrocom*. **6**(1), pp. 21-24.

Public Order Act 1986. (c. 64). London: Stationary Office.

Pugh, H. (1994) You call it a disgrace, we call it home: New Age travellers and gypsies should be respected, not hounded, says a surprising champion of their way of life. Harry Pugh reports. *Independent*. [Online]. 20 January. [Accessed 14 September 2019]. Available from: <https://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/you-call-it-a-disgrace-we-call-it-home-new-age-travellers-and-gypsies-should-be-respected-not-hounded-says-a-surprising-champion-of-their-way-of-life-harry-pugh-reports-1401253.html>.

Puxon, G. 2010. *Secret plans by the council for Dale farm*. Unpublished.

Pyke, K.D. and Johnson, D.L. 2003. Asian-American Women and Racialized Femininities: 'Doing' Gender across Cultural Worlds. *Gender and Society*. **17**(1), pp.33-53.

Race Equality Foundation. 2008. *The health of Gypsies and Travellers in the UK*. London: Race Equality Foundation.

Race Relations Act 1965. c. 73. London: The Stationary Office.

Richardson, J. 2006. Talking about Gypsies: The Notion of Discourse as Control. *Housing Studies*. **21**(1), pp. 77-96.

Richardson (2007) *Providing Gypsy and Traveller sites: contentious spaces*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Richardson, J. and Ryder, A. eds. 2012. *Gypsies and Travellers: Empowerment and inclusion in British Society*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Rionach, C. 2014. 'Caravan wives' and 'decent girls': Gypsy-Traveller women's perceptions of gender, culture and morality in the North of England. *Culture, Health & Sexuality - An International Journal for Research, Intervention and Care*. **16**(7), pp. 806-819.

Ritchie, J. and Spencer, L. 1994. Qualitative Data Analysis for Applied Policy Research. In: Bryman, A. and Burgess, R. G. eds. *Analyzing Qualitative Data*. London: Routledge. Pp. 173-194.

Robinson, S. 2011. Dale Farm: Greenbelt case for eviction collapsing. *The Socialist Worker*. [Online]. 11 October. [Accessed 20 May 2018]. Available at <https://socialistworker.co.uk/art/25900/Dale+Farm%3A+Greenbelt+case+for+eviction+collapsing>.

Rogers, E. and Storey, D. 1987. Communication Campaigns. In: Berger, C. and Chaffee, S. eds. *Handbook of Communication Science*. Newbury Park: SAGE Publication, pp. 817-846.

Rose, D. 1985. It wasn't a battle because we offered no resistance. [Online]. [Accessed 4 May 2020]. Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2016/jan/15/battle-of-the-beanfield-stonehenge-1985-rose-brash-photograph>.

Roughneen, D. 2010. *The Right to Roam: Travellers and Human Rights in the Modern Nation-State*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing: Cambridge.

Rowe, L. and Goodman, S. 2014. "A stinking filthy race of people inbred with criminality." A discourse analysis of prejudicial talk about Gypsies in discussion forums. *Romani Studies*. **24**(1), pp. 25-42.

Ryder, A. and Greenfields, M. 2010. *Roads to success: Economic and Social Inclusion for Gypsies and Travellers*. [Online]. London: Friends, Families and Travellers. [Accessed 10 April 2020]. Available from: [Roads to Success - Economic and Social Inclusion for Gypsies and Travellers - Friends, Families and Travellers \(gypsy-traveller.org\)](https://www.gypsy-traveller.org/Roads-to-Success-Economic-and-Social-Inclusion-for-Gypsies-and-Travellers-Friends-Families-and-Travellers).

Ryder, A. 2011. *Gypsy and Travellers and the third sector*. [Online] Birmingham: University of Birmingham. [Accessed 19 November 2019]. Available from: <http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/1509/>.

Ryder, A. 2012. *Coalition Government Policy on Gypsy Roma and Traveller Communities*. London: Routledge.

- Ryder, A., Kocze, A., Rostas, I., Dunajeva, J. E., Bogdan, M., Taba, M., Rovid, M. and Junghaus, T. 2015. Nothing About Us Without Us? Roma Participation in Policy Making and Knowledge Production. *Journal of the European Roma Rights Centre*. Pp. 3-103.
- Ryšavý, Z and Samko, R. 2022. Slovak Interior Minister refuses to comment on firefighter's racist remarks about Romani refugees from Ukraine. *Roma.cz* [Online] 5 March. [Accessed 4 November 2023]. Available from: <https://romea.cz/en/world/slovak-interior-minister-refuses-to-comment-on-firefighter-a-pos-s-racist-remarks-about-romani-refugees-from-ukraine>.
- Sally. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 10 October, East Anglia.
- Sammy. 2016. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 11 September, East Anglia.
- Sampson, R.J. 1988. Local Friendship Ties and Communities Attachment in Mass Society: A Multilevel Systemic Model. *American Sociological Review*. **53**(5), pp.766-779.
- Scannell, L. and Gifford, R. 2010. Defining place attachment: A tripartite organizing framework. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*. **30**(1), pp. 1-10.
- Serdult, V. 2016. Hungary continues to segregate Roma schoolchildren'. *Budapest Beacon*. [Online]. 4 August. [Accessed 17 January 2019] Available from <https://budapestbeacon.com/hungary-continues-to-segregation-roma-school-children>.
- Shirley. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 15 November, East Anglia.
- Slootman, M. 2018. *Ethnic Identity, Social Mobility, and the Role of Soulmates*. London: Springer.
- Smith, V. 1998. *The Relationship Between Poverty, Holiday Taking and Social Policy (with specific reference to low income families)*. Ph.D. thesis, Manchester Metropolitan University.
- Smith, D. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 12 October, East Anglia
- Smith, D.M. and Greenfields, M. 2013. *Gypsies and Travellers in housing: The decline of nomadism*. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Smith, L. 2020. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 19 November, East Anglia.

Spencer, L., Ritchie, J., Lewis, J. and Dillon, L. 2003. *Quality in Qualitative Evaluation: A framework for assessing research evidence*. [Online]. London: Cabinet Office. [Accessed 30 March 2020]. Available from: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/74376246.pdf>.

Stangor, C., Jhangiani, R. and Tarry, H. 2022. *Principles of Social Psychology*. [Online]. 1st International H5P ed. Victoria: BCCampus. [Accessed 23 October 2023]. Available from: http://solr.bccampus.ca:8001/bcc/file/66c0cf64-c485-442c-8183-de75151f13f5/1/Principles-of-Social-Psychology-1st-International-H5P-Edition-1643224595_.print.pdf.

Stephanie. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 13 October, East Anglia.

Sue. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 15 December, East Anglia.

Sweeney, S. and Matthews, Z. 2017. *Friends, Families and Travellers: A guide for professionals working with Gypsies, Roma and Travellers in Children's Services*. Unpublished.

Tanker. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 12 November, East Anglia.

Taylor, B. 2008. *Stereotypes and the state: Britain's travellers past and present*. [Online]. [Accessed 27 December 2020]. Available from: <https://www.historyandpolicy.org/policy-papers/papers/stereotypes-and-the-state-britains-travellers-past-and-present>.

Ted. 2016. *Interview with Shirely Barrett*. 11 November, East Anglia.

Tenny, S., Brannan, J. M., and Brannan, G. D. 2017. *Qualitative Study*. [Online]. Florida: StatPearls Publishing. [Accessed 23 January 2023]. Available from: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK470395/>.

The Egyptians Act 1530 (21&22 Hen.8, c.10). [Online]. London: Parliament of England. [Accessed 15 March 2021]. Available from: <https://statutes.org.uk/site/the-statutes/sixteenth-century/1530-22-henry-8-c-10-the-egyptians-act/>.

The Irish Memorial. Unknown. *Ireland Great Hunger*. [Online] [Accessed 20 June 2023]. Available from: <https://irishmemorial.org/an-gorta-mor/>.

The Mobile Homes (Written Statement)(England) Regulations 2011. SI 2011/1006. [Online] London: Stationary Office. [Accessed 13 June 2019]. Available from: https://www.legislation.gov.uk/uksi/2011/1006/pdfs/uksi_20111006_en.pdf.

The Office for Standards in Education, Children's Service and Skills (Ofsted). 2014. *Overcoming barriers: ensuring that Roma children are fully engaged and achieving in education*. [Online]. Ofsted: Manchester. [Accessed 26 July 2022]. Available from:

https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5a80e6caed915d74e6231178/Overcoming_barriers_-_ensuring_that_Roma_children_are_fully_engaged_and_achieving_in_education.pdf.

The Stopping Places by Damian Le Bas. 2018. *BBC Radio 4*. 7 June, 09:45.

The Traveller Movement. 2017. *The last acceptable form of racism? The pervasive discrimination and prejudice experience by Gypsy, Roma and Traveller communities*. [Online]. London: The Resource Centre. [Accessed 29 October 2022]. Available from: <https://wp-main.travellermovement.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/The-Last-Acceptable-Form-of-Racism-2017.pdf>.

The Traveller Movement. Unknown. *LGBT*. [Online]. [Accessed 1 May 2022]. Available from: <https://travellermovement.org.uk/lgbt>.

Thelma's Gypsy Girls. 2012. Channel 4. 11 October, 21:00.

Thomson, L. 2013. *The Perceptions of Teaching Staff About Their Work with Gypsy, Roma, Traveller Children and Young People*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham.

Thornton, K. 2022. *The Elitist History of Wearing Black to Funerals*. [Online]. [Accessed 9 August 2024]. Available from: <https://www.theatlantic.com/culture/archive/2022/09/queen-elizabeth-funeral-black-dark-mourning-color/671558/>.

Todaro, M. and Smith, S. C. 2013. *Economic Development*. London: Pearson.

Toka. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 22 December, East Anglia.

Tom. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 24 November, East Anglia.

Townsend, P. 1979. *Poverty in the United Kingdom: A survey of household Resources and Standards of Living*. [Online] Middlesex: Penguin Books. [Accessed 21 October 2018]. Available from: <https://www.poverty.ac.uk/free-resources-books/poverty-united-kingdom>.

Travellers Times. 2022. *We need to ensure that Gypsy and Traveller prisoners have equal access to rehabilitation*. [Online]. [Accessed 30 September 2022]. Available from:

<https://www.travellerstimes.org.uk/news/2022/03/we-need-ensure-gypsy-and-traveller-prisoners-have-equal-access-rehabilitation#:~:text=The%20Traveller%20Movement%20is%20set,well%2Dbeing%20and%20employment%20classes.>

Traveller Times. 2022. 'Landmark' court judgement rules that 'gypsy status' planning law discriminates.

[Online]. [Accessed 1 October 2023]. Available from:

<https://www.travellerstimes.org.uk/news/2022/11/landmark-court-judgement-rules-gypsy-status-planning-law-discriminates#:~:text=The%20court%20decision%2C%20which%20has,unlawful%20and%20breaks%20equalities%20laws.>

Trease, C. and Shepard, G. 2006. Developing mental health service for Gypsy Travellers: An exploratory study. *Clinical Psychology Forum*. **1**(163), pp. 16-19.

Trease, C. 2006. *Views of Gypsy Traveller women Living in Settled Accommodation on Mental Health Problems and Mental Health Services*. Ph.D. thesis. University of East Anglia.

University of Leeds. Unknown. *What is grey literature?* [Online]. [Accessed 26th November 2023]. Available from: https://library.leeds.ac.uk/info/11110/resource_guides/7/grey_literature.

Trease, C. 2016. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 29 December, East Anglia.

Ureche, H. and Franks, M. 2002. *This is Who We Are A study of the views and identities of*

Roma, Gypsy and Traveller young people in England. [Online]. London: The Children's Society. [Accessed 1 March 2023]. Available from: <https://www.gypsy-traveller.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/whoweare.pdf>.

Van Cleemput, P. 2007. *Gypsies and Travellers accessing primary health care: interactions with health staff and requirements of 'culturally safe' services*. Ph.D. thesis. University of Sheffield.

Van Cleemput, P. 2007. Health Impact of Gypsy Sites Policy in the UK. *Social Policy and Society*. **7**(1), pp.103-17.

Van Cleemput, P. 2010. Social exclusion of Gypsies and Travellers: health impact. *Journal of Research in Nursing*. **15**(4), pp. 315-327.

Van Cleemput, P. 2014. *Gypsy/Romany and Travellers*. Ph.D. thesis, Sheffield University.

- Vanderbeck, R. M. 2005. Anti-nomadism, institutions, and the geographies of childhood. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*. **23**(1), pp. 71-94.
- Vera. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 11 October, East Anglia.
- Violet. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 25 October, East Anglia.
- Vivian. 2015. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 20 December, East Anglia.
- Walker, L. 2009. "Very Important Pikey". [Online]. [Accessed 10 December 2018]. Available from: [BBC - Suffolk - People - "Very Important Pikey"](#).
- Walsh, M. 2010. *Gypsy Boy*. London: Hodder & Stoughton Ltd.
- Wang, B., Yuan, L. and Li, J. 2022. Focusing on what you know will narrow your horizon? The role of knowledge base cohesion in learning from brokering. *Strategic Management*. **5**, pp. 960-974.
- Warraich, E. 2022. *New law raises minimum marriage age to 18 in England and Wales*. *BBC News*. [Online]. 26 April. [Accessed 9 June 2022]. Available from: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-61228240>.
- Warren, D. 1989. If I Could Turn Back Time. Cher. *Heart of Stone*. CD. Los Angeles: Criterion Studios.
- Waters, M. C. 1990. *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Weaver, M. 2016. 'Horrible spike' in hate crime linked to Brexit vote, Met police say. *The Guardian*. [Online]. 28 September. [Accessed 1 June 2020]. Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/sep/28/hate-crime-horrible-spike-brexit-vote-metropolitan-police>.
- Webb, E.V. 2017. 'We Are a Roma Nation' Support for Romani Nationalism amongst Britain's Romani Populations. Ph. D thesis. University of Leeds.
- Wellington, J., Bathmaker, A. M., Hunt, C., McCulloch, G. and Sikes, P. 2005. *Succeeding with Your Doctorate*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Wendy. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 27 November, East Anglia.
- Wenham-Ross, K. 2019. Britain's Conservatives Pledge to Target Roma. *Foreign Policy*. [Online]. 12 December. [Accessed 17 March 2020]. Available from: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/12/12/gypsies-travellers-boris-roma-crackdown-conservative-tory/>.

Williams, L. 2020. *What will Brexit mean for the Roma community*. *Electronic Immigration Network*. [Online]. [Accessed 13 July 2022]. Available from: <https://www.ein.org.uk/blog/what-will-brexit-mean-roma-community>.

Wirth, L. 1945. The Problem of Minority Groups. In: Linton, R. ed. *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Worcester, R. M. 2003. British Public Opinion Newsletter. *Market & Opinion Research International*. 26 February, pp. 1-11.

Zachos, D. 2018. *How Europe Gets Roma Culture and Identity Wrong*. [Online]. [Accessed 7 April 2020]. Available from: <https://www.social europe.eu/roma-culture-and-identity>.

Zelor. 2018. *Interview with Shirley Barrett*. 13 December, East Anglia.

Zentai, V. 2011. Ethnic Differences in Education and Diverging Prospects for Urban Youth in an Enlarged Europe. [Online]. Centre for Policy Studies: Budapest. [Accessed 13 March 2022]. Available from: [Ethnic Differences in Education and Diverging Prospects for Urban Youth in an Enlarged Europe \(EDUMIGROM\) | Center for Policy Studies \(ceu.edu\)](#).