

De Montfort University

PhD Thesis

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**Talking About Gypsies:
The Notion of Discourse as Control**

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ABSTRACT

This research examines the notion of discourse as control; and analyses its power over Gypsies and Travellers. A range of control theories are reviewed, with particular focus on the work of Foucault. Literature on discourse theory and methods, as well as social norms and moral panics, is also examined. There is a need for reflexivity in housing studies, and this research facilitates the analysis of the meaning of concepts such as power, control, discourse and society.

The research strategy embraces primary and secondary methods. Whilst the secondary research comprises a number of literature reviews, the primary research focuses on a three-pronged approach: media analysis, public consultation, and focus groups with Gypsies and Travellers. The triangulation of methods used allows for analysis of a robust series of findings. The aim of all three approaches is to examine the discourse used around Gypsies and Travellers, and the impact it has. A predominant theme is the discursive link between the issues of mess, cost and Gypsies and Travellers. The findings are examined within the theoretical framework; and Foucault's theories on the gaze, and on discourse, were found to be useful tools of explanation.

Social 'truths' about Gypsies and Travellers are constructed through discourse and there are consequences as a result. This research demonstrates the links between control and discourse, and then discourse and action. It is this relationship which supports the notion that discourse is control. It is not just a discursive tool, it translates into action – action that can control Gypsies and Travellers.

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Chapter One - Introduction

**They are scum, and I use the word advisedly. People who do what these people have done do not deserve the same human rights as my decent constituents going about their everyday lives.
(MacKay, 2002)**

Andrew MacKay, MP for Bracknell, stated his opinion (above) as part of a House of Commons debate on an unauthorised encampment of Gypsies and Travellers. Whilst this is an extreme view, it is not an isolated one. This type of sentiment is echoed in other political and public discourse around Gypsies and Travellers. Such discourse reflects antipathy towards Gypsies and Travellers; but it also has a power to control and shape the treatment of this minority group, by the rest of society.

The debate surrounding Gypsies and Travellers is current in Whitehall, town halls and in the media. It is also discussed increasingly in the housing press (Snow, 2004 and Gardiner, 2004) and issues of site provision and discrimination are examined in papers such as the Guardian (Bowers and Benjamin, 2004 and Barkham, 2004). These examples of coverage of the issues are largely positive, as is the news (Beunderman, 2004) that the first Roma MEP was elected to the European parliament. Despite positive moves to debate the issues, there is also an increase in negative discursive debate (Kelly, 2004, Levy, 2004, Lincolnshire Free Press, 2004, Long, 2004 and Greenhill, 2004). Largely, this negative coverage is centred upon the issue of the cost of dealing with planning appeals and unauthorised sites – a theme that is central to this thesis and is expanded upon in chapter nine. There is also recognition that Gypsies and Travellers are subject to negative, discriminatory discourse that would not be acceptable against other Black and Minority Ethnic communities (Asthana, 2004).

The hypothesis of this research is that discourse can be used as a tool to control those who refuse to conform to societal norms (for instance living in a permanent dwelling), and it looks specifically at Gypsies and Travellers. Discourse can be controlling (Foucault, 1977, 1999 and 2003) but it is perhaps more the actions that discriminatory discourse can lead to that are the real mechanisms of control.

People don't like travellers... The operation wasn't just about arresting people, but also part of a 'decommissioning exercise', hitting people so hard and ruining their homes so they'll think twice about leading this lifestyle.
(Lodge, 2004: 73)

This is an extreme example of the suggestion or coercion of Gypsies and Travellers to lead a settled life. Lodge and his fellow Travellers were arrested and allegedly hit by the police, when they were evicted from an unauthorised encampment. It was perceived by the Travellers that they were being punished for their lifestyle choice. The example demonstrates the physical manifestation of discriminatory discourse used about Gypsies and Travellers, and it outlines the experience of one Traveller's treatment by the police. This research does not focus on the physical treatment of Gypsies and Travellers, nor does it focus on any alleged systems of coercing Gypsies and Travellers to accept settled houses through homelessness legislation. Whilst these are methods of controlling Gypsies and Travellers, the aim of the thesis is to examine discourse in more detail. If discriminatory discourse is seen as acceptable (for instance in the House of Commons, MacKay, 2002) and this then manifests itself in controlling action – either by the police, or by members of the public – there is a place for examination of the notion of discourse as control.

Through a variety of methodological approaches, detailed in chapter three, a number of themes were found which support the notion that discourse can be used to heighten the 'otherness' of Gypsies and Travellers. This has the effect of placing them under the surveillant gaze of society, and it is a form of control. The themes in the primary research findings also point towards the links between public discourse and controlling action over Gypsies and Travellers. It is the interpretation of discourse which can result in discriminatory policies and legislation. For instance, this research found that 'mess' and 'cost' was a core theme in public discourse and this is reflected in the wording of legislation and local policy. The responsibilities of Gypsies, to keep sites tidy, outweigh their rights to accommodation. There appeared to be a general link between anti-social behaviour and Gypsies and Travellers and, again, this is demonstrated in the law (Anti-Social Behaviour Act, 2003, Part Seven). Such themes are discussed in detail in chapter nine.

It is the theoretical context, within which these themes are discussed, which makes this thesis an original contribution to the research debate. Rather than depending on unreflexive notions of discourse and control, these theories are examined in detail (see chapters four and five). By highlighting some of the reasons behind the current discriminatory discourse about Gypsies and Travellers, it is hoped that the debate can move on from looking at the practical problems faced (the symptoms) to examine the causes of these issues. If the motive behind the discourse is discussed, a solution could be considered. This thesis focuses on uncovering the theories behind the Gypsy/Traveller discourse. Perhaps future research could suggest ways in which the

travelling and settled community could understand each other more, in order to negate the need for 'othering' and control through discourse.

Before moving on to the research aims and thesis outline, it is important to examine some of the terms that are used. 'Gypsies and Travellers' is used throughout, as a term to discuss Romany Gypsies, Irish Travellers and New-Age Travellers, as a whole group. If a specific group of Gypsies and Travellers is referred to then they will be identified separately; otherwise Gypsies and Travellers are discussed together. The terms are also used with capital letters to denote their recognition as a Black and Minority Ethnic Group. This recognition, is highlighted by Gypsies and Travellers themselves, and by the Commission for Racial Equality; it has legal definition under the Race Relations Act 1976, following the case of *CRE V Dutton* (1989) 1 All ER 306. Throughout the thesis some quotations may not follow the rule of capitalising Gypsies and Travellers, but it is correct to refer to them as recognised groups. A definition of a 'Gypsy' or 'Traveller' is not simple, however a commonly used legal definition is highlighted below.

Legal Definition

One of the most commonly used legal definitions was created by the Caravan Sites and Control of Development Act 1960 s24 and refined by the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 s80. This stated that Gypsies and Travellers are "*persons of nomadic habit of life, whatever their race or origin*".

The legal definition refers to nomadism as the defining characteristic of a Gypsy or Traveller. However, this is difficult because not all Gypsies and Travellers are

nomadic, some have moved into permanent housing because there has been no alternative. There is also the issue of ethnicity; the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) makes clear that Romany Gypsies and Irish Travellers are ethnic groups, thereby clarifying their protection under race legislation. However, New-Age Travellers are not classed as an ethnic group; but under the legal definition they are categorised as 'Gypsy' because they lead a nomadic lifestyle. Although a broad generalisation, it is possible to suggest that in legal cases referring to planning applications or appeals the definition leans more heavily on the issue of nomadism; however, in cases examining harassment there is more of a tendency to use definitions relating to ethnicity.

This issue of legal definition is important and it is discussed in more detail in chapter eight. The problems of definition should not affect the main hypothesis of this thesis as this research discusses all Gypsies and Travellers – Romanies, Irish Travellers, New-Age Travellers and 'settled' Travellers (those who now live in permanent accommodation but who still identify themselves as Gypsies or Travellers).

Another term used throughout the thesis is 'settled community'. Whilst it is recognised that 'settled community' is rather generalised, it does denote non-Gypsies (those people who largely live in bricks and mortar, permanent, housing). It is realised that the 'settled community' is not one cohesive whole, indeed many different communities reside in settled accommodation. This is discussed further on, in chapter six, when the idea of 'society' is examined. However for the purposes of allowing a distinction between Gypsies and Travellers, and non-Gypsies and Travellers, a term is necessary and 'settled community' is often used in the relevant literature. Members of the 'settled

community' may also be called 'Gaujo' by Gypsies and Travellers (sometimes an alternative spelling 'Gorgio' is used). Although this term does not occur much in the thesis, it should be explained that 'Gaujo' is the Gypsy term for non-Gypsies and it can be said in a derogatory manner, just as the term 'Gypsy' can be used in a derogatory manner.

Research Aims and Thesis Outline

The overall aim of the research is to examine the notion that discourse is used as a tool to control Gypsies and Travellers. Within this aim are a number of sub-aims which must be achieved. These include providing a brief history and literature review on Gypsies and Travellers, outlining the methodology for the secondary and primary research, examining theories of power and control, reviewing different theories and methods of discourse analysis, debating what is meant by 'society' and 'others'; and finally, examining discourse in the primary research.

Chapter two provides a brief context and history of Gypsy/Traveller issues, and it highlights some of the important literature in the subject area. In chapter three, the methodology of the thesis is examined. The methodology is important in analysing the approach to all aspects of the research, both secondary and primary. The secondary research mainly consists of the literature reviews in the next chapter on Gypsies and Travellers, on power and control in chapter four, and on discourse analysis in chapter five. In order to triangulate the methodological approach, primary research was divided into three main parts. Firstly, a month-long review of local and national newspaper articles, in England and Wales, including the words 'Gypsy' or 'Traveller' was

undertaken in October 2003. To ensure a transparent and robust approach the articles were selected using the Lexis-Nexis database in order to avoid subjectivity or human error. In the analysis of the reports the NVIVO computer package was used to code themes, again this was an attempt to reduce subjectivity and error; however, there is an issue of subjectivity and this is discussed in the methodology chapter. The coding and analysis of the articles allowed for themes to be drawn out and these findings are discussed in the context of the theories of control and discourse in chapter nine.

The second part of the primary research included attendance at a planning meeting at Colchester Borough Council, to hear the public views on a proposed new site. In the pilot stage of the research a questionnaire was drawn up to be completed with neighbours to Gypsy/Traveller sites. However, after reflection on the ethical implications of heightening feelings and tensions between the settled and travelling communities it was decided that an alternative method was required. The Colchester site was the only new site in the country being publicly debated at the time of the research, and it was considered a suitable method for hearing public views without actively asking questions and antagonising existing tensions. The researcher was purely an observer and not a participant in this part of the data collection. Ethical issues are important in any research project but there are special considerations when looking at the relationship between the settled and travelling communities. There are examples of tensions and it is the responsibility of the researcher not to add to these, and to show respect for the groups being examined.

Finally, the third part of the primary research was a series of focus groups with Gypsies and Travellers in Leicestershire. For four consecutive weeks, a meeting was held at the Bosworth Community College on the same night as an adult education class; Gypsies and Travellers were asked to talk about their views on their portrayal in the media and the public perception. Prior to this part of the research a pilot study was undertaken at a site in Leicester to test some of the questions and the structure of the survey. It found the original survey was too structured and it stifled response. Therefore the main research was left open and Gypsies and Travellers led the debate. Also, one of the main sites of Gypsies and Travellers, who used the college, was visited and they were asked whether there would be any objection to the focus groups at the classes. There was a positive response and the Travellers seemed pleased to be asked and were happy to cooperate. Acton (1994) noted that many pieces of research on Gypsies and Travellers did not include the views of Gypsies and Travellers themselves. Niner's (2003) report included their views, and this thesis does. It is hoped that this takes the research agenda in this area forwards and answers the previous criticisms.

The three main components of the primary research effectively allowed a triangulated approach to the data gathering; it demonstrated the media's representation of Gypsies and Travellers, the view of the public and also the view of the Gypsies and Travellers themselves. The methodology of the research is described and analysed in depth in chapter three.

In chapter four, theories of control are examined. The starting point was Lukes' (1974) explanation of three dimensions of power; and a variety of theories are discussed with a

focus on Foucault and his explanations of surveillance and control. Foucault's work is wide ranging, and a number of publications are examined, from *The Order of Things* (1966) through to a collection of his lectures entitled *Abnormal*, which were published in 2003. Whilst Foucault's relational understanding of control and power is important in placing it in a three-dimensional approach (1980), it is his writing on surveillance and governance (1969, 1977, 1980, 1999) that is necessary in understanding how discourse may be used as a tool to control Gypsies and Travellers. Indeed it is the link between chapters four and five – between control and discourse – that is at the heart of the research.

Chapter five looks in detail at different methods and theories of discourse analysis. Indeed a thorough literature review of discourse analysis theories and methods was undertaken for the chapter and it has been categorised according to type, in order to show where the current strengths and weaknesses in analyses lie. The discussion on the theory of discourse aims to demonstrate that it is not just a reflection of what happens in society, but instead it shapes society. Discourse is not passive, it is constructive and it can construct discrimination and prejudice; it can also construct control. Critical discourse analysis – an analysis which looks at context and not just language or conversation, is seen to be the most common theory and methodology used. It is also the methodology used in this research. The language used about Gypsies and Travellers is not examined in isolation, but instead brought together with other factors, such as legislation and architecture, and it is examined in the context of theories of control and discourse.

Society and social norms are examined in chapter six, particularly in relation to ‘folk devils’ and Gypsies and Travellers. This is necessary in order to understand the ‘otherness’ of Gypsies and Travellers. As such, a variety of theories on society and otherness are discussed by authors such as Bauman (1989) and Cohen (1980). The chapter looks at why there is a perceived need for power and control to exist in society. It acts as a link between quite abstract theories of power and control in chapter four and the findings of the primary research in chapter nine.

Chapter seven develops a theoretical framework, which synthesises the key concepts from chapters four to six. The framework is used as a context for analysis of policy and legislation, and the research findings, in the following chapters.

Different systems of discourse, both discursive and physical, are examined in chapter seven. Such systems include legislation, policy and practice, and architecture. Whilst they are discussed separately, they are all inextricably linked in the discourse surrounding Gypsies and Travellers. For instance, the latest Anti-Social Behaviour Act (2003) includes rights and responsibilities of Gypsies and Travellers. Why include this in the Anti-Social Behaviour Act and not the Housing Bill? It is ingrained in the discourse around Gypsies and Travellers, to such a degree, that Government legislation reflects and constructs the negative discourse.

The primary research for the thesis is examined in chapter nine. Following the three components of the primary research, a number of themes and findings were discovered. Some of these themes were echoed across the three components, but there were also

distinct issues for each part too. For example, the strongest themes found in the media reporting analysis were of 'mess' and 'cost'. These themes were also prevalent in the analysis of the planning meeting and earlier consultation, in Colchester. However, an issue for the people of Colchester was also how a new site would affect neighbouring house prices and this was not shown in the media reporting. The views of Gypsies and Travellers also picked up on the perception of 'mess', but they did not agree with this perception and felt it was stereotyping. All of these findings, and others, are discussed in chapter nine, alongside the theories examined in chapter four to eight. This is in an attempt to moot the notion that discourse can be used to control Gypsies and Travellers. The findings from the primary and secondary research are examined together to demonstrate the links between discourse and control and the travelling community.

Finally, chapter ten draws together all of the preceding chapters and it emphasises how the insights from the theoretical framework and the interpretation of the themes and findings. It also provides a critique of the methodology and suggests ways of developing this area of research in the future. A number of directions for future research are identified.

Contribution of the Research

The review of Gypsy and Traveller literature, in chapter two, both provides a context for the rest of this research; and it demonstrates a gap in current research that this thesis aims to fill. Whilst there is a range of research and literature on a variety of Gypsy and Traveller issues, there is no research which focuses on discourse and Gypsies and how this discourse may be used as a control measure. Turner's (2000 and 2002) articles

discuss discourse in the media, but he does not link in with theories of power and control. Equally, Niner (2003) provides an extremely comprehensive look at the issues facing Gypsies and Travellers and suggests ways of meeting current and future accommodation needs; again though there is no link to theories on control as it is more of a tool for the government to use in developing future policy. In this respect, this thesis provides an original contribution to the research area by linking the issues surrounding Gypsies and Travellers with a theoretical framework of discourse and control. This research expands on the work of people such as Turner and Niner and takes some of the issues to a new level of discussion.

The search for relevant literature and research on Gypsies and Travellers was extensive and covered a range of publications and media. Additionally, the research strategy included communication with Professor Ian Hancock at the University of Texas in Austin, USA. The University holds the largest database and archive of research relating to Gypsies and Travellers and there is not a similar piece of research held in the archives. This thesis will be given to the archives at the University of Texas to add to their collection.

Therefore, whilst there is a range of research and information that has been conducted previously, this thesis is an original contribution because it adds to previous research and takes it to a new level of debate. The literature review on Gypsies and Travellers suggests this is an original contribution, as do other academics in the field, such as Professor Ian Hancock.

Understanding and Researching Gypsies and Travellers

So far, this introduction has outlined the aims and the structure of the rest of the thesis. Before moving on to the next chapter, which examines a brief history and literature review on Gypsies and Travellers, it is important to discuss some of the issues in relation to understanding and researching this group. Acton raises valid points about the study and understanding of Gypsies:

The 'visitors' to Romani studies have used a bewildering array of sociological theories to incorporate Gypsies. The racist anthropology of the nineteenth century saw them as genetic primitives in our midst. More modern anthropology continues to see their culture as a cause of their situation rather than their history and situation as the root of their culture; even the 'culture of poverty' had a brief vogue. Functionalists have seen them as a 'middleman minority' with a particular specialised trading function (Lauwagie 1979). Marxists have seen them variously as sub-or lumpen-proletariat, while interactionists have seen them as hereditary deviants. These theories, whether macro or micro, or somewhere in the muddled Mertonian middle, are usually supported by an ethnography of some particular Gypsy group, and may offer some partial insight into that group; but they say nothing about Gypsies as a whole.

(Acton, 1994: 25)

Acton summarises the research context around Gypsies and Travellers and he analyses the epistemology of researchers from Marxists to Functionalists. He also discusses a problem which is true of many areas of research – that of generalising about a diverse group. He discusses the fact that ethnography of some description is invariably used in case study groups and then the findings are widened out from that group to represent all Gypsies and Travellers. Acton states that this type of research is not representative and should not be seen as such. He raises the issue of differentiating between 'true' and 'untrue' Gypsies and Travellers in research:

Quite often when I tell people I have worked with Gypsies for 25 years, they bend their heads closer to mine and ask confidentially if I realise that only a few of them are 'real' Gypsies, as though they were in possession of some arcane

secret which I might well not have come across. The residue of this particular inverted form of racism works particularly against New Age Travellers, as though they should be deprived of the right to travel because of some racial inauthenticity.

(Acton, 1994: 27)

As stated earlier, this thesis discusses Gypsies and Travellers as a whole group and does not make a distinction between different groups. The notion of 'true' and 'untrue' is also discussed in the findings, in relation to the media and public discourse examined in chapter eight.

The problem of non-Gypsies and Travellers conducting research with false assumptions is highlighted by various academics, including Acton. For example Weckmann (1998) provides a list of 'do's and don'ts' for researching Gypsies and Travellers in Finland, some of these will be discussed further in the methodology chapter. Heuss (2000) also sounds a warning about the research into Gypsies and Travellers and he moots a methodology for anti-Gypsyism research which is discussed further in chapter three.

He states that:

Anti-Gypsyism research must not posit the existing structures of prejudice as the primary cause for the persecution of Roma, or else they will retrospectively rationalise the irrationality of the historical forms of these antipathies.

(Heuss, 2000: 63)

Heuss is arguing for historical context of previous persecution to be taken seriously and he asks researchers not to go back and try to rationalise previous actions within a current epistemological paradigm.

There are caveats and warnings for research into Gypsies and Travellers and this thesis aims to take account of these and to move the debate forward.

Emerging Issues

There is a considerable amount of policy and practice research, in the subject area of Gypsies and Travellers. However, current research, such as Niner (2003) or Turner (2000 & 2002) does not engage with theories of control or discourse. The intention of current research, such as Niner (2003) is to provide policy advice to the government on how to improve accommodation on a practical level; its intention is not to engage with theories of control and discourse. Nevertheless there is a place for research that does engage with this theory, as control is often implicitly taken as a given with no attempt to focus on its nature. This research aims to take the next step and to discuss theories of control and discourse in order to expand the debate on Gypsies and Travellers. It fills a recognised gap in current research identified both in the literature review, next, and by world-wide archives such as the one maintained by Professor Hancock at the University of Austin, Texas. The importance of defining and examining control, and the focus on discourse analysis, makes this research an original contribution to the knowledge on Gypsies and Travellers.

Chapter Two – Gypsies and Travellers

Introduction

Gypsies and Travellers are a much discussed group, currently, in Whitehall, town halls and the press. Often the public debate is based on a notion of ‘Gypsy’ that has little basis in fact, but is instead constructed and reconstructed through discourse. This chapter aims to provide a historical and legislative context and to examine literature that has been written on this group.

“Estimates of the size of Britain’s Traveller and Gypsy population vary. The Council of Europe has estimated it to be 300,000 (with 200,000 in settled housing).” (Crawley, 2004: 6). However, it should be noted that these numbers are estimates and there is no exact calculation of how many Gypsies and Travellers live in England, or indeed in Europe. The Office of the Deputy Prime Minister oversees a national bi-annual count of Gypsy and Traveller caravans, but this still does not allow for accurate data. Indeed, Niner (2004b) has provided advice to the Government on how the Gypsy Count can be improved. Estimations of the number of Gypsies and Travellers in Europe were exaggerated in media and political debate prior to the accession of the new countries to the European Union on May 1st 2004. Campaigns by newspapers such as the Express and the Daily Mail resulted in a government announcement which stated that migrants from the accession countries would not be able to claim welfare benefits for the first two years of residency, and those who were not in work would be sent back to their country of origin. This political announcement appeared to come as a direct result of the media anti-Gypsy campaign.

Gypsies and Travellers continue to face discrimination and harassment, despite the positive moves towards a more integrationist approach that affects other Black and Minority Ethnic groups. Extreme political parties, such as the British National Party, have their part to play; but so too does the media, the politicians and the general public. Crawley quoted CRE's Trevor Phillips at the launch of their Gypsy and Traveller Strategy in October 2003:

The launch of this consultation is a major step forward for the CRE in trying to find out more about and act upon the appalling levels of discrimination faced by Gypsies and Travellers. For this group, Great Britain is still like the American Deep South for black people in the 1950's. Extreme levels of public hostility exist in relation to Gypsies and Travellers – fuelled in part by irresponsible media reporting of the kind that would be met with outrage if it was targeted at any other ethnic group.
(Phillips quoted in Crawley, 2004: 2)

Gypsies and Travellers have gone through systems of control, discrimination, harassment and massacre throughout their long and varied histories; they include:

- Legislation – Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 which allows Gypsies to be moved on from unauthorised sites after 28 days.
- Local Policy – for instance the rules governing licences on authorised local authority sites are almost one-sided. Although all tenancy agreements have rules and regulations, the Gypsy site licences are strict and the onus is on the Gypsy to behave rather than the Local Authority to provide a good service.
- Lack of Authorised Sites – there is a shortage of authorised sites for Gypsies and Travellers, this means they have to camp on unauthorised sites or apply to the Local Authority as homeless and change their lifestyles to fit in with 'mainstream'

housing. This is often without adequate support that should accompany a major life change.

- **Lack of Facilities on Authorised Sites** – although this is improving on a lot of sites, some Gypsy and Travellers live on unsatisfactory sites (see Niner, 2003).
- **Lack of Support for Gypsies and Travellers** – the travelling lifestyle is not supported, it is not easy to administer welfare or support apart from according to geographical boundaries, and so the travelling population fall outside of this because they do not belong to a particular locality.
- **Perceptions and Language** – often racist and bigoted language is used about Gypsies and Travellers and there are false assumptions about the characteristics of Gypsies. There is often a distinction between the Roma and the New Age Travellers in this perception. Roma are talked about in romantic terms and they are assumed to be easy-going but people deserving of respect. Travellers on the other hand are called all sorts of names and they are assumed to be dirty, to cause a mess, to be unemployed, rude and anti-social.

A Brief History

There is a variety of work which examines the history of Gypsies and Travellers in much more depth; see Acton (1974, 1994 and 2000), Acton and Mundy (1997), Hancock (2002), Kenrick & Clark (1999), Hawes & Perez (1996), Mayall (1995), and Tong (1998).

Acton states that:

The ancestors of the Romani-speaking peoples left India some one thousand years ago, moving along trade routes trodden over the centuries by countless

other migratory nations. Some two or three hundred years later, contemporary documents attest their arrival in eastern Europe; before the end of the fifteenth century their presence is recorded in the British Isles. They brought with them a language whose Indian construction was in the eighteenth century to betray their history to the learned world; but with the Indian base came loan words from every country on their path; and hybridisation and creolisation with other languages has fragmented the Romani language into hundreds of dialects. Today, like the Jews, they live throughout the world, sometimes intermarrying, sometimes not, disunited politically, heterogeneous culturally, and with the most diverse aspirations.
(Acton, 1974: 1)

The Roma arrived in Europe around 1300 and Kenrick and Clark (1999) note that the first authenticated records of a Gypsy presence in England was 1514 – in Lambeth. According to Kenrick and Clark's history, the Gypsies were welcomed by 'commoners' who had work that needed doing and who also wanted entertaining. The church objected to palmistry and fortune telling and the government was concerned that because they didn't live in a fixed abode then they were not easy to 'register' for details such as name and date of birth. This lack of governmental control is possibly one of the reasons for the state's treatment of Gypsies and Travellers still today. This is one of the central tensions in the relationship between both the state and Gypsies, and between non-Gypsies ('Gaujos') and Gypsies.

By 1530 the first piece of legislation expelling Gypsies was introduced by Henry VIII, this law also forbade the transportation of Gypsies into England – any Gypsy passengers were hanged. In 1540 the Gypsies were allowed to live under their own laws in Scotland but by 1541 the first Scottish anti-Gypsy laws were introduced. Edward VI brought in a law which required Gypsies to be branded with a 'V' (for vagabond) and enslaved for two years, escapees were branded with a 'S' and enslaved for life. In 1562 there was a further act relating to 'vagabonds' which meant that they didn't have to

leave the country as long as they ceased their travelling lifestyle, all others who refused had to either leave the country or face execution. A similar law was passed in Scotland in 1573. The last known execution of a Gypsy took place in 1650; other Gypsies were banished to America. Deportation of Gypsies continued and some merchants were given permission to ship Gypsies to the Caribbean as slaves. In 1780 some of the anti-Gypsy laws started to be repealed, although not all. In 1822 the Turnpike Act was introduced, this meant that Gypsies camping on the roadside were fined (Patrin, 2000). During the Victorian era Gypsies and Travellers were certainly 'othered' in discourse (Holloway, 2002), this is discussed in more detail in chapter five. 1908 saw the introduction of the Children's Act in England which made education compulsory for Gypsy children for half of the year, this was continued in the 1944 Education Act. During the Second World War the Nazis drew up a list of English Gypsies for internment and the holocaust of the Gypsies in Europe is well documented (Kenrick, 1999). However, the government in England did provide caravan sites for families of Gypsies either in the army or working the land, but unfortunately these camps were closed after the war – this is in stark contrast to the 'homes fit for heroes' for non-Gypsy army men (Patrin, 2000). Where there was an after-war effort, under a Labour government, to build 'homes fit for heroes' for the house dwelling English population, the Gypsies who had fought in the war came back to find that their caravan sites had been demolished by the police and their families had moved on to new places (Kenrick and Clark 1999). Despite the lack of provision for Gypsies and Travellers coming home from the war the Labour government aimed to demonstrate a more liberal, understanding approach to the Gypsy lifestyle and it was hoped that a network of Gypsy sites would be built. In 1960 under the Conservative government the Caravan Sites

(Control of Development) Act prevented new private sites being built. In 1968, Harold Wilson's Labour government introduced the 1968 Caravan Sites Act which required local authorities to provide sites for Gypsies in England. However, the Act was never fully enforced and the envisaged post-war network of sites did not come to fruition, despite the Caravan Sites Act 1968. Already, by 1972, some local authorities were exempt from building sites for caravans and finally in 1994, the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act undid any of the benefits of the Caravan Sites Act (1968) (Patrin, 2000).

Political and Legislative Context

There is much discussion of Gypsy/Traveller issues at a political level, yet there is still little evidence of political will to provide for them. The Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) Planning, Local Government and the Regions Select Committee published their report on Gypsy and Traveller sites on 8th November 2004. One of the main recommendations of the committee is that a legislative duty, for local authorities, to provide Traveller sites should be reintroduced.

The ODPM said it would respond fully to the report at a later date but added that the proposal was unlikely to be taken up. In a statement it said:

A duty to provide sites is not necessarily an appropriate solution. A duty has been tried before and often did not produce sufficient or appropriate provision. (Johnston, 2004: 4)

This lack of political will, acknowledged by ODPM, has been discussed by commentators such as Morris (2002). Politicians perceive that Gypsies and Travellers

are an unpopular group and therefore do not want to be associated with them. Some work by Marston (2002), discussed in chapter five, recognises this need of politicians to distance themselves from unpopular groups, in his research on anti-social tenants in Australia.

There is a variety of legislation that affects Gypsies and Travellers. The Caravan Sites Act (1968), the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (1994), Circular 1/94, the Planning and Compensation Act (2004), the Homelessness Act (2002), the Anti-Social Behaviour Act (2003) and the Traveller Law Reform Bill (2002) are all discussed in more detail, further on.

Other pieces of legislation and guidance include the Race Relations Act (1976) and the Race Relations (Amendment) Act (2000) which places a duty on public authorities to stop unlawful discrimination. The Human Rights Act (1998) is also important because it legally enshrines the European Convention on Human Rights. In particular, Article 8 is referred to in case-law from the European Court in deciding Gypsy/Traveller cases. This article protects a person's right to respect for his private and family life and his home, and it prevents interference by a public body in exercising this right.

In addition to Circular 1/94, there are a range of other pieces of guidance, such as 18/94 on unauthorised camping. On planning issues, Planning Policy Guidance 1, 3, 12 and 18 cover strategic and operational issues.

Finally, before moving on to discuss legislation in more detail, it is necessary to mention the Gypsy Sites Refurbishment Grant, which was introduced in 2001 and which the ODPM has confirmed until 2005/6. Although this is a positive move towards improving existing provision, it does not increase it. Indeed, there is evidence from Gypsies and Travellers, reiterated in the ODPM select committee report (November 2004) that during the improvement of sites, the number of pitches is actually reduced.

One of the main pieces of legislation affecting Gypsies and Travellers is the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (CJPOA) (1994). Section 80 of the CJPOA repealed the Caravan Sites Act (1968). The Caravan Sites Act had made a duty on county councils to identify Gypsy/Traveller sites and on district councils to manage the sites. If local authorities provided sufficient sites then additional powers of eviction, from unauthorised encampments, were given. The take-up of the duties under the Caravan Sites Act (1968) was not as swift as had been anticipated and, despite an increase in provision for Gypsies and Travellers, it was not viewed as a success by central government when they debated the merits of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (1994). Crawley (2004) in discussing the Act, said that:

...perhaps most importantly, the Government was ideologically committed to the proposition that private enterprise – and specifically the purchasing of land by Travellers and Gypsies on which to build their own sites – could satisfy the demand for accommodation.

(Crawley, 2004: 19)

Partly because of this focus on private enterprise and self-help, by the Conservative government, there was a need for planning law provision to accommodate this. The Department of the Environment Circular 1/94 was supposed to meet the changing needs of the legislation applying to Gypsies and Travellers, this is discussed momentarily.

The Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (1994) also had practical, as well as ideological and political, implications for Gypsies and Travellers. One of the more prominently discussed sections of the Act is Section 61. Section 61 gave powers to the police to move Travellers on from unauthorised encampments. Although there were four criteria for moving Travellers on, the bar was set quite low and it was easy to satisfy all four criteria. The first criterion of Section 61 was that two or more people were trespassing on land; secondly they were there with a purpose of residing there. The third criterion related to the owner of the land having first taken reasonable steps to ask the Travellers to leave. The fourth criterion was two-fold; either damage had to have been done to the land or property, or abusive and threatening language had to be used; or there had to be more than six vehicles stopped on the land – it must be noted that when a vehicle is not driving on the highway and it has stopped, a van and a towing caravan are counted as two separate vehicles by the police. Despite these criteria seeming simple to satisfy, there are many comments amongst the public and the police that there are not enough legislative powers to deal with Gypsies and Travellers. It is possible that the police say this so that it is not seen to be their fault if there are Gypsies and Travellers on unauthorised encampments. Indeed the police do take different discretionary approaches to interpreting Section 61 throughout the country with some areas being much more accepting of unauthorised encampments, as long as there is no physical harm being done. It may be that the public, when stating that there need to be more legislative powers, either doesn't know about the existence of Section 61, or they believe that there should be powers to move Travellers on even when there is no harm being done to the land or property.

Circular 1/94 (DoE, 1994) attempted to focus on self-help and free enterprise on site provision for Gypsies and Travellers. It was later backed up by DoE guidance in 1998 *Managing Unauthorised Camping – a good practice guide* (subsequently a revised edition was published in early 2004). Circular 1/94 had the intention of creating a level playing field for Travellers when they applied for planning permission to build a site on their own land. It states the main intentions are:

- to provide that the planning system recognises the need for accommodation consistent with gypsies' nomadic lifestyle;
 - to reflect the importance of the plan-led nature of the planning system in relation to gypsy site provision, in the light of the Planning and Compensation Act 1991; and
 - to withdraw the previous guidance indicating that it may be necessary to accept the establishment of gypsy sites in protected areas, including Green Belts.
- (Circular 01/94, Gypsy Sites and Planning, DoE: 1)

The Circular refers to the planning and location of sites in local authority areas and it states that policies for site provision are vital in order to clarify the situation both for planners and for Gypsies and Travellers. With regard to planning applications, the Circular says (in bold writing to denote its importance):

Authorities should recognise that they may receive applications from gypsies without local connections which could not reasonably have been foreseen in their development plan policies. Authorities should not refuse private applications on the grounds that they consider public provision in the area to be adequate, or because alternative accommodation is available elsewhere on the authorities' own sites.

(Circular 01/94: 5)

This part of the Circular encapsulates the self-help principle that was mooted by Crawley (2004) and it makes clear that planning applications from Gypsies and Travellers should be treated in the same vein as planning applications from members of

the settled community. Unfortunately though, Circular 1/94 was not implemented in the spirit with which it was intended.

The experience of Travellers and Gypsies who do apply for planning permission is almost invariably that they are refused, forcing some families into long and protracted legal battles with no more likelihood of success than before Circular 1/94 was issued. Some families are deeply traumatised by these disputes as some authorities have used unfair tactics to defeat applications.
(Crawley, 2004: 21)

This view is echoed by Morris (1998):

Statistics since 1991 indicate that the number of appeals diminished after Circular 1/94 was issued, and that the number allowed on appeal also reduced proportionately. Between 1991 and 1993 there were 248 appeals against refusals of applications, of which 67 were successful. From 1994 to 1996 there were only 140 appeals, of which 36 were allowed on appeal. This implies also that there were less applications.
(Morris, 1998: 636)

The ODPM select committee report (November 2004) also recognised the problems of Circular 1/94. Evidence to the committee cited the lack of a coherent definition of Gypsies and Travellers as one of the causes. However, the committee felt that adding further definitions to those already in existence would only complicate matters.

Gypsies and Travellers can be excluded from understanding their rights in law, partly due to illiteracy. However, appeals against planning decisions are made and this body of case-law provides some clarification; but there are still many inconsistencies. An example of this is in two planning appeal cases. The first was *Wrexham County Borough Council v National Assembly for Wales and Berry* (2003) EWCA Civ 835. In this case, the Court of Appeal set aside the High Court's decision to uphold Mr Berry's planning permission. The premise for the final refusal, by the Court of Appeal, was that Mr Berry was no longer a Gypsy as he didn't lead a nomadic lifestyle. The reason that

he didn't travel was because he was too ill, but the court did not recognise the concept of a 'retired' Gypsy. They stated that because Berry was no longer nomadic he was no longer a Gypsy and thus planning permission was refused. The problem of definition was outlined in chapter one, and this case exemplifies how the issue manifests in the judgement of the courts. It is discussed in a little more detail, further on.

The second case is that of *Basildon District Council v The First Secretary of State and Rachel Cooper* (2003) EWHC 2621 Admin. The local authority brought this case to the High Court to appeal planning permission that had been given in accordance with Gypsy status. The council argued that because Mrs Cooper had moved permanently onto a piece of land that she was no longer nomadic and therefore, no longer a Gypsy. With the Berry case as precedent, the council may have expected a successful outcome. However, Mrs Cooper argued that she couldn't travel all of the time because there were not enough sites to stop at, and that she only moved onto the land when she had been moved off the roadside. She maintained that she still travelled occasionally to sell goods at craft fairs during the summer. The court found in favour of Mrs Cooper because they agreed that she had been forced to give up her nomadic way of life because of a lack of sites. Although this case is similar to Berry, there is a distinction because the law will not recognise a 'retired' Gypsy, someone who does not travel at all because of ill health or through choice. However, in this case it recognised that Gypsies and Travellers are forced to give up their way of life through insufficient provision of accommodation.

Commentators on the legislation, as well as Gypsies and Travellers, have noticed that the powers to move Travellers on from unauthorised encampments has increased, whilst the duties on local authorities to provide Travellers' sites has decreased. In line with the confusion over planning legislation and case law it has been noted that whilst over 80% of planning applications from the settled community are approved, 90% of applications from Gypsies and Travellers are refused (Bowers, 2004). The planning legislation for Gypsies and Travellers may improve with any future revision of Circular 1/94.

Additionally, the Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act (2004) which completed its parliamentary process at the end of May 2004, offers an opportunity for strategic planning of sites in the Regional Spatial Strategies. However until there is evidence of the new Act being implemented, Gypsies and Travellers feel that the current planning legislation seems to disadvantage them. This scepticism is also shared by the ODPM select committee (November 2004). The committee stated that it was not convinced that the regional spatial strategies would result in an increased provision of sites, partly because provision of Gypsy/Traveller accommodation remains too political an issue. This planning problem has had the effect of making many Gypsies and Travellers homeless when, if given permission, they could have provided accommodation for themselves. However, a specific analysis of the planning legislation and its impact on Gypsies and Travellers falls beyond the remit of this thesis. It would form an interesting basis for future work. There is an assumption of planning bias amongst the Traveller community, but more empirical research needs to be done in this area.

The Homelessness Act, 2002, is another important piece of legislation for Gypsies and Travellers. The Act placed a duty on local authorities to think strategically about

housing provision for homeless people and to be proactive in meeting the need. They were required to develop strategies that reviewed and predicted levels of homelessness and housing need in their area. Gypsies and Travellers are covered by the Housing Act (1996) which includes those who live in moveable structures, but who are not able to reside in them, in its definition of homelessness. Lord Avebury was concerned that the needs of Travellers were not being considered under homelessness legislation. Crawley (2004) summarises Avebury's findings:

...recently undertook a survey of 157 local authorities showing unauthorised encampments in the last bi-annual count of caravans. The survey looked at the authorities' Homelessness Strategies and whether Travellers were included within them. Eight authorities appear not to have produced strategies at all. Of the 137 authorities that did produce strategies, 72 per cent failed to make any reference to Travellers at all, despite having reported unauthorised encampments in the last bi-annual count. The research also found that there was no indication of any strategies for consultation with national or local Traveller organisations, or of advice being given by the authority's own Traveller or Gypsy officers. (Crawley, 2004: 11)

A recent example of case law which found in favour of homeless Gypsies and Travellers was the European Court of Human Rights case of *Connors v The United Kingdom* (2004) (application no. 66746/01). The facts of the case are multi-faceted; but fundamentally, Connors and his extended family were evicted from a local authority site which they had lived on (with a short break away) for nearly fifteen years. The summary of the judgement was released by the Registrar of the European Court of Human Rights. In summing up, in relation to Article 8, it was said that:

The court observed that the vulnerable position of gypsies as a minority meant that some special consideration had to be given to their needs and their different lifestyle both in the relevant regulatory framework and in reaching decisions in particular cases. To that extent, there was a positive obligation on the United Kingdom to facilitate a gypsy way of life.
([http://press.coe.int/cp/2004/267a\(2004\).htm](http://press.coe.int/cp/2004/267a(2004).htm))

Connors had been evicted from the site because the local authority maintained there were issues of anti-social behaviour; however Connors was not given an opportunity to refute the allegations, he was just evicted. The European Court of Human Rights' judgement stated that there should be no reason why local authority sites would be unmanageable if they were required to establish reasons for evicting long-standing occupants. This judgement has since been translated, by the housing press, as giving Gypsies the same rights as tenants (Inside Housing, 2004: 8).

In conclusion, the European Court of Human Rights placed a responsibility, on the UK government, to facilitate a Gypsy way of life and it condemned the current policy regime:

It would rather appear that the situation in England, as it had developed, for which the authorities had to take some responsibility, placed considerable obstacles in the way of gypsies pursuing an actively nomadic lifestyle while at the same time excluding from procedural protection those who decided to take up a more settled lifestyle.

([http://press.coe.int/cp/2004/267a\(2004\).htm](http://press.coe.int/cp/2004/267a(2004).htm))

If the Homelessness Act 2002 is implemented properly, and if strategies are drawn up in line with the Planning and Compensation Act 2004, then the UK may come more in line with the European Court of Human Rights' judgement of facilitating a Gypsy way of life. However, there is a long way to go before results from these pieces of legislation may be seen.

A large amount of case-law, particularly in relation to planning issues, hangs on understanding a definition of what a Gypsy/Traveller is. Much of the evidence shows that definition is divided between 'being' and 'doing' and it is linked to perceptions of

'real' versus 'fake'. Indeed, the 'real' and the 'simulacrum' (Sandland, 1996) is enshrined in race relations legislation. The Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) has stated that Gypsies and Irish Travellers are classed as racial groups and as such should be protected by the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000. On the other hand 'New-Age' Travellers are not classed as a racial group and as such are not afforded legislative protection from discrimination and harassment. This distinction, as awarded by the CRE, seems to divide the 'genuine' and the 'simulacrum' along the lines of being, rather than doing. New-Age Travellers lead a nomadic lifestyle, and so according to the Mills case-law, outlined earlier, would be seen as Gypsy in the law. However, subsequent cases and differing interpretations, both legislatively and politically, see the New-Age Traveller as even more 'other' than Gypsies and Irish Travellers, and they are not afforded protection from discrimination and harassment as a group. Nevertheless, in other areas of the law, particularly planning legislation and its local application, the converse is true. The essence of 'being' a Gypsy does not hold in a court of law if the individual is no longer living a nomadic lifestyle; as was discussed in relation to the Berry case earlier.

It is now necessary to turn, briefly, to the Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003. Crawley (2004) said: "There is an unacceptable and persistent culture of linking anti-social behaviour and the accommodation needs of Travellers and Gypsies." (pg 13) and this is evidenced in the Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003. Part Seven of the Anti-Social Behaviour Act deals with provision to move Travellers on from unauthorised encampments, where a local authority can show that official sites are provided. It is very reminiscent of the aforementioned Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (1994),

in conjunction with circular 1/94. The duties placed on local authorities by the homelessness legislation, to consider the needs of Gypsies and Travellers strategically, has not been implemented wholeheartedly. It seems that the Anti-Social Behaviour Act (2003) provisions, on accommodation, are similar to previous legislation, and it is difficult to see what radical measures it is proposing. That said, the Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003 is important because it embodies what Crawley objects to – the ‘unacceptable’ link between anti-social behaviour and Gypsies and Travellers. Why is the provision of Travellers’ sites dealt with in the Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003, rather than being incorporated into the Housing Bill (2003)? To some extent the provision of sites is dealt with on a strategic level in the Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act (2004), but on a practical level local authorities will be consulting the Anti-Social Behaviour Act (2003). If the Government and the judiciary continue to make these unacceptable links then there is limited chance for members of the public to break the perceived link between anti-social behaviour and Gypsies and Travellers. In addition, it needs to be considered whether the provisions of the Anti-Social Behaviour Act (2003) actually bring anything new to the legislative debate; it may be more pertinent to consider the policy implementation of previous legislation, rather than continue to introduce new laws that may not be implemented fully.

The Traveller Law Reform Bill (2002) warrants discussion in this section, although it has since failed, due to lack of time in the parliamentary session. It proposed the establishment of a Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Commission to promote equality of opportunity for Gypsies and Travellers, to monitor site provision and to examine unauthorised encampments and any associated anti-social behaviour. The Bill

also included a duty to facilitate site provision through exercising powers under the Caravan Sites and Control of Development Act (1960) and it debated funding issues – for instance grants for education and Housing Corporation funding for caravan site construction. The ‘rights and duties’ of Gypsies and Travellers were also considered in the Bill:

There shall be no interference with the rights of gypsies and travellers to live a nomadic life unless the interference is necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security, public safety or the economic well-being of the country, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the promotion of health or morals, or for the protection of the rights and freedoms of others.

Gypsies and Travellers seeking accommodation on authorised land or who otherwise establish accommodation on unauthorised land, must observe the health, safety and community code of conduct set out in Schedule 2 to this Act after it has been drawn to their attention by the local authority.

(Traveller Law Reform Bill, 2002: section 8: 5)

Schedule Two of the bill is discussed in more detail in chapter eight. The ‘responsibility’ discourse is examined according the theories set out in chapters four and five and brought together in the framework in chapter seven.

The primary legislation and case law affecting Gypsies and Travellers is varied and complex. The issue has been included here by way of an introduction to the problems faced by the group. The legislation, along with policy and practice, is examined within the context of a theoretical framework in chapter eight.

Literature Review

In addition to providing a historical and political/legislative context for this thesis, this chapter includes a brief literature review of published academic work in this field.

Some key themes to come out of the following review, and which are reflected in the themes of chapter nine, include:

- ‘Real’ versus ‘fake’ (Shuinear, 1997 and Stewart, 1997)
- Political prejudice (Hawes and Perez, 1996)
- Need for more and better sites (Niner, 2003)
- Invisibility of Gypsies in policy (Morris, 2003)
- Cost of Gypsies (Morris and Clements, 2002)
- Neighbours’ views (Duncan, 1996)
- Recommendations for the future (Crawley, 2004 and ODPM Select Committee, 2004)

There is no doubt that Gypsies and Travellers have been subject to racism, discrimination and even execution. Approximately 500,000 Gypsies and Travellers were executed in the Nazi holocaust and they are sometimes seen as the forgotten victims of this era. One publication which analyses the Gypsies in the Holocaust is *In the shadow of the Swastika* (Kenrick, 1999). This part of the Gypsy and Traveller history in Europe is not a central focus of this chapter, but it is important to highlight the strength of discrimination that Gypsies and Travellers have faced. This spectrum of discrimination – from negative discourse to execution – demonstrates the different steps outlined in Bauman’s (1989) theory of proximity, which is analysed further on, particularly chapter six.

Again, linked to Bauman’s (1989) theory, and the need of the settled community to see Gypsies and Travellers as ‘other’, Shuinear (1997) discusses ‘Gaujo’ images of Gypsies

and Travellers. She says in her chapter entitled *Why do Gaujos hate Gypsies so much, anyway?:*

I want to put it even more precisely: just as Santa Claus is the idea of Christmas cheer and giving all rolled into one fairytale person – their *personification* – Gaujos need Gypsies to *personify* their own faults and fears, thus lifting away the burden of them.

This need is so overpowering that time after time, in place after place, Gaujos create situations forcing Gypsies to fill this role.

It is important to remember that what we're talking about here are not 'alien' faults and problems but *Gaujo's own*; therefore, the people onto whom these are projected must be clearly distinct from the Gaujo mainstream, but not utterly foreign to it: just as in cinema, the screen must be neither too close nor too distant if the image projected onto it is to remain sharply focused.

(Shuinear, 1997: 27)

What Shuinear is saying is that the identity of Gypsies and Travellers is not based on fact but is instead dependent on the projection of a given image from the settled community – the Gaujos. This identity is discussed in the next section of this chapter, and in chapter nine – especially in relation to the juxtaposition of the images of 'true' Gypsies and 'fake' Travellers. The fairytale image of the 'true' Gypsy is positive, much more in the vein of Shuinear's Santa Claus. The 'fake' Traveller is a negative projected image and is seen to apply to many more people. This is because the rosy image of the 'true' Gypsy is not seen in reality, and therefore all Gypsies and Travellers become stereotyped by the projected image of the 'fake' Gypsy or Traveller.

Stewart (1997) discusses Gypsies and Travellers in a more fixed and abstract way, he refers to a persona which is not challenged, as it is by Shuinear (1997), but is accepted as truth. He examines how they have managed to keep their identity throughout societal changes and without a nation state:

Every age, ours as much as its predecessors, believes that it will be the last to be blessed (and cursed) by the presence of the Gypsies. Well-wishers and hostile commentators, romantics and cynics alike are of fixed opinion that the 'wanderers of the world' have at last been 'domesticated', their way of life finally outmoded and that 'the time of the Gypsies' has run out. Such assertions like many made about Gypsies are based on no more than casual acquaintance with the realities of Gypsy life. In truth Gypsies all over Europe have been remarkably successful in preserving their way of life, adapting to their changed conditions in order to remain the same.

(Stewart, 1997: 84)

Stewart refers to changing trades as an example of the adaptation of the Gypsy and Traveller identity. He says that second-hand car dealing has replaced horse trading, fortune telling has replaced wooden-peg making and building has replaced the work of blacksmiths. However, to assume that Gypsies and Travellers belong to particular trades is stereotyping. It is important to remember that there is no homogenous identity of the travelling community; they can be as heterogeneous as the settled community.

Hawes and Perez (1996) provide a history of Gypsies and Travellers, which is important because of its discussion on 'the politics of prejudice'. This part of Hawes and Perez's work links in with chapter four, which examines theories of power and control. They look at how issues in the planning system and in defining Gypsies and Travellers, conspire to prejudice them. Hawes and Perez quote one Traveller's perception of this prejudice:

In the words of one Traveller, it is as if the Gorgio is saying:

"Of course we must cater for your interesting differences, but we must encourage you, to the point of coercion, to stop being different – or at least make it as difficult as possible"

(Hawes and Perez, 1996: 156)

Hawes and Perez's work is examined more in chapter five, but it is necessary to highlight this publication here, as part of an examination of the important literature in the area of Gypsies and Travellers.

Niner (2002, 2003 and 2004a) has provided the most thorough and recent research into the needs of Gypsies and Travellers in England. Her report *Local Authority Gypsy/Traveller Sites in England* (2003) covers a wide range of issues and includes a variety of different studies. A survey of local authorities was conducted to establish existing Gypsy/Traveller accommodation issues for local authorities, and a surveyor was employed to examine the condition of local authority sites. Niner reports on site management and site finances, including the views of Gypsies and Travellers on tenure and licence fees. Their views are included in the report, which were the result of a series of interviews with Gypsies and Travellers across a range of sites. The evidence from Gypsies and Travellers helped to inform one of Niner's chapters, which looked at accommodation needs and aspirations; and this covered new ideas on the future provision of accommodation. Finally, some of the obstacles to future site provision were discussed and there were conclusions and recommendations. The obstacles referred to in Niner's report (2003: 205-6) include a summary of some of the still pertinent issues raised in the Cripps report *Accommodation for Gypsies: A report on the workings of the Caravan Sites Act 1968 of 1977*. This report examined the success of the Caravan Sites Act 1968 and found that unsatisfactory progress had been made due to a number of obstacles. Niner refers to five of the Cripps report obstacles. First, is the importance of public opinion; discourse from the media, politicians and the public is examined in this thesis in the light of this obstacle. Secondly, Gypsy habits were referred to by Cripps (1977). Niner clarifies that this is in relation to the anti-social

behaviour of a minority, which forms the perception of the settled community of all Gypsies and Travellers. This is discussed later in chapter nine amongst the results from the focus groups with Gypsies and Travellers. Vandalism was a third Cripps obstacle raised by Niner (2003), the vandalism of some of the sites made councils less willing to refurbish them or carry on providing them – one could also consider the problem of fly-tipping here; although, as discussed later in the thesis, Gypsies and Travellers are not solely responsible for fly-tipping on or near sites, but they are perceived to be. A fourth concern for Cripps (1977) and Niner (2003) was the idea of Gypsy/Traveller site provision being a national responsibility; this may have led to some local authorities feeling it was not their concern and therefore not directing resources to the issue. This idea links in with a principle discussed throughout this thesis, that of Bauman's (1989) theory of proximity. The notion of it being a national responsibility meant that the local authorities could put a distance between themselves and the needs of the locality. Finally, the last obstacle Niner (2003) quotes from Cripps (1977), is the idea that the problem of Gypsy/Traveller provision is uncertain. This is most certainly still relevant today with many local authorities and national organisations being unable to confirm the level and depth of Gypsy/Traveller needs; these needs are not just related to accommodation but also particularly health and education. The nomadism of some Gypsies and Travellers makes it difficult for local providers to plan service delivery. Niner backed up the obstacles quoted from Cripps with evidence from the local authority survey conducted for her report (2003). The main obstacles, in order of the frequency with which they were identified by local authorities were:

Resistance from local residents	89%
Funding for new sites	76%
Problems getting planning permission	64%
Lack of suitable land for sites	51%

Inadequate commitment from Government	50%
Inadequate commitment locally	50%
Lack of a duty	48%
Funding for maintaining existing sites	31%
Other	8%

(Niner, 2003: 206)

It is interesting to note that the obstacle of ‘lack of a duty’ is comparatively low down the list. Reformers, such as the Traveller Law Reform Coalition, suggest that a change in the law is what is needed to increase the provision of sites for Gypsies and Travellers. However, the Niner (2003) evidence from local authorities suggests that energies should be focused on reducing the resistance from local residents – perhaps through increased understanding between the settled and travelling communities – and on increased funding for site provision. Niner (2004a) recognises this need, in an examination of her findings in *Housing Studies*, she says:

Beyond and beneath this there is a clear task of educating the settled communities about Gypsies and Travellers, their cultures and lifestyles. To date, attitudes towards Gypsies/Travellers as a minority group seem to have concentrated mostly on segregation (onto sites, mostly hidden away and out of sight) with little social contact between Travelling and settled communities, or assimilation (fear of harassment can lead housed Gypsies/Travellers to hide their origins and abandon their traditional lifestyle). It is time to move towards an approach of integration where Gypsy/Traveller culture is understood and celebrated alongside that of other minorities in an ethnically diverse, multi-cultural Britain.
(Niner, 2004a: 156)

Niner (2004b) reports on the review of the Gypsy caravan count system. One of the flaws identified in the current bi-annual count is the lack of connectivity between the count and the policies and strategies on Gypsies and Travellers. This was one of the barriers highlighted in Niner (2003) particularly as the problem of sites is seen as ‘national’ and local authorities do not engage with the local levels of need. There is a

sense that the count information should be for local authorities, rather than central government, as it is the local authorities who need to deliver the services on the ground.

A report conducted by the Cardiff Law School, (Thomas and Campbell, 1992) also looked at the current context of provision of Gypsy/Traveller sites, but this time it focused on Wales. It was not as wide ranging as the Niner (2003) report but it did question Gypsies and Travellers and other organisations on the current provision of sites and also asked how they felt about living in settled accommodation. The findings seemed to echo those in the Niner (2003) report and, in relation to living in settled accommodation, some Gypsies and Travellers felt they had to live in houses because there was little or no alternative provision; but as soon as there was they would leave their houses and move back onto sites.

Other important research in the area of Gypsies and Travellers includes Morris (1999) who looks at the invisibility of Gypsies and Travellers. Her notion of invisibility would seem, at first, to juxtapose the premise in this thesis that Gypsies and Travellers are made to be more visible because of their 'otherness'. However, Morris does not argue that Gypsies and Travellers are entirely invisible, but instead that their needs are invisible. She examines key literature in areas such as health and the environment. In health literature it was found that Gypsies and Travellers were not included in mainstream NHS documents. For instance the high mortality rate of Gypsy babies was not included in the discussion on the mortality rates of other BME infants. Morris furthered this theory of invisibility in her PhD thesis (2003); she included evidence in the form of views from politicians, professionals and Gypsies and Travellers. The lack

of inclusion of Gypsies and Travellers in 'mainstream' policies and practices is backed up by other authors, such as Crawley (2004) who recommends that their accommodation needs are incorporated into mainstream housing legislation. This thesis argues that Gypsies and Travellers are made visible through discourse on their 'otherness' but would concur that their needs, such as the provision of sites, health and education services, remain invisible to policy makers and implementers. Indeed, Morris (1999) sums up this 'otherness' in relation to her discussion of excluding the ethnic group 'Gypsies' from the census:

It is saddening, then, that the Office for National Statistics has refused to include, yet again, 'Gypsy' as a category in the 'Ethnic group questions' of the 2001 national census. They have said that it is open to Gypsies to tick the box entitled 'other' if they wish to do so. Gypsies and Travellers are, indeed, 'other' and it appears that they will continue to be treated as such for some time to come, if they are noticed at all.
(Morris, 1999: 403)

Morris and Clements published two books, the first (1999) was a collection of papers entitled *Gaining Ground: Law Reform for Gypsies and Travellers* and the second (2002) was called *At What Cost? The economics of Gypsy and Traveller encampments*. Both publications are important in providing context to the current debate on issues facing Gypsies and Travellers; the latter publication is of interest because it examines the cost of not providing Gypsy/Traveller sites. Morris and Clements argue that cost was one of the reasons that the duty to provide sites was taken away and yet they say that no financial appraisal was undertaken to support this view. Their research surveyed local authorities for the costs resulting from the under-provision of Gypsy/Traveller sites; however they warn that the quantification of costs does not account for the suffering of Gypsies and Travellers:

Why is the widespread myth that Gypsies and other Travellers do not pay tax or rent so often repeated? Why does the media constantly dwell on the costs of clearing unauthorised sites and no other contextual issues?

Although the full answer to these questions may lie beyond the remit of this book, the intrinsic danger should form a backdrop to the subsequent analysis – for it is at least arguable that the language of cost in this context is the language of intolerance. It may be that as a society we count the cost of that which we do not value. That by constantly recording the cost of accommodating Travelling People we are articulating a racist and rhetorical question – namely whether we can afford them; that the sum total of Travelling cultures can be expressed in negative financial terms.

(Morris and Clements, 2002: 2)

The idea that the language of cost is also one of intolerance is interesting. The concept links in strongly with the findings of this thesis. One of the strongest areas of discourse in the analysis of media reporting, and in public speech, is the issue of cost, particularly in relationship to cleaning up mess. The idea of cost as part of a negative language is discussed in the findings in chapter eight, but it is interesting to note the links with Morris and Clements' research here. Morris (2001) discusses costs, in a similar vein, but this time in relation to the zero-tolerance policing policies in some areas. She challenges the notion that zero-tolerance is as cost effective as is supposed by local and police authorities.

One of the recent publications looking at the issues facing Gypsies and Travellers is by Crawley (2004). *Moving Forward, the provision of accommodation for Travellers and Gypsies* was published by the Institute of Public Policy Research (IPPR). It was produced in consultation with a number of Gypsies and Travellers and relevant organisations. The report helped to provide a position statement, of sorts, on what research had been undertaken, how recent and currently drafted legislation would affect Gypsies and Travellers; and it provided recommendations. The IPPR report states that

it draws on the work of the Traveller Law Reform Bill, which will be discussed later.

The report examined the policy and legislation which currently governs this issue and it highlighted problems with monitoring need (the report was published before Niner (2004b) which provided recommendations on improving the Gypsy caravan count).

Amongst the key conclusions, it was stated that:

...it is clear that at all levels of the political spectrum there is a lack of political will to tackle the marginalisation of Travellers and Gypsies in society and to address the impact that this has both on these communities and on those local authorities who are expected to provide support without any additional resources or political leadership from central government. The discourse is one of enforcement and eviction rather than provision, and Travellers and Gypsies are viewed by many as a problem rather than a social group in need of support. Underlying this is a failure to accept the nature of the nomadic life style and provide services which suit it.

(Crawley, 2004: 55)

Crawley's conclusion that the discourse is one of enforcement rather than of provision, accords with the findings of this research. The discourse of the media, politicians and public is one which highlights the cost and problems of Gypsies, rather than their needs. The specific recommendations of the IPPR report referred to the need for Gypsy/Traveller sites to be classed as housing, and asked generally for Gypsy/Traveller issues to be mainstreamed into housing policy and legislation (rather than marginalised in Anti-Social Behaviour legislation). Provision for sites should be included in regional spatial strategies and funding provided through regional housing boards; local authorities should be *required* to make provision for sites and these sites should be run by local authorities, Registered Social Landlords or other bodies and that there should be a specialised national or regional social landlord to oversee this. In order to engage with central government, the report recommended that a top-level unit be created within the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister and that the unit should be advised by a

representative 'Traveller Task Force'. The inclusion of Gypsies and Travellers in equal opportunities policies and standards, and housing strategies, was also highlighted as important (Crawley, 2004: 57).

The ODPM select committee produced a report in November, 2004, which reiterated a lot of Crawley's recommendations, including the Task Force. Their headline recommendation was to reintroduce the duty to provide sites (this was discussed in the previous section), but ODPM seem unlikely to accept this.

A number of other publications on Gypsies and Travellers, which are not in the centre of this debate, but which are nevertheless useful in completing the examination of literature in this field, need to be summarised. There is a relative paucity of information on the issues faced by New-Age Travellers, but there are two useful publications: Earle *et al.* (1994) and Webster and Millar (2001). Neither of these two publications examine the issue of discourse, but they raise important discussions for those specifically wanting to find more information about New-Age Travellers. There is also a dearth of work actually written by Gypsies and Travellers; this can be partly attributed to low literacy levels and also to the importance of the spoken word when relating history and stories through generations. However, there are two publications, identified in this literature review, that were written by Travellers. The first was produced by Essex County Council Learning Services (1999) and its contents were written from information told to them by a Traveller called Suzie. The second is by McCready (2001) *A Wandering of Gypsies*. Both of these publications talk about the culture and the way of life of Gypsies and Travellers, which is not something that this thesis dwells

upon; but it is important to make note of publications written by Gypsies and Travellers themselves.

Health issues and Gypsies and Travellers is a well populated research area and publications include Smart, Titterton and Clark (2003), Morris and Clements (2001), and Van Cleemput and Parry (2001). Likewise, education issues for Gypsies and Travellers has been recently researched with a DfES report (2003) and a paper by Levinson and Sparkes (2003). Bridging the gap between health and education, is an important paper by Cemlyn (2000) which examines the dilemmas in providing anti-oppressive services for Traveller children and families. Social work is a difficult area for gaining the trust of Gypsies and Travellers as some see social workers as those who may take away their children, if they are not living in a settled home. However, there are also issues for education where Gypsies and Travellers sometimes feel that school does not provide the sort of education that they want for their children and their values do not fit in with the school curriculum. Again, none of these areas is debated within this thesis, but a summary of this body of work adds to the broad context of the literature and research on Gypsies and Travellers.

In respect of planning issues and Gypsies and Travellers, there was a survey conducted by Duncan (1996) which looked at the views of neighbours before and after planning permission for Travellers' sites was given, in Scotland. Duncan's research was useful in the scoping stage of the methodology for this thesis, indeed it helped to inform the pilot survey of the research.

Gypsy and Traveller legal issues tend to be discussed in the context of law reform or in the form of legal advice to Gypsies and Travellers (for instance the website of Friends, Families and Travellers www.gypsy-traveller.org). However, there are two academic articles which examine the theory of the place of the Gypsy and Traveller within the law – Sandland (1996) and Bancroft (2000) – both of these articles have been referred to in the previous section of this chapter on legislation.

Finally, in the area of Gypsies, Travellers and discourse, there has been relatively little research conducted. However, there are a small number of research papers which deal with the issue of discourse and are relevant to the literature review here. Firstly, Erjavec (2001) examines the representation of the Roma of Slovenia in the media. Second, Leudar and Nekvapil (2000) look at how Czech Romanies are presented in television debates. Turner's (2000) paper *Gypsies and Politics in Britain*, examines the treatment of Gypsies in politics and this includes an analysis of some of the things that Jack Straw has said about Gypsies. Turner looks at the labelling of 'true' and 'untrue' and he makes comparisons with other ethnic minorities. This thesis also makes that comparison, particularly with asylum seekers and some of their treatment in the media. Additionally, the words 'Gypsy' and 'Traveller' are examined from a Gypsy/Traveller perspective and there are differences of opinion amongst the travelling community on preferred labels. Turner then briefly analysed 'custom, belief and tradition' and drew a parallel with the Sikhs; this was an attempt to examine a definition of Gypsy in cultural and ethnic terms. Importantly for this thesis, Turner conducted a selective examination of the press for the representation of Gypsies. Another relevant paper is also by Turner (2002) and is entitled *Gypsies and British Parliamentary Language: An Analysis*. This

paper looks specifically at the language used in political debate in Britain and it finds the juxtaposition of the romantic Gypsy and the 'dirty' Traveller is present in the debate.

Clark and Campbell (2000) examine discourse, in the English media in 1997, which proposed that there was an 'invasion' of Czech Romany Gypsies. This was a selective investigation of newspapers over a two-week period. Helleiner and Szuchewycz (1997) describe an elite discourse in the Irish press, which legitimates coercive practices against Gypsies and Travellers. All of these papers on discourse and Gypsies are examined further in chapter five.

Conclusion

Although there are examples of research papers linking discourse, control and Gypsies and Travellers (e.g. Turner 2000 & 2002), this thesis develops the existing work in two ways. Firstly, the methodology does not rely on selective analysis of texts; it uses computer software to largely remove the subjective element of selection. It also examines a whole month of media reporting and analyses language across a range of media reports. The papers discussed briefly above, use more selective methods of sampling and they focus on a smaller number of texts. The second way in which this research takes the debate forward is in tackling the problem of reflexivity. In the studies mentioned, terms such as discourse and control are taken as a given. This thesis examines what these terms mean so that they can be properly understood in the context of the research on Gypsies and Travellers.

This chapter has outlined a brief history of Gypsies and Travellers to provide context for the remainder of this thesis. It has also provided a summary of the current legislative climate. A range of research publications has been examined. Whilst there is current information on the issues, namely Niner (2003) and Crawley (2004), the focus has been on the practical measures that can be taken. This thesis aims to take the debate on and to examine issues in a theoretical context. None of the pieces of literature reviewed make such a link with the theory.

The following chapter details the methodology for the research, and examines the approaches taken. This will provide a clear, robust structure and an explanation of how the findings, in chapter nine, were derived.

Chapter Three - Methodology

Introduction

This chapter reviews the methods used in the research. A range of primary and secondary measures was employed. The secondary research consisted of a series of literature reviews, such as the one in the previous chapter on Gypsies and Travellers. Other reviews include the literature on power and control, see chapter four; discourse analysis theories and methods are examined in chapter five. Chapter six includes discussions on 'society' and 'otherness'.

The primary research took a triangulated approach and the following three methods were used:

- Coding and analysis of media reports;
- Attendance at a planning meeting to hear a local public viewpoint on sites;
- Series of focus groups with Gypsies and Travellers.

A range of methods was used in the research. In addition to the three approaches outlined above, the researcher spoke to a number of Gypsies and Travellers and professionals in the field in telephone interviews and at conferences. Further, there was an additional opportunity to interview Gypsies and Travellers at a site in Cornwall, which was part of a research contract establishing the support needs of this group for Cornwall County Council. Gypsies and Travellers were questioned on their housing related support needs, in order to help inform Cornwall County Councils' Supporting People strategy. The site comprised approximately thirty pitches and was populated

with a mixture of Romany Gypsies and Irish Travellers. Interviews took place in the presence of the local Traveller Liaison Officer and discussions focused on housing need. Nevertheless, some interesting observations were made and these are discussed in chapter nine. Knowledge gained from these ad-hoc methods, along with anecdotal evidence from the conversations and the Cornwall research, is used particularly in chapter nine during the analysis of the primary research results within the context of the theoretical framework.

A pilot study was undertaken for both the analysis of media reports and the meetings with Gypsies and Travellers. Outcomes from the pilots helped to improve the final methodology; these are discussed in more detail later. Ethical considerations have been paramount in the primary research and these too were reflected upon following the pilot meeting with Gypsies and Travellers. This reflection changed the course of the research and an alternative method of ascertaining public viewpoints (attending a planning meeting) was devised.

A triangulated approach to the primary research was necessary in order to obtain the most thorough evidence to support the hypothesis, and to link with the theoretical framework. It also allowed the issue of discourse around Gypsies and Travellers to be examined from three different view-points: the media, Gypsies and Travellers (hence avoiding Acton's (1994) criticism of not involving them), and the public. This technique of triangulation adds to the validity and the robust nature of the findings discussed in chapter nine.

Each of the primary research methods, and the secondary research, is discussed in detail throughout the remainder of this chapter. Whilst there is an extensive amount of primary research, there is a focus on theoretical analysis and an attempt is made to link this with the empirical material throughout. It is important for this methodology chapter to provide a justification for the approach, and the following section will provide a conceptual basis for the methodology. The chapter will then move on to a detailed description and critique of the methods employed; these will be summarised in the concluding section.

Conceptual Framework for the Methodology

The study of Gypsies and Travellers is undertaken in many different research fields, such as law, health and education. In this instance, due to the professional and academic background of the researcher, the study takes place in the field of housing research. It is particularly timely for housing studies to look at research on Gypsies and Travellers, given the current focus on accommodation as the beginning of a solution to their needs (Niner, 2003 and Crawley, 2004). There are also some theoretical commonalities shared between the field of housing studies and the recent research into Gypsies and Travellers; both tend to be empirically based and employ positivist methods to support their assumptions and recommendations. Indeed this issue has been identified in housing studies by Kemeny (1992). He refers to the emphasis on positivist methods of research and to the lack of connectivity with wider social science research as the main issues. Kemeny argues that:

In the long run it would be greatly enriching if housing research were to become interdisciplinary, drawing explicitly on theories, concepts and debates within more than one discipline and applying these to housing in an integrative manner.

This would also involve feeding back into the disciplines with findings and applications of concepts and theories taken or adapted from the disciplines. In this way, housing research could make important contributions to broader debates which may have little or nothing to do with housing directly. (Kemeny, 1992: 17)

The research field of housing and the issue of Gypsies and Travellers should benefit from taking heed of Kemeny's (1992) advice. Wider social science theories and methods can be used to enrich housing studies; and then findings will be disseminated back into the broader field. In the case of this piece of research, theories of control and discourse have been taken from the larger research community and used to frame the analysis of specific empirical research into discourse and Gypsies and Travellers. The method of discourse analysis has been used in many studies but it is not so prevalent in the housing field. In this thesis, discourse analysis is used as a backbone of the methodology and it is hoped that its application in this area will help to inform future research, both in housing and in the wider social science community.

Kemeny (1992) also discusses the unreflexive use of basic concepts in housing studies (pg 21). His examples of such concepts include 'the state' and 'social structure'. This research would argue that terms such as 'power' and 'control' are used in housing studies, without enough exploration or reflection on what these concepts mean. Gypsies and Travellers may face more control than the settled community, because of the discriminatory discourse and the ensuing action that causes. It is important, therefore, to analyse what is meant by control and indeed what is meant by discourse; hence the theoretical focus of the thesis. However, concepts are not discussed on a purely theoretical basis; instead they form a framework within which to better understand the impact of discourse on Gypsies and Travellers. Clapham (2002) concurs with the need

for a new approach to housing studies. He criticises the use of implicit notions of concepts and he specifically refers to the assumption of power. The depth of analysis of power and control in this thesis should meet Clapham's request for further development in this area.

Clapham (2002) and Kemeny (1992) both point to the importance of links between housing research and wider social structure, Clapham states:

Analysis of the politics of identity and the resultant categories with their associated discourses is an important element of any analysis of housing pathways. Categorical identity plays a vital role in mediating between ontological identity and the normalising discourse of social structure. Housing categories are related to and have to be seen in relation to wider social categories.

(Clapham, 2002: 65)

It is important to link categories in a wider social structure. Whilst the 'category' of Gypsies and Travellers is at the core of the thesis, they are examined within 'society' and hence the importance of a theoretical analysis of society in chapter six.

The focus on discourse analysis, both in the examination of it as a theory and its use as a methodological approach, means that this research takes a step in the direction recommended by Clapham and Kemeny and it stretches housing studies into a wider sociological field of research; it furthers research in this area and it links established methods, such as discourse analysis, with new research issues surrounding Gypsies and Travellers.

Ethical Considerations

In addition to issues of how housing research should be developed to have more connectivity with the wider social world, there are also considerations around the ethics of a methodology which has discourse analysis at its core. Cameron *et al.* (1999)

discuss the issue of how the discourse of the subjects of research should be presented.

They state that there are ethical arguments on opposite sides of the debate. One method of including discourse in the research is for the author to edit it and use it strategically in the findings, in this way the discourse is de-personalised to an extent. However, another side of the argument says that the discourse should be provided in its unedited format in order to empower the subjects of research and to 'give them a voice'. The proponents of the editing of discourse state that the latter methodology can give rise to a propagation of negative and discriminatory discourse. However, this thesis does present the discourse of newspapers and the public in direct quotations and their discourse is not explicitly edited. The ethical consideration that went into this decision follows the line of wanting to represent a 'true' voice of the speakers and writers of the discourse. The aim is not to propagate discriminatory language about Gypsies and Travellers, but to present it as it is. There is already a problem, as discussed later, with the issue of subjectivity for qualitative researchers – particularly in the field of discourse. It could be argued that the epistemological framework of the researcher already adds an invisible editorial step in the understanding of the discourse that is presented. However, it is hoped that if there is a criticism of subjectivity in this research, that it can only be related to the interpretation and analysis of the findings – rather than of the actual discourse examined.

In addition to the analysis of discourse being a difficult area for ethical issues, there is also the concept of how the group being studied must be treated. Acton (1994) has already been referred to as stating that Gypsies and Travellers are not included in research which is about them; this thesis improves on that record by involving them in the primary research process. It is also important to note that there is a high level of tension around the subject of Gypsies and Travellers. As will be shown in the primary research findings there is a level of discrimination against them, and examples of this were included in the introductory chapter. It would be irresponsible for a researcher to heighten any existing tensions between the travelling and settled communities.

Originally, the methodology for this research planned to draw on the experience of Duncan (1996) and to directly ask neighbours of Gypsy/Traveller sites about their views. Duncan (1996) had successfully used this method in Scotland in his research for the Planning Exchange. However, during the pilot study it was decided that this method risked increasing the tension between the communities and it was important that this did not happen. Therefore an alternative method of hearing public viewpoints on Gypsy/Traveller sites was found – that of attending a planning meeting where observation, not intervention, was the key.

Guidance can be found on ethical approaches to research on Gypsies and Travellers. For instance, Weckmann (1998) offered advice specifically on researching Finnish Gypsies, but it could be applied on a much broader scale.

Do not pigeonhole us into the framework of the governing majority and its science. It has been attempted for over four hundred years already with little success. In some ways we are like other people, but hasty generalizations are dangerous... Try to leave your attitudes and prejudices outside the door. Do not compare us to yourself... Always utilize our expertise about ourselves, but use it and us correctly. (Weckmann, 1998: 8)

Heuss (2000) discusses anti-Gypsyism research and suggests that:

Anti-Gypsyism research must not be primarily read as an attempt to explain existing patterns of violence. Their causes lie beyond both the Roma themselves and the image of “Gypsies” created by the majority. Anti-Gypsyism research must not posit the existing structures of prejudice as the primary cause for the persecution of Roma, or else they will retrospectively rationalise the irrationality of the historical forms of these antipathies.

(Heuss, 2000: 63)

There is an ethical responsibility in all areas of research, but as can be seen from the different advice, caution must be shown in the collection of texts for discourse analysis (Cameron *et al.* 1999), the conduct of primary research (Weckmann, 1998) and in the application of current ideas to historical forms, for fear of misunderstanding (Heuss, 2000). This research has seriously reflected on its ethical considerations and the detailed description of methodology, that follows, will endorse the careful approach that has been taken.

Secondary Research Strategy

Searches on literature were carried out in three main subject areas; these were: Gypsies and Travellers, power and control, and discourse analysis. Each of these reviews is detailed in this section; a summary of the resources used is shown at figure one, below.

Sources Accessed in Secondary Research

Databases
ASSIA (1987 to date) http://md2.csa.com/htbin/ids64/procskel.cgi
British Humanities Index (1962 to date) http://md2.csa.com/htbin/ids64/procskel.cgi
Lexis Nexis Professional (2001 to date) http://web.lexis-nexis.com/xchange-international/athens
Zetoc (1993 to date) http://zetoc.mimas.ac.uk

Key Internet Sources
Alan Lodge (Tash) website http://tash.gn.apc.org BBC Kent http://www.bbc.co.uk/kent/voices Friends, Families and Travellers http://www.gypsy-traveller.org Google www.google.co.uk Gypsy Expressions http://www.gypsyexpressions.org.uk Hansard http://www.parliament.the-stationery-office.co.uk/pa/cm/cmhansrd.htm Northern Ireland Housing Executive www.nihe.gov.uk Patrin Web Journal http://www.geocities.com/Paris/5121/timeline.htm The Gypsy Council http://www.thegypsycouncil.org The Gypsy Lore Society (Romani Studies Journal) http://www.gypsyloresociety.org/journal.htm The Irish Traveller Movement http://www.itmtrav.com/itmaccomm.html Traveller Law Reform Coalition http://www.travellerslaw.org.uk Traveller Law Research Unit http://www.cf.ac.uk/claws/tlru
Key Organisations
Friends, Families and Travellers Gypsy Traveller Media Advisory Group Institute of Public Policy Research Office of the Deputy Prime Minister The Gypsy Council
Key Journals
Discourse & Society Housing Studies Housing, Theory and Society International Journal of Social Research Methodology Romani Studies Surveillance & Society Urban Studies

Fig. 1: Sources accessed in secondary research

Gypsy/Traveller Literature Review

The aim of the literature review on Gypsies and Travellers is to provide a context for the analysis of control and discourse, later in the research. Wodak and Meyer (2001) state that social context is vital to discourse analysis:

...we need to go outside the text using academic and non-academic sources to get a sense of its social context. One's sense of what the major contemporary social problems are comes from a broad perspective on the social order...
 (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 129)

The methodological approach to the Gypsy/Traveller literature review allowed for a broad range of resources to be used, to outline the key issues analysed in chapter two; this set the context for the remainder of the research.

The literature review in this area centred upon some key texts (Acton 1974, Kenrick & Clark 1999, Hawes & Perez 1996, Mayall 1995, Niner, 2003 and Crawley, 2004). The focus was on understanding the problems that Gypsies and Travellers face and the result of this review was the context of the subject group in the previous chapter. Texts on Gypsies and Travellers were identified through library search facilities, but also in an organic way by meeting professionals at conferences. In addition, by reading one text further important contributions to the subject were identified – this is known as the snowballing method.

The website of the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister was an important tool in the search for current policy and it allowed access to recent reports such as the Niner report (2003). Through subscription to publications such as the Travellers' Times (published by the Rural Media company) and by keeping in touch with the work of the (currently mothballed) Traveller Law Research Unit at Cardiff University it was possible to keep up-to-date with the main issues affecting Gypsies and Travellers. Information was also sought from organisations such as the Gypsy Council, who hold a library of information, and Friends, Families and Travellers: an organisation which focuses on legal help for Gypsies and Travellers.

Attendance at conferences enabled contact with Gypsies and Travellers, police, Gypsy liaison officers and other professionals. A conference, arranged by a government conference organiser, in November 2003 and a Traveller Law Research Unit conference in November 2002 were helpful. Information was available from Government ministers such as Yvette Cooper and from experts in the field such as Lord Eric Avebury. The Traveller Law Reform Coalition also organised a conference in May 2004, to keep Travellers and professionals up-to-date.

The amalgamation of traditional library search methods, attendance at conferences and contact with representative bodies and other organisations gave the literature review a wide range. This particular area of the literature review was an ongoing process to make sure that the research was up-to-date in current policy and practice.

Power and Control Literature Review

Theories on power, specifically the work of Foucault, have been examined previously, by the researcher, in a Masters dissertation (Frost, 1999). The interest in Foucault and notions of power and control was the starting point for the literature review.

Foucaultian theory is a natural course to take in an interpretive approach examining the discourse surrounding Gypsies and Travellers.

The range of publications by Foucault, and other theorists examined in chapter four, that are examined in other pieces of research on power and control suggest the validity of these explanatory theories in this research, and point towards the replicability of the methodology by future researchers.

Although the starting point for an understanding of power and control was with Foucault (particularly 1966, 1969, 1972, 1976, 1977, 1980 and 1994), the contextualisation of theories began with Lukes (1974). Lukes proposes three interconnected dimensional views of power. This set the framework for analysis of the meaning of power and control; and theories exemplifying each of the three dimensions were examined in this literature review. The framework based on Lukes (1974) and the explanatory theories are analysed in chapter four.

The section on the conceptual basis for the secondary research, earlier in the chapter, explained the need and the rationale for an exploration of the meaning of power and control. The brief summary in this section on the power and control literature review has outlined the epistemology of the researcher and has set out the framework for analysing the theories in the next chapter.

Discourse Literature Review

This part of the research found that discourse analysis is viewed as a theory and a methodology. Both parts of the examination of discourse were important to understand what is meant by the term, and then apply it in an analytical approach to the primary data. The concept of discourse as theory was particularly important in demonstrating the principle that discourse and control are linked. However, it was not just in this literature review, but rather the links between the literature review on control and the discourse literature review that aim to demonstrate the theoretical principle that discourse could be used to control.

The discourse literature review was vital to several parts of the research, for instance it informed chapter five primarily, but also chapter nine. In addition, it was important in establishing the methodology for coding media texts, which is discussed in more detail later in the next section of this chapter. Many texts were examined for this literature review, key among them were: Fairclough (1992), Fowler (1991), Neuendorf (2002), and Reisigl and Wodak (2001). Additionally there were a number of academic articles which were essential in formulating the media coding methodology; these are discussed below. As with the literature review on Gypsies and Travellers, there was an element of the snowballing technique here; one text led to another and so on. The literature on discourse, both theory and method, is analysed in detail in chapter five; however a quick-glance summary of the key publications are shown towards the end of chapter five.

Primary Research Strategy

The primary research was divided into three parts:

- Analysis of media reporting on Gypsies and Travellers
- Attendance at a planning meeting to hear public views
- Focus groups with Gypsies and Travellers.

Each of these parts of the research are discussed in detail below, this is followed by a conclusion to the methodology overall, and a summary of the approaches used and the research aims they met. There was also a pilot research stage which informed the media

analysis and consultation parts of the primary research strategy. The lessons from the pilot stage are discussed further on. The three main parts of the primary research strategy were supplemented by additional research which took the form of:

- Interviews with Irish Travellers and Romany Gypsies at the Wheal Jewel site, Cornwall, in April 2004.
- Discussions and telephone interviews with Traveller liaison officers at Lincolnshire County Council, Leicester, City, Fenland District, Colchester Borough and Cornwall County Council.
- Discussion with a range of Travellers and professionals at a variety of conferences.
- Analysis of reporting of Gypsy/Traveller issues with fellow members of the Gypsy Traveller Media Advisory Group, largely through email correspondence.
- Meeting with Gordon Boswell, a Romany Gypsy who lives in Spalding, Lincolnshire.

Analysis of Media Reporting

There can be little doubt of the importance of news media in reporting facts, and also in shaping views. For instance the *Report of the Inquiry into the Circumstances Surrounding the Death of Dr David Kelly C.M.G* by Lord Hutton (2004). This examined words used by politicians and reporters in relation to the 45 minute weapons of mass destruction claim, in the build up to the Iraq war, in a great level of detail. The news does not just report the alleged facts of the matter, it shapes the views of those that hear or read it. However, one must be aware that although the news could be seen to shape society's views it does not necessarily represent the feelings of the majority. As

such, there has been an attempt to triangulate research methods so that news reports are not relied upon in isolation. Later in this section, it will be shown that the methodology also incorporated listening to the views of Gypsies and Travellers and it took heed of the views of members of the public in Colchester, at a planning meeting.

Methodological triangulation is essential in research where there may be conflicting viewpoints; it helps to build up a rounded picture rather than presenting just one version. Perlesz and Lindsay (2003) discussed the benefits of methodological triangulation in their research into families, which dealt with dissonant data. They said that "...it is argued that working within a post-positivist paradigm, triangulation enables analysis that is both more complex and more meaningful" (page 25).

The examination of news reporting in the media is an essential part of this triangulated approach to establishing the language used in relation to Gypsies and Travellers.

Discourse in the news media has been studied for some time and in various fields of the media, not just newspapers; see for instance the Glasgow Media Action Group (1976).

This research does not aim to fall within the wider field of 'media studies'; instead it uses the printed media as an example of the manifestation of discourse around Gypsies and Travellers. However some lessons have been learned, not just from the discourse research in the literature review, but also from previous media analysis such as that by the Glasgow Media Action Group (1976); and these are discussed further in chapter five.

There was a systematic, robust approach to the selection and analysis of news reports.

This was achieved by choosing a random month (October 2003) and examining all

national and local news reports that included the words Gypsy or Traveller. The month was chosen in advance so that the researcher could not select a time, in retrospect, that had a plethora of reports; or indeed a particular type of report. During pilot runs of the search earlier in 2003 it was possible to see how the data could be skewed by a historical knowledge of what happened in a particular month. For instance early in 2003 a Gypsy boy called Johnny Delaney was killed after an attack by a couple of his school peers. They allegedly attacked him because he was a Gypsy. If a search of newspaper articles had been studied for a representative sample of reports relating to Gypsies and Travellers in May 2003, the results would have been skewed because of the reporting of the Delaney murder. As a result of the pilot, it was established that a given month had to be chosen in advance to avoid this retrospective knowledge. The month of October was chosen purely to fit in with the research timetable. It was also viewed as a good time to conduct the search as it was close to the writing up period of the thesis and upon submission the reports analysed could not be criticised for being wildly out of date, or that public opinion had moved on since the reporting.

The media reports for October 2003 seemed to be representative of a 'normal' month's reporting on Gypsy and Traveller issues, until the last days of the month. There was a defining incident at Firle in East Sussex where an effigy of a Gypsy caravan was burned at an early bonfire party. There were a significant number of reports on this incident and this did affect the overall picture for the media reports for October 2003. However, it must be asserted that the month for analysing reports was chosen before the incident and indeed the reports were only present in the last days of the month.

In order to apply a methodological rigour to the search, the author used the Lexis Nexis database. This database is widely used and is well known to those searching the news media. Before the database was in existence, researchers would have used a press cuttings agency or some similar method; but the Lexis Nexis database replaces the need for this as it has such a wide range of publications that it can search (see appendix one). The search fields used in the database were 'Gypsy' and/or 'Traveller'. The sample frame of news reports was set at its largest in order to encapsulate all national and local newspapers. This did not cover trade journals or specialist publications but it did include all newspapers in England and Wales. The resulting sample of newspaper articles from this search was large enough to conduct some meaningful analysis, but not so large that it turned the analysis into a quantitative measure of particular words used. In order to conduct the analysis of the reports a computer package called NVIVO was used.

As discussed in the findings in chapter nine, it was necessary for the methodology to identify not just the words, but also look at who was saying the words, and in what context. Wodak and Meyer (2001) in discussing critical discourse analysis (CDA), say:

...CDA strongly relies on linguistic categories. This does not mean that topics and contents play no role at all, but that the core operationalizations depend on linguistic concepts, such as actors, mode, time, tense, argumentation and so on. (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 25)

The use of a computer package to analyse the report findings may carry an implication of objectivity; however, this should not be assumed (see Stubbs, 1996). The NVIVO package allowed for key word searches and it enabled the data to be 'coded' into nodes according to subject or key words, or indeed positive or negative intonation to the report

(see appendix two). The subjectivity issue is prominent here again; the methodology endeavoured to ensure the search and analysis was objective but the words and articles did not search themselves, nor code themselves. The researcher searched and coded and there must be a degree of subjectivity involved – particularly in endeavouring to ascertain whether an article was largely positive or negative in its handling of Gypsies and Travellers. It is difficult to suggest ways to remedy this issue of subjectivity as there will always be different view points amongst different researchers. The point that has been established here, and should be replicated in the future, is an explicit understanding that this type of research, even using modern technology and clear objective methodology, can be subjective. However, it is suggested that the use of NVIVO is a superior method to reading through the articles and using highlighter pens and sticky labels, as would have been an earlier approach for analysing the reports. The use of a computer package means that searching for particular words or phrases is a scientific process; the package will display all the paragraphs containing particular words or phrases. If a researcher was doing this without the aid of a computer package there would be much more room for error, a missed example or some such mistake.

Particular words or phrases were not just chosen at random, but instead all of the reports were read by the author and key words and phrases became evident. The coding and analysis of the reports, according to those words and phrases, helped to show a pattern of occurrence; plus it showed where themes overlapped, as it was possible to code the same piece of writing into several different nodes of information (for instance the tree nodes ‘mess’ and ‘cost’ were the combination of two nodes found in one article, an example is shown at appendix two). These nodes would then overlap one another to

show different characteristics of the news report. For instance, as will be discussed in relation to the findings and analysis in chapter nine, there was quite a high correlation between negative comments about Gypsies and Travellers in the press, and the author of those comments being a local official – such as a councillor. It may have been possible to do this by reading the texts manually, but it is only through use of NVIVO that the prevalence of the speaker and the comment can be analysed rigorously.

The selection of terms and the selection of parts of the text in the media reports is an important part of the research. It is necessary that this process is systematic and transparent, in order that the researcher does not look only for parts of the text and key words which support the hypothesis. The literature review on discourse theories in chapter five was a guide for the methodology in coding the media reports; in particular the work of Watt and Jacobs (2000) provided a framework. Watt and Jacobs examined the Social Exclusion Unit's *National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal* (1998). They used an existing framework of three discourses from the work of Ruth Levitas (1998). These three discourses related to social exclusion and they helped frame the text and talk according to whether it was (1) Redistributionist discourse (RED), (2) Social Integrationist discourse (SID) or (3) Moral Underclass discourse (MUD). The discourse surrounding Gypsies and Travellers has not been examined in-depth before and as such, there is no pre-existing framework that could be used in this instance. However, a theoretical framework is developed from the conclusions in chapters four to six, and this can be found in chapter seven. As well as selecting what framework to code the text to, Watt and Jacobs had to decide which parts of the text should be examined:

...we concentrate on two specific terms in the report “poor neighbourhoods” and “housing”. From the outset it is important to make clear that we are not suggesting that it is possible systematically to discern from the study of these terms a privileged perspective on the machinations of policy deliberation. Rather, our point is that a study of such terms, in conjunction with an analysis of the wider social and political context, can highlight the disjunctures and continuities between rhetorical presentation and policy...
(Watt and Jacobs, 2000: 17)

Watt and Jacobs do not explicitly say why they chose the terms “poor neighbourhoods” and “housing” to code according to Levitas’ framework. However, looking at the aims of their research – to examine the gap between rhetoric and practice on issues of social exclusion – the chosen terms seem appropriate.

Another research paper which helped to inform the methodology, again discussed in chapter five, is by Smith and Taffler (1999). Smith and Taffler looked at coding narratives, in this case to establish the health of companies. During the pilot stage of the research a preliminary examination of narratives was undertaken and from that preliminary examination a dictionary of words was established, which could then be coded in the main part of the research. The research here, on Gypsies and Travellers, took a similar approach; the pilot research included interviews with Gypsies and Travellers and the preliminary stages of the literature reviews (as detailed earlier in this chapter), identified key words and phrases that were used time and again in relation to Gypsies and Travellers. Whilst not formalised into a dictionary of words – there were not as many to code compared to Smith and Taffler – there was a clear idea from the early stages of the research which words and terms would arise in the media reporting; and later on in the Colchester consultation with the public and the discussions with Gypsies and Travellers. A small selection of particular words and terms that had been

highlighted during the literature reviews and the pilot study were put into the search and coding facilities of the NVIVO computer programme; examples included 'influx', 'invasion', 'battle', 'cost' and 'mess'.

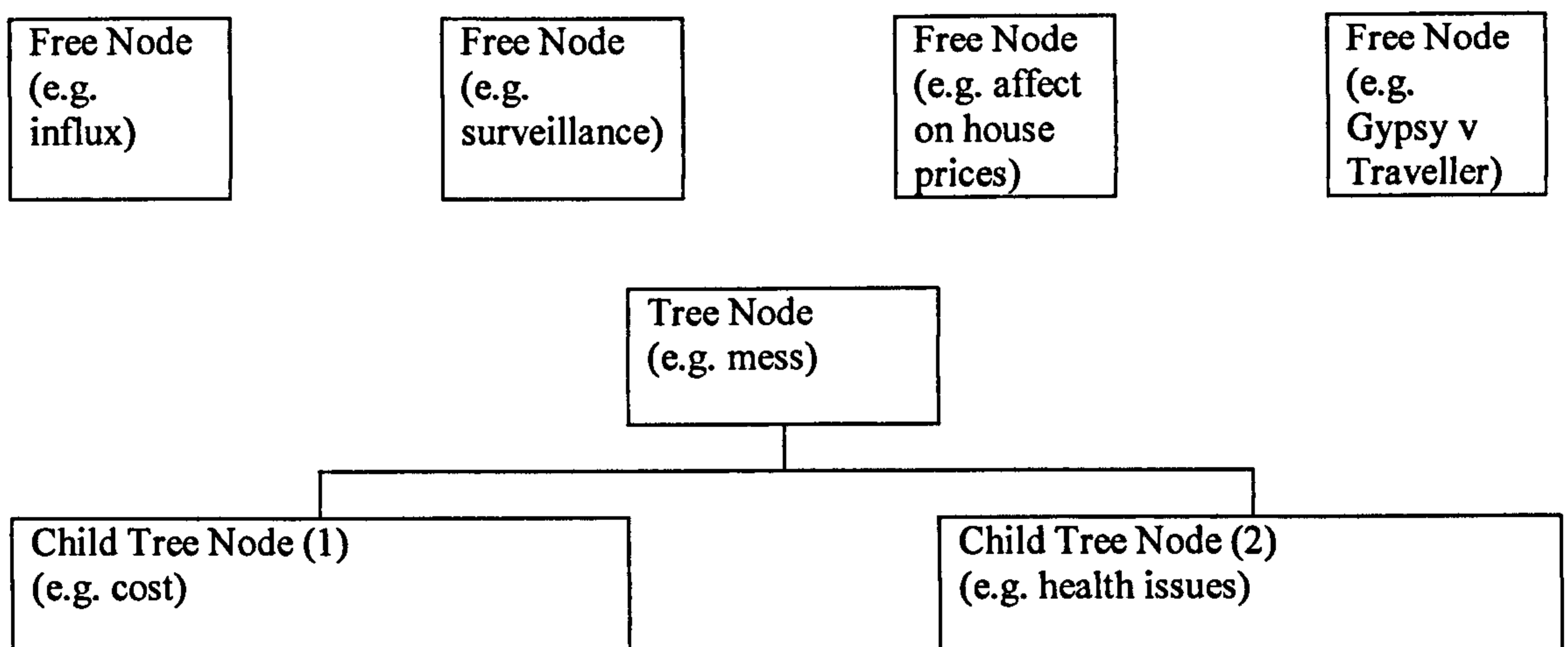
Reisigl and Wodak (2001) coded newspaper articles for their treatment of Waldheim (former secretary to the UN) when he was 'outed' for having anti-semitic views in the past; this research is briefly discussed in chapter five. They compared international media coverage of the same issue – the treatment of Waldheim - and they coded it into ten different discourse topics. Whilst this research does not compare international media reporting of Gypsies and Travellers, and it does not look at a single issue such as Waldheim (but all reporting of Gypsies and Travellers); it does code in a similar way to Reisigl and Wodak. Rather than labelling the different types of reporting as discourses though, it refers to them as 'themes', in chapter nine, and it discusses them in terms of socially constructed 'truths'.

NVIVO as a package was chosen carefully, a variety of academics in the field of qualitative data analysis were asked which would be the most useful, and robust, package for this research. The NVIVO package was repeatedly recommended, particularly by a project group called Caqdas at the University of Surrey. The Caqdas networking project provides support and training in qualitative data analysis computer packages. The author contacted the project and described the aims of this research to the project leader, who recommended NVIVO version 2. The author subsequently undertook some training at the University of Surrey in order to better understand the package and its functions. Were another researcher to try and replicate this research, it

is felt that the NVIVO package would be found to fulfil the analytical criteria for examining the media reports.

The careful research of appropriate software packages and search databases was reflected in the methodological approach for the selection of terms and words. It is felt that the methodology for the media coding and analysis is robust and could be replicated by another researcher looking at this issue in the future.

The coding of the articles used a simple methodology, many of the themes in the articles were coded into 'free nodes', nodes that did not relate to any other but remained a separate entity. However some issues were coded into 'tree nodes' and this allowed for a family of issues to be related (see Fig. 2). An example of a 'tree node' is 'mess' (see chapter eight). 'Mess' was found to contain two 'child' themes of 'cost' and 'health issues'. It was important to code these three issues in relation to one another. If they had been coded into free nodes, there would have been no link between mess and cost and mess and health. A diagrammatic explanation is shown below:



(Child Tree Nodes 1 & 2 are also known as sibling nodes when discussed in relation to one another.)
Fig. 2: Explanation of the difference between free nodes and tree nodes

Free nodes, as can be seen above, are codes or labels applied to a particular theme or word; and these nodes do not necessarily bear any relation to one another. 'Mess' could have been a free node, but because of the strong relationship with the issue of 'cost', it was coded as a tree node, in order to record that relationship. The relationship between nodes is made clearer in chapter nine when the findings from the analysis are discussed.

Pilot Study

A pilot survey was undertaken in July 2003, and this informed the analysis of public discourse at the planning meeting in Colchester and the Gypsy/Traveller focus groups. The aim of the pilot was to visit all Travellers' sites managed by Leicester City Council and speak to both the residents on the sites and the residents next to the sites. One of the first issues was the scarcity of council managed provision; Leicester City Council owns and runs only one site in the city. The site has 21 pitches and is in high demand despite its situation a long way out of town, next to an industrial park, with the only close shop situated on a busy roundabout that joins the A47 and the M1. The identification of this site was established during contact with the Gypsy Liaison Officer at the Council. Leicester was chosen because of the geographical proximity to the University and upon recommendation from another Gypsy Liaison officer at Lincoln City Council. In the first year or so of undertaking this research, the author contacted a number of local authorities to ask questions about site provision. In the first instance this started with the home county of the researcher – Lincolnshire. Lincolnshire was not just chosen for convenience but because the agricultural industry does attract Gypsies

and Travellers at certain times of the year. In addition to this, a famous Romany Gypsy, Gordon Boswell, runs a private site and a Gypsy museum in the area and his knowledge and contacts were invaluable in starting this research.

The discussion with the Lincoln Gypsy Liaison Officer not only provided some useful practitioner background and some lessons in the problems inherent in the provision of Travellers' sites; it also outlined a way forward for the pilot research. Following the discussion at Lincoln, the name of the Gypsy Liaison Officer at Leicester was highly recommended as an expert in the field. Contact was made and details given of the only council run site, at Meynell's Gorse in Leicester. A date for a visit was arranged in July 2003 and a set of questions was drawn up by the author (see appendix three). It was important that the Leicester Gypsy Liaison Officer was present on the day of the visit and that she introduced the researcher to the Gypsies and Travellers. Firstly, it would have been rude to arrive at the site unannounced and without introduction, only to ask questions. Secondly, if there was any chance of people answering questions there was a need for the author to be trusted and this was aided through the accompaniment of the trusted Liaison Officer. However, it was noted that because the introduction was made by a council 'official' this may have affected the Gypsy/Travellers' views of the researcher and they would have reacted accordingly. The site was quiet on the day of the pilot study – many of the residents were at work or away on holiday. The author was posted in the communal room on the site; the room contained computers, sewing machines, paper and pens as a resource for the site. Only a few Travellers came into the room during the course of the morning, for instance to buy a phone card from the Liaison Officer or to use the computers. Once there, the Officer introduced the

Travellers to the researcher and in some cases they agreed to answer questions (appendix three). Some of those that agreed also stated that they didn't mind notes being taken or the conversation being recorded; however others were extremely suspicious of the notes and the tape recorder. Of those that did agree to be recorded there was an element of hesitancy when answering some of the questions. For instance, when asked whether they had faced discrimination from non-Gypsies and Travellers, those that agreed to be recorded said that they hadn't faced discrimination. At the end of one particular interview once the Traveller had left, the Gypsy Liaison Officer stated that the man had indeed faced discrimination and there had been plenty of incidents he could have shared. However, it could be assumed that the tape recorder and the note taking inhibited his answer, in spite of assurances of confidentiality and anonymity. Another example of this hesitancy was the interview of two young girls on the site, they answered many of the questions, but the most interesting discussions happened at the end of the interview when the tape recorder had been turned off and the pen put down.

Lessons were learnt from this part of the pilot study. The first was that the tape recorder and constant note taking were prohibiting the discourse of the Travellers. The second was the importance of being accompanied by a trusted person and the necessity of being introduced properly to the Gypsies and Travellers.

The pilot study also included an attempt to talk to the neighbours of the Travellers' site. In the instance of Meynells Gorse the nearest neighbours were on the industrial park, but there were residential neighbours, across the A47 from the site. The aim of the pilot study here was to illicit the views of members of the public to see whether they would

correlate with the views included in the media. However, it was extremely difficult to undertake – not least because of the concern that asking questions about the Travellers' site may stir up feelings. This methodology was discussed with the Gypsy Liaison Officer, as she knew the area quite well and had worked with Gypsies and Travellers for a long time. Her view was that this would be an interesting exercise as long as it was approached with caution and that the questions were asked carefully. Once at the nearest residential street, the researcher had second thoughts about the ethics of conducting this pilot study. It was felt that by asking questions about people's views on the neighbouring Travellers' site, that this could cause problems and that in fact it would not be a statistically valid approach which would add any weight to the research. During this period of reflection, sitting on a wall near one of the bungalows on the street, a team of council workmen arrived and enquired as to what the researcher was doing. It was explained that some questions on the neighbouring Travellers' site were being considered but that there had been a change of plan and the questions would not be asked. At this point one of the workmen said that he knew the site because a cousin lived there and he explained that he was a Gypsy himself. His colleagues looked very surprised and started questioning him about this. There then ensued a frank conversation in which two of the workmen talked about Gypsies and Travellers in an extremely derogatory way and the man who had said he was a Gypsy laughed off the comments but then said that he was a 'proper Gypsy' and that it was the Travellers who gave everyone a bad name. This conversation was interesting to listen to but it highlighted the reason behind the researcher's second thoughts. Firstly, it had started a conversation where the Gypsy way of life was being derided in front of a Gypsy man and this could have caused tension; but luckily it seemed not to have done so because he

said that these comments were true, but not of him, only of 'Travellers'. Secondly, the conversation was so anecdotal, it was not based on fact and it became apparent that this method of research was not robust, it did not incorporate the necessary level of academic rigour and it would not add any valid findings to the research.

The pilot research was not a resounding success in obtaining a great quantity of material but as a test of methodology it worked extremely well and highlighted the improvements that were required. In addition, the analysis of the results from the pilot led the researcher to a good contact in Leicestershire and changed the shape of the interviews. As stated earlier, the interviews with the Gypsies and Travellers on the Meynell's Gorse site were taped for the pilot. The author enquired with a variety of academics in the University's Faculty of Business and Law, about a suitable transcription service for the tapes. A number of contact details were provided, but the most interesting one was for the Widening Participation Project (WPP) at Bosworth Community College at Desford. The Project was willing to transcribe the tapes and they were sent off. Unfortunately, the quality of the tapes was not good enough to transcribe, there was also an issue of people talking over one another – the two young girl Travellers – plus the fact that the Irish accents of all the Travellers added to the poor quality of the tape. This was disappointing news but it was followed up with an invitation to visit the college and learn more about the work of the project.

The visit to the college in September 2003 allowed the researcher to meet the project team and go out on a site visit with them. The team attend a number of sites, all of them privately owned and run, quite often by Travellers. The team takes a large van with

laptop computers installed with driving theory test practice CD Roms, crèche workers, play facilities, and reading and writing diagnostic tests and workbooks. The site visited on the particular date of this visit was Ratby, not far from Desford. It was possible to meet some of the Travellers and speak to them about this research and to establish their willingness to be involved again in the future. All of the Travellers seemed very open and receptive to the research and were happy to talk again. On return to the college the WPP team extended future invitations to come back. They also provided information on the evening classes that were held on Tuesdays from 7pm. The evening classes were discussed in relation to the mix of different Gypsies and Travellers that attended and the willingness of attendees to talk about their experiences. Based on the reception at the Ratby site, the possibility of a series of focus groups was mooted and WPP agreed that this could work and wouldn't be too intrusive on the classroom time.

Analysis of Public Discourse at Colchester Planning Meeting

At the pilot stage of this research it was intended that neighbours of Gypsy/Traveller sites would be asked their views, but some difficult ethical issues were raised (as discussed previously). It was necessary to find out the views of the public without directly asking them, without leading them, and without causing tension. It was thought that planning application hearings would be a useful method of hearing points of view, without directly asking questions. The Office of the Deputy Prime Minister's (ODPM) planning section was approached and asked for details of current planning applications for local authority Travellers' sites. No details were forthcoming; the ODPM stated that these records were not held on a database. However, it appeared that, at the point of asking, no details were given because no local authorities were addressing the shortage

of Gypsy/Traveller site provision. During the conference in November 2003, Lord Eric Avebury who is an expert in the field and a renowned champion of Gypsy/Traveller rights, spoke of one council who were planning a new site. He said that it was the only council in the country to be consulting on potential sites. The council was Colchester Borough Council and one of the councillors was a delegate at the conference. Having sought out the councillor, questions were asked about the process so far and the stage of the consultation process. The councillor extended an invitation to attend the next public meeting at Colchester Town Hall on 16th December 2003. This was an excellent opportunity to hear the views of members of the public, without directly asking questions which could raise ethical considerations and could also have steered the answers. The selection of the planning meeting, although there was an element of serendipity involved, was in fact a selection of 100% of the sample frame; as indeed there was only one local authority discussing the development of new sites at the time the primary research was undertaken.

The planning meeting was held in the evening at Colchester Town Hall and there were a significant number of people at the meeting. The purpose of the meeting was not to discuss particular sites, but to discuss criteria for choosing sites; this was to remedy rushing the process on previous occasions. At a prior consultation exercise in Colchester, specific sites had been chosen for discussion before a framework for selecting the most appropriate location had been drawn up. The planners needed to re-think the process and to first employ consultants to establish the criteria for site selection; and that was the purpose of the meeting on December 16th 2003.

Detailed notes were taken during the discussion by the public. Just before the meeting started, those who wanted to speak had to identify themselves and they were given five minutes only to make their point. It was easy to take notes during the meeting as people spoke one at a time. At the end of the public representations, the councillors made their views known and the consultant was asked various questions about site selection. The result of the meeting was that the selection criteria were approved by the Council.

In addition to attending the planning meeting on December 16th 2003, the researcher also spoke, on several occasions, to the planning officer at Colchester and had sight of the findings from previous consultation exercises for the proposed Travellers' site. This consultation had included meetings and an 'open day' where members of the public could speak to officers of the council about any concerns they had on the proposed development of a Travellers' site. These consultation exercises were examined by the planning officer and views of the public were recorded in direct quotes. This information was extremely useful to give a context to the planning meeting on 16th December 2003, but also to be able to examine the direct quotes of the public along with the direct quotes recorded during the meeting. In the final conversation with the planning officer a variety of questions was asked on the background to the tensions between the travelling and settled communities and again, it was interesting to be able to have some context to the debate and the view of a professional on the situation.

The main reason for attendance at the planning meeting and examining the previous consultation findings was to ascertain the view of the settled community, without asking directly. It was interesting to see that the views represented in the news media and the

views represented in the planning meeting accorded with one another. Certainly there were some commonalities in the use of language around Gypsies and Travellers.

Focus Groups with Gypsies and Travellers

In order to obtain a rounded view of the language used in relation to Gypsies and Travellers, and in an attempt to triangulate research findings, it was important to have a variety of different methods to look at the same subject. It was also felt to be important that the views of Gypsies and Travellers were represented in this research. The methodology for this part of the research did change since the inception of the project. Originally the idea of visiting a number of Travellers' sites, and the neighbours to those sites, was mooted at the pilot stage. It was felt that this would help to demonstrate the Gypsy Traveller views of how they were treated, but would also represent the views of the settled community, those that lived next door to the sites. Several things became clear in the search for suitable sites – firstly the under-provision of suitable accommodation for Gypsies and Travellers; and secondly the paucity of sites located near residential areas. Sites tended to be located near railway lines, rubbish dumps, on the edge of towns or sometimes near industrial parks.

Four sets of focus groups were held on Tuesday evenings between 11th November and 2nd December 2003. The objective of the focus groups was to establish Gypsies' and Travellers' views on the treatment they received from the settled community and the representation of them in the media.

The research methodology had learnt the lessons from the pilot and thus the approach for the focus groups was different. There was no set list of questions, but just a general topic for discussion centred upon treatment by the settled community and in the press. Additionally, there was no recording of the conversations, nor was there a significant amount of note taking. Instead some brief notes of key points were taken and then much fuller notes were written immediately afterwards. This was so that the details of the conversation would not be forgotten. The notes were then typed up and reflected upon, the following morning.

There are inherent problems built into any focus group methodology. Smithson (2000) highlights a variety of issues including the problem of the dominant voice in the group, and of the influence of the researcher on the group. With regard to the first issue of the dominant voice, there was a hierarchy among the women in the focus groups and one particular voice was dominant. However, there did not seem to be any individual who didn't speak or who didn't have a chance to put their point across. The message from the group was cohesive and there were no dissenting contributions to the discussion; perhaps if individual interviews had taken place there would have been less consensus of opinion. The second issue raised by Smithson (2000), of the influence of the researcher, is difficult to tackle. In the context of Smithson's research with young people, she was concerned that having different characteristics to the participants may affect the interaction of the group:

An issue for focus group research is: to what extent do the moderator's actual or perceived attributes affect the group behaviour, and should the moderator ideally be from a similar cultural background as the participants?
(Smithson, 2000: 110)

This is an important consideration and it will always be a critique of focus group methodology. The researcher in this case is not a Gypsy or Traveller and that must have affected the interaction of the groups. However, if the researcher was a Gypsy or Traveller there may not have been enough distance from the subject matter to allow for reflection and for the perception of Travellers to be analysed in the first place.

All methodological approaches are open to critique and ethnography is no exception.

Bevir and Rhodes (2002) state that ethnography is:

...interpretive; it interprets the flow of social discourse; it inscribes that discourse by writing it down; and it is microscopic. It is a soft science. It guesses at meanings, assesses the guesses and draws explanatory conclusions from the better guesses. However, it is still possible to generalise... ethnography is a science 'marked less by a perfection of consensus than by a refinement of debate'...
(Bevir and Rhodes, 2002: 136-7)

Although it is necessary to critique the methodology and to outline the limitations to the approaches taken, it is also important to examine the positive outcomes of the focus group methodology. It allowed for Gypsy/Traveller voices to be heard, and discussion was not directed by the researcher but was led by the group. The researcher being female probably also helped to facilitate discussion as the groups mainly consisted of women; if the researcher had been male there may have been less of a willingness to talk, particularly about some sensitive issues.

The methodology for the focus groups could be criticised for not being more structured and not recording interviews to ensure recollection of everything that was said.

However, it was felt that this was the right way forward, bearing in mind the outcome of the pilot. Perhaps with a different group of interviewees the original pilot methodology

would have worked well, but the judgement of the researcher was that there had to be a flexible and relaxed approach. By not asking specific questions, the Gypsies and Travellers were not being steered into particular conversations, they always started the discussion.

The findings from this part of the primary research demonstrated some links with the media analysis and the attendance at the planning meeting; for instance Gypsies and Travellers were aware that they were linked with 'mess' in both media and public discourse. However, where this part of the research differed was that it offered an opposing viewpoint of the situation. The media and the public discussed characteristics of Gypsies and Travellers as socially constructed 'truths'; the responses in the Gypsy/Traveller focus groups demonstrated that they felt these 'truths' were not reflected in, or endorsed by, the majority of Gypsies and Travellers.

Conclusion

A range of secondary and primary methodologies has been discussed in this chapter. The secondary research consisted of the three main literature reviews on Gypsies and Travellers, power and control and thirdly, discourse analysis as theory and method. Following the pilot stage, the primary research took three parts: the analysis of media reporting, attendance at a planning meeting, and focus groups with Gypsies and Travellers. The validity of each approach has been discussed throughout the chapter, as has the issue of subjectivity. Due to the robust, transparent methodology, it is felt that another researcher could replicate the process and similar findings would be possible. It

is not suggested that another researcher would translate the findings in the context of the theories in the same manner, but the important issue of the methodology being replicable has been covered in the clear approach. In addition, a variety of other strategies were used including discussions with Gypsy/Traveller liaison officers, and Gypsies and Travellers themselves, in Lincolnshire, Leicester and Cornwall; plus ad-hoc interviews with professionals in Cambridge and Fenland. Attendance at conferences and liaison with members of the Gypsy Traveller Media Advisory Group also provided a wealth of background knowledge which informed the research.

There is a possibility that a future researcher would choose different methodological strategies, based on different ontological and epistemological paradigms, but the methodology outlined in this chapter is still robust and resulted in some valid findings and analysis. Altogether, the methodology stated here demonstrates a clear, transparent process. Although the methodology has been critiqued, it has been made clear why particular decisions were made, even if someone in the future were to make different decisions.

In order to summarise the methodological approach taken, and to demonstrate how the methodology meets the aims of the research, the following table provides an at-a-glance reference point.

AIMS	APPROACH
To examine theories of power and control	Literature review – chapter four
To understand the inextricable links between discourse and control	Literature reviews – especially the connectivity between theories explored in chapters four and five.
To analyse the components of discourse – e.g. to demonstrate it goes beyond text and talk	Literature review in chapter five and discussion of the links between discourse, architecture, law and policy in chapter eight.
To review the discourse as manifested in the media.	Search of newspaper articles for one month through Lexis Nexis and coding through NVIVO – findings in chapter nine.
To examine the discourse of the ‘public’.	Attendance at a planning meeting in Colchester and discussions with the planning officer on previous consultation. Findings in chapter nine.
To provide a triangulated approach to the primary research and to reflect Gypsy and Traveller views as endorsed by Acton (1994)	Series of four focus groups with Gypsies and Travellers at Bosworth Community College, Desford; findings in chapter nine.
To analyse the discourse surrounding Gypsies and Travellers and to moot the notion of discourse as control, by discussing the findings of the primary research in a theoretical context.	Discussion of the research findings takes place in chapter nine, but it draws upon the literature reviews (chapters four and five) and the theoretical discussion of ‘otherness’ and ‘society’ (chapter six) and methods of control such as architecture and legislation (chapter eight). The findings are analysed within the theoretical framework discussed in chapter seven.

Fig. 3: Summary of research aims, methodological approaches and their place in the thesis.

Chapter Four - Theories of Control

Introduction

This chapter takes a theoretical approach to understand how control in society is achieved. There is a need for a strong theoretical base in which to ground the discussion on findings in chapter nine; but also to link with the theoretical analysis of discourse which is discussed in chapter five. Many academics and authors have tried to define power and control and to explain how it works and who has got it. This chapter does not make such a bold aim as to define control; instead it will review key literature in order to examine different perceptions of control and power. The literature consists of a large body of work. In order to make sense of it, this chapter starts by looking at Lukes' (1974) typology of power which uses three main classifications. The chapter is ordered in this way so that it is possible to see how descriptions of power have changed and developed. The literature will culminate in an analysis of the work of Foucault, including a critique of his theories, in order to explain the links between control and discourse.

There is a trend in the descriptions; in the main they start off with a Machiavellian description of zero-sum power with force used to discipline and enforce control, this is what Lukes describes as a traditional type of power and control. They end with theorists such as Garland (2001), Rose (1999) and Dandeker (1990) drawing on themes of relational power as mooted by Foucault (1980). These types of power have gone beyond the middle-way and are indeed multi-directional – according to Lukes (1974).

The emphasis in this chapter is on Foucault. Although used frequently in modern discussions on power, he has some useful paradigms in which to discuss the meaning of power and control. Foucault is a reference point because of the desire to use explanations of discourse, governmentality and the gaze to explain the control of Gypsies and Travellers. However, it must be remembered that Foucault is not the start point, or the end point, in discussions of control – which is why this chapter tries to put his work in the context of other thinkers in the subject.

Theories of Control in Context

Lukes (1974) discusses different dimensions of power and shows that there are three different classifications of control. He uses, as a starting point, a critique of the ‘pluralist’ one-dimensional definition of power plus a further critique of Bachrach and Baratz’s (1970) two-dimensional definition of power. His own explanation of what power means takes a further three-dimensional view. Lukes summarises the differences between these different dimensions:

“One Dimensional View of Power

- Focus on (a) behaviour
(b) decision-making
(c) (key) issues
(d) observable (overt) conflict
(e) (subjective) interests, seen as policy preferences revealed by political participation.

Two Dimensional View of Power

- (Qualified) critique of behavioural focus
Focus on (a) decision-making and non decision-making
(b) issues and potential issues
(c) observable (overt or covert) conflict
(d) (subjective) interests, seen as policy preferences or grievances

Three Dimensional View of Power

- Critique of behavioural focus

Focus on

- (a) decision-making and control over political agenda
(not necessarily through decisions)
- (b) issues and potential issues
- (c) observable (overt or covert) and latent conflict
- (d) subjective and real interests”

(Lukes, 1974: 25)

Lukes' three dimensional view of power and his critique of the two preceding views on power, help to show the development of the arguments of power. The first view is quite simplistic and can draw parallels with the early theorists who used conflict as a focus – such as Machiavelli (1961). The second view is a critique of the first and does help to develop the argument by looking at the issue of non-decision making. However, it is the third which is the most useful for this chapter.

The three-dimensional view of power is the type where conflict is not necessary for power to exist. Indeed this strongest type of power is so effective because it is not noticed.

...is it not the supreme and most insidious exercise of power to prevent people, to whatever degree, from having grievances by shaping their perceptions, cognitions and preferences in such a way that they accept their role in the existing order of things, either because they can see or imagine no alternative to it, or because they see it as natural and unchangeable, or because they value it as divinely ordained and beneficial?

(Lukes, 1974: 24)

Each of the three dimensions builds upon one another and they are linked. Lukes states that:

The one-dimensional view of power offers a clear-cut paradigm for the behavioural study of decision –making power by political actors, but it inevitably takes over the bias of the political system under observation and is blind to the ways in which its political agenda is controlled. The two-dimensional view points the way to examining that bias and control, but conceives of them too narrowly: in a word, it lacks a sociological perspective

within which to examine, not only decision-making and non-decision-making power, but also the various ways of suppressing latent conflicts within society. (Lukes, 1974: 57)

It is the third dimension which allows for a wider sociological perspective on the examination of power. Lukes does highlight some difficulties in studying the three-dimensional approach (pages 50-51), particularly in relation to the problem of studying the exercise of power. These include inaction (how does one study something which is not observable?), unconscious decision making (if the person exercising control unconsciously is not aware of it then how is it observable to researchers?), and thirdly there is a problem because power and control can be exercised by groups and not just individuals (in observing a group how is it possible to identify the precise mechanisms of the exercise of power? It is not simply examining the exercise of power of individual A over B which is easier to analyse for causal power relationships). Lukes does state that these problems are not insurmountable, but instead that the researcher needs to be aware of their existence.

In order to exemplify the three dimensions further, a range of literature is examined and an attempt has been made to classify the literature according to the most appropriate dimension that it examines.

One and Two-Dimensional Views of Power

Machiavelli wrote his book *The Prince* towards the end of the 15th Century. His advice to future Princes on how to obtain and keep power, bases itself on a mixture of virtue (it is made clear in the translation by Bull (1961) that this is the old sense of the word –

cunning, guile, bravery, ruthlessness and determination) and luck. Power according to Machiavelli is a zero-sum entity that is won and lost, often through the use of force and deceit. This explanation of power may have been suitable for Italian religious leaders and politicians in the 15th century but it is not appropriate as an explanation of control for this chapter. The reason for including Machiavelli here is that his zero-sum notion is a simplistic approach to power and it fits in with a one-dimensional view which focuses on the exercise of power, rather than the potential to exercise power. It looks almost at the physicality of power, the end result of the relationship; that one individual has made another individual do something they would not have otherwise done.

Machiavelli discusses different types of Princes and principalities in his work. There are principalities that are won by money and foreign arms, power that is won by criminality and power of a principality that is constitutionally given. The latter is the most similar type to the political democracy we see today. Machiavelli claims that constitutional principalities are created by either one of two groups of people:

A principality is created either by the people or by the nobles, according to whether the one or the other of these two classes is given the opportunity. What happens is that when the nobles see they cannot withstand the people, they start to increase the standing of one of their own numbers, and they make him prince in order to be able to achieve their own ends under his cloak. The people in the same way, when they see they cannot withstand the nobles, increase the standing of one of themselves and make him prince in order to be protected by his authority. A man who becomes prince with the help of the nobles finds it more difficult to maintain his position than one who does so with the help of the people. As prince, he finds himself surrounded by many who believe they are his equals, and because of that he cannot command or manage them the way he wants. A man who becomes prince by favour of the people finds himself standing alone, and he has near him either no one or very few not prepared to take orders.

(Machiavelli, 1961: 30-31)

However, no matter whether the power and control is won by money, criminality or constitutional permission, power is a fixed, abstract sum. It is something to be taken or to win. It is not seen as two-dimensional (see Bachrach and Baratz 1970, later) and it is certainly not as developed as the fluid type of control discussed by Foucault (1980).

Marx discusses power in relation to 'money' and 'labour production'.

Before the capitalist era people had sold commodities for money in order to buy more commodities. In the capitalist era, instead of selling to buy, people had bought to sell dearer: they had bought commodities with their money in order, by means of those commodities, to increase their money. Thus the medium had itself become the message: money was the supreme representative of social power in capitalist society and the only social bond in an increasingly divided and fragmented community.

(Marx, 1999: xvii)

These laws of money and capital were used, by capitalists, to control the workforce.

The minutiae of their behaviour, both in and out of the work place, were controlled so that they could produce the 'surplus value' necessary to increase the capital owned by the capitalists. Marx famously predicts that with the increase in exploitation, there will also be an increase in working class revolt:

Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolise all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working-class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organised by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of the capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralisation of the means of production and socialisation of labour at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. Thus integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated.

(Marx, 1999: 379-80)

Marx's theories on power fit with the traditional zero-sum models of power. In his work Marx describes power (money, capital, labour production) as an entity which belongs to one group of people – the capitalists; and it must be wrested from them by another group of people – the workers. A Marxist approach to examining power relations in society has shaped researchers' views in understanding the categorisation and discrimination of certain groups in society. One such piece of research, in the housing field, was by Means (1977). Means examines moral panics, in light of Cohen's (1980) work in this area, in relation to the treatment of the poor in Birmingham, by the Council's housing policies:

The material base of this 'moral panic' has already been investigated; it has been argued that the capitalist mode of production is unable to provide adequate income or housing for all sections of the working class. More specifically, Birmingham suffered from a shortage of council housing, which forced the Housing Department to adopt allocation policies that discriminated against poor families and tended to label them as 'problem families'.
(Means, 1977: 41)

In addition to providing a practical housing example of a Marxist explanation of discrimination against a particular group (the poor in Birmingham), this also links in well with the debate on moral panics and social norms which is discussed in detail in chapter six. There are many more practical examples than Means (1977); for instance the work of the Community Development Projects in the 1970's. A national Community Development Project (CDP) was set up by the Home office in 1969 to investigate the needs of people living in socially deprived areas; a number of area based projects were set up to look at this issue in eight locations.

During 1973 many of the Community Development Projects (CDPs) broke away from work based on a traditional analysis of industrial areas, and began to investigate how industrial capital controlled the economies of each of their local areas...Members of the Collective are not only concerned to arm the labour

movement with information about their employers, but in addition, share a basic set of assumptions about how local conditions fit into the capitalist economy. (Community Development Programme Political Economy Collective, 1979: 3)

Like Means (1977) the CDP (1979) was examining local situations of power and control within a Marxist perspective. Marxism is a theoretical basis for many newer theories, for example feminist Marxism, but at its simplest level it serves as an example of the one-dimensional view of power.

Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks* look at a plethora of theorists, such as Marx and Machiavelli. The definition of power seems to be similar: zero-sum power that is either in the hands of one person/party/group, or another. However, Gramsci starts to look at whether force is effective in this type of power:

The problem is the following: can a rift between popular masses and ruling ideologies as serious as that which emerged after the war be "cured" by the simple exercise of force, preventing the new ideologies from imposing themselves?
(Gramsci, 1971: 276)

Gramsci's observations make points that are pertinent to the theme of this research – the identification, surveillance and control of 'anti-social' groups, namely Gypsies, by society. Gramsci talks about 'voluntarism and social masses'. He defines 'volunteers' as "Gypsy bands and political nomads" (pg 275). On the control of 'volunteers' he says:

...no account is taken of the following factor: that the actions and organisations of "volunteers" must be distinguished from the actions and organisations of homogenous social blocs, and judged by different criteria. (Obviously, "volunteers" should be taken as meaning not the *elite* when this is an organic expression of the social mass, but rather those who have detached themselves from the mass by arbitrary individual initiative, and who often stand in opposition to that mass or are neutral with respect to it.)
(Gramsci, 1971: 202-3)

Further on in his writing, Gramsci's view on these 'volunteers' – these Gypsy bands and political nomads – becomes a little confusing. In his point, above, he states that no account has been taken of the fact that there are 'volunteers' – those who detach themselves from society arbitrarily. Presumably by saying this he means that account should be taken of them now. However, later in his *Prison Notebooks* he says:

Gypsy bands or political nomadism are not dangerous phenomena, and similarly Italian subversivism and internationalism were not dangerous.
(Gramsci, 1971: 275)

Gramsci's ideas hold a resonance with the hypothesis that certain groups – such as Gypsies and Travellers – are seen as 'other'. Current and immediately previous governments in England have certainly seen merit in distinguishing the actions of "volunteers"; perhaps today these would incorporate the socially excluded – such as Gypsies and Travellers. The government, with help from societal discourse and the media, distinguish these actions so that the rest of society – the 'homogenous social bloc' can keep a controlling eye on them to prevent a disruption of current social order and power hierarchy.

Bachrach and Baratz (1970) define power:

A power relationship exists when (a) there is a conflict over values or course of action between A and B (b) B complies with A's wishes; and (c) B does so because he is fearful that A will deprive him of a value or values which he regards more highly than those which would have been achieved by non-compliance.
(Bachrach and Baratz, 1970: 24)

The two-dimensional type of control is not the zero-sum, traditional power that Lukes refers to in his first classification, but nor is it as fluid as the control and power

relationships that Foucault discusses (below). It is a middle-way of control. Power and control, according to Bachrach and Baratz is not an abstract object, it is relational. The intensity and usefulness of the control is entirely dependent upon the recipients' perceptions. Lukes (1974) acknowledges Bachrach's help in developing the three-dimensional view of power. However, he does criticise the two-dimensional view (as exemplified by Bachrach and Baratz) for not taking a wider sociological perspective and for trying to define non-decision making as decision making (Lukes, 1974: 50).

The focus of the two-dimensional view of power is the demonstration of power (either consciously or unconsciously) by the prevention of one person or group, by another, from stating contradictory views which may be detrimental to the predominant cause or policy of the day. An example of this might be where the majority of society prevents any discourse around Gypsies and Travellers from contradicting that which is widely held – e.g. that they are anti-social and that they should conform to the norm of living in a house.

Foucault's Approach and the Three-Dimensional View

Lukes (1974) discussed the three-dimensional view in terms of having built upon the previous two views, in order to include a wider sociological perspective on power and to demonstrate its complexities and the difficulties of studying power. So that theoretical examples of these complexities and difficulties can be provided, it is necessary to turn to the work of Foucault. Foucault wrote prolifically on notions of power and control and he included many different elements of power. Foucault (1977

and 1980) examined techniques of power, particularly in relation to the prison and the hospital. Three main techniques were outlined. Firstly discipline was examined as power, particularly in relation to disciplinary actions over the human body. This technique was really looking at physical force and as such it may relate to more traditional views of power and fit in the one-dimensional view. Secondly, training can be used as a form of control; this is exemplified not just in prisons but in the routines of schools and monasteries. Training is a more implicit form of control; it is focused on the inculcation of norms, which is problematic (the problem of social norms is examined in chapter six). If a person refuses to conform to training they may be subject to discipline; in order to know whether there is conformity, a third technique of control is necessary – that of surveillance. These three techniques of control are discussed in various works by Foucault (1969, 1972, 1977, 1980) and are examined within different contexts. The latter two techniques, of training and surveillance, are more sophisticated and are more relevant to providing an example of Lukes' (1974) three-dimensional view. Training is discussed in terms of social norms in chapter six, and surveillance is examined under Foucault's theory of the gaze, later in this chapter. Before moving on to an analysis of surveillance and the gaze, it is necessary to step back and look at the context for the exercise of power. One example of the exercise of power and control techniques is through discourse. Discourse is inextricably entwined with power in a large amount of Foucault's work and it is discussed in part, in this chapter. However, discourse is predominantly the domain of chapter five, where Foucault's theories are discussed alongside a number of other works. Another context for the explanation of power and control is that of Governmentality (Foucault, 1994).

Governmentality

Governmentality, according to Foucault, is the 'art' of government. He talks about the changing emphases in government over history. Foucault (1994) refers to three main stages of government:

First came the state of justice, born in a territoriality of feudal type and corresponding in large part to a society of law – customary laws and written laws... Second, the administrative state, born in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in a frontier and no longer feudal territoriality, an administrative state that corresponds to a society of regulations and disciplines. Finally, the state of government, which is no longer defined by its territoriality, by the surface it occupies, but by a mass: the mass of the population... And this state of government, which is grounded in its population and which refers and has resort to the instrumentality of economic knowledge, would correspond to *a society controlled by apparatuses of security*.

(Foucault, 1994: 221) [*Emphasis added*]

A society controlled by apparatuses of security is examined when discussing the gaze, later in the chapter.

Foucault's descriptions of governmentality are not easy to fathom. In his essay on governmentality he defines it as meaning three things:

“1. The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses, and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security.

“2. The tendency that, over a long period and throughout the West, has steadily led toward the pre-eminence over all other forms (sovereignty, discipline, and so on) of this type of power – which may be termed “government” – resulting, on the one hand, in the formation of a whole series of specific governmental apparatuses, and on the other, in the development of a whole complex of knowledges [*savoirs*].

“3. The process or, rather the result of the process through which the state of justice of the Middle Ages transformed into the administrative state during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and gradually becomes “governmentalized.”” (Foucault, 1994: 219-20)

The first of Foucault's three definitions of governmentality, above, refers to an ensemble of institutions and knowledge that, combined, allow power to be exercised. Specifically Foucault says that the target of power is the population, the knowledge of government is political economy, and the technique of power is through apparatuses of security.

In meanings 2 and 3 Foucault is referring to an historical transition of 'arts' of governing. He describes three main stages: sovereignty, discipline and government. In this respect 'governmentality' is the latest stage in a history of power, of how the country is ruled. It is focused less on geographical territory and more on the population. Indeed, Foucault refers to government being grounded in the population.

The first definition of governmentality contains an anomaly that doesn't tie in with other Foucaultian definitions of power written at about the same time. Foucault's essay on governmentality was written up from a series of lectures given in the late 1970's and he specifically referred to the power of governmentality as having the population as its target of power. However, in his work *Power/Knowledge*, which was published in 1980, he says that power does not have a 'target' as such:

Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organisation. And not only do individuals circulate between its threads; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power. They are not only its inert or consenting target; they are always also the elements of its articulation. In other words, individuals are the vehicles of power, not its point of application. (Foucault, 1980: 98)

However, this anomaly does not render the governmentality definition useless. It is just important to remember that the 'target' population is also a 'vehicle of power' according to the Foucaultian definition. The differing ideas in the governmentality definitions and the Power/Knowledge definition contain, at its heart, the problem of structure. An example of the notion of structure and social control can be found in public management theory. There is an idea of new public management as transcending institutional and structural boundaries in order to emphasise effectiveness and partnership working. Lowndes (2001) discusses urban regime theory:

...there is a reluctance in the literature to conceive of regimes as institutional arrangements: élite actors from business and government work 'across institutional lines' separated from their 'institutional base'. The 'power of social production' that characterises urban regimes is contrasted with the 'power of social control' that characterises 'institutions'.
(Lowndes, 2001: 1963)

The distinction between 'regimes' and 'institutions' is interesting and it should be remembered that 'structure' should not be viewed as a single definitive entity. A structuralist view of power fits quite well with Foucault's first definition of governmentality, above, however a relational approach would fit better with Foucault's (1980) definition of power as fluid. Because Foucault's ideas change over time, throughout his writing, it is difficult to arrive at a 'Foucaultian notion of power and control'. However, the issue of structure and power in government is one that still taxes theorists who write on the subject today.

The fluidity of power, and the importance of perception and the relationships between individuals and between individual and government is demonstrated in Foucault's definitions of power and governmentality (1980); this is not a uni-directional process of

power and government. The power of governmentality is a multi-directional, relative concept. It is not a hierarchical, disciplinary, traditional concept of power. Although Foucault refers to the power of governmentality as having the population as its target, and does not explicitly include discussion of the multi-directional form of power, it is argued that governmentality does allow for power to flow and change direction.

Danaher (2000) agrees with this summation of governmentality as a multi-directional flow of power:

That is to say, because governmentality is as much about what we do to ourselves as what is done to us, this opens up the possibility that we might intervene in this process of self-formation.
(Danaher et al, 2000: 83)

Another important concept, that is inherent in the first explanation of governmentality, is knowledge. The ensemble to which Foucault refers does not just consist of institutions and procedures, but it also includes analyses, reflections, calculations and tactics. Modernity has allowed for increased knowledge by governments about what the population is doing; partly this is through surveillance of the population.

In describing 'government' Foucault (1994, see also Dean, 1999) uses analogies of managing a ship or managing a household, when in reality society cannot be seen to be either of those. Whilst the inhabitants of a ship, and indeed members of the same household, will be different people with different aims and objectives, they will have a common bond. In the first analogy it may be a love of sailing and in the second, a love of other family members in the household. There may be exceptions to this; the emphasis here though is that Foucault's argument of governmentality is based on the premise that government is the management of men and things, in the same way as a

captain manages sailors and the boat and weather, or a head of the household manages income, food and family members.

However, a ship or a household cannot be an analogy for society. The scale of society is hugely different to the scale of a household or a ship. Where norms may be shared amongst a ship's crew or family members, there are a great many different groups in society who have different individual and group norms, but who must be managed according to a wider set of meta-norms deemed appropriate for society.

The issue of scale is important in analysing the usefulness of Foucault's application of analogies to explain government and power. In this chapter there is an explanation of Bentham's panopticon in an analysis of the theory of the gaze; again Foucault saw this as an analogy of society at large but there is a huge difference in scale between the prison and society as a whole.

The scale and heterogeneity of 'society' is a problem when considering analogies of control. The differing norms in society (discussed in chapter six) and the 'otherness' of Gypsies and Travellers, demonstrated briefly in chapter two and discussed throughout the thesis, illustrates these difficulties well.

Society plays a more interactive role in governmentality, it does not have things done to it, but instead it responds to and changes the direction of power. However, modernity has allowed government more knowledge about the population. This knowledge does allow government additional control over different groups in society. As it knows more

about the behaviour of individuals and groups, it can devise different methods of controlling this behaviour.

Views on government and society differ. A traditional view is that of a social contract (Rousseau, 1994) where it is assumed that everyone has agreed to conform to some overarching norms of society and will abide by them, for the good of the whole. An opposing, more traditional, view of power sees different groups within society wresting power from other groups and then setting rules and laws that fall in with their values and hopes. Foucault's governmentality actually takes a middle ground between the social contract and the more traditional, zero-sum, views and sees that rather than power being grabbed and maintained by groups there is a rationality about the use of power. So instead of fighting over power as an abstraction there is instead thought about how power can be used most efficiently in society. (Danaher, 2000: 89)

Gaze

Foucault's 'gaze' is the second major element of his work to be examined in this chapter. It might best be described as the eye of power and control. In *The Birth of the Clinic* Foucault describes gaze, thus:

...the gaze is not faithful to truth, nor subject to it, without asserting, at the same time, a supreme mastery: the gaze that sees is a gaze that dominates.
(Foucault, 1969: 39)

The crucial element in the gaze is the interpretive element. Foucault (1969) was discussing it in relation to doctors looking at illnesses in their patients. He explained that doctors no longer passively viewed symptoms, but instead started to actively interpret them. This is important because this research attempts to link theories of the

gaze with those of discourse and it raises the notion of discourse as control. The gaze is not passive surveillance, but active interpretation and domination. It is suggested that this is also true of discourse. Words and terms used in the discourse around Gypsies and Travellers are not passively describing a situation but instead they are interpreting them. The interpretation involved in discourse is based on a variety of variables including the ontology of the speaker and their social norms and characteristics (this is discussed further in chapters five and six).

Surveillance of different people in society can be rooted in different motives – the motive to (literally) shape women is different to the motive to ‘other’ the travelling lifestyle. Lyon (2002) sees that motives may have changed over ages:

But what is all this ‘watching’ for? This too, is in flux. Once, police kept an eye on a specific person, suspected for some good reason of an offence. Or the debt collector tried to track down defaulters who owed money to others. While such practices still occur, much more likely is the creation of categories of interest and classes of conduct thought worthy of attention. If the modern world displayed an urge to classify, today this urge is endemic in surveillance systems... to capture personal data triggered by human bodies and to use these abstractions to place people in new social classes of income, attributes, habits, preferences, or offences, in order to influence, manage, or control them. (Lyon, 2002: 3)

Surveillance studies, not just the internalised gaze but overt surveillance, is a growing theoretical phenomenon – see Gandy (1993), Staples (2000), Schoeman (1992) and Lyon (2001 and 2003). A lot of this work is embedded in technological theory and the implications, for privacy, of the advances in information technology. However, all have their roots in the principles of Foucault’s interpretation of Bentham’s panopticon in order to understand what is meant by surveillance.

It is important to remember that the gaze is a metaphor, but it is a useful explanation of surveillance at work in society as a tool of control. McNay (1994) discusses this different perception of power and control:

Control in modern societies is achieved, therefore, not through direct repression but through more invisible strategies of normalization. Individuals regulate themselves through a constant *introspective search for their hidden 'truth'*, held to lie in their innermost identity.

(McNay, 1994: 97) [*Emphasis added*]

This introspective search for a hidden truth is part of the internalisation of the gaze, and it is discussed later in the chapter. McNay's quotation is useful to show how the gaze fits more with governmentality than traditional forms of government and power. The gaze does not use direct repression or other such authoritative power; it is not such a visible method of control as say sovereignty or discipline.

Foucault believed that the gaze was not only exemplified in the panopticon of Bentham's 18th Century prison designs, but could be extended, through institutions, to the wider society.

...the best way of managing prisoners was to make them the potential targets of the authority's gaze at every moment of the day. And this authoritative gaze didn't reside in a particular person, rather it was recognised as part of the system, a way of looking that could operate as a general principle of surveillance throughout the social body. This logic of the gaze, like that of discipline, was not confined to the prison, but moved throughout the various institutional spaces in society.

(Danaher *et al.* 2000: 54)

Cohen (1985) criticises Foucault's lack of clarification (this is a common criticism of Foucault as there can be ambiguities across his large volume of works). Cohen explains panopticism:

Surveillance and not just punishment became the object of the exercise. The all seeing world of Bentham's panopticon is the architectural vision of the new knowledge/power spiral: the inmate caught in a power which is visible (you can always see the observation tower) but unverifiable (you must never know when you are being looked upon at any one moment). The prison is the purest form of the panopticon principle and the only concrete way to realize it. (Cohen, 1985: 26)

This thesis does not fully concur with Cohen. It does agree that the prison is the purest form of the panopticon, but it is believed that there are other ways of realising it. Partly, this is through society's gaze – which is dominating through active interpretation rather than passively watching.

The prison serves as a useful example of the panopticon principle; but it can also help to understand the ideas of governance and the fluidity of power in society. For instance, in October 2002 there was a serious riot in Lincoln prison and it took over 400 police and prison officers to bring the prisoners back under control. On the Radio Four 'Today' programme there was an ensuing debate as to what had caused the riot. Professor Wilson, of the University of Central England, explained that "the dirty little secret behind our prisons" was that they relied on prisoners' consent. The prisoners consented to be governed by the prison officers as long as their conditions were good and they were treated fairly. When there was a situation of overcrowding and prisoners were kept in their cells for more hours each day with fewer resources, they rebelled to show that they had withdrawn their consent to be governed (Wilson, 2002). This example in the prison is a good explanation for wider society. Consent to be governed is important (Rousseau, 1994) and those that withdraw it could be seen to be excluding themselves from a society which has an implicit consent to be governed in-built. Gypsies and Travellers are an example of a group who could be perceived to have withdrawn their

consent to be governed – both by social norms and by legislation. The travelling lifestyle does not accord with the ‘norm’ of living in a permanent dwelling and the act of unauthorised camping is a rebuttal of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (1994).

This increasing gaze in society can be attributed to modern techniques of communication. Garland (2001) writes on the culture of control; he argues that improving and increasing use of information technology is adding to the intensity of surveillance. He cites Meyrowitz:

As the confines of the prison, the convent, the family house, the neighbourhood, the executive suite, the university campus and the oval office are all invaded through electronics, we must expect a fundamental shift in our perceptions of society, our authorities and ourselves.
(Meyrowitz, 1985: viii cited in Garland, 2001: 87)

This fundamental shift is in our own perceptions, according to Meyrowitz. Our internalisation of the gaze is heightened with increasing use of technology. Whilst the use of technology is an interesting part of this debate, it is not possible to discuss it any further within the confines of this chapter. Instead it is necessary to focus on how the gaze is manifested in society - not just through technology, but through internalisation by each individual.

Foucault did not just believe in the manifestation of the gaze in physical things, such as Bentham’s panopticon, or a modern day example – surveillance cameras; he believed that the gaze was internalised. Through socialisation (for example, undergoing training or conforming to discipline on societal norms) individuals understand how they should behave, and they monitor themselves accordingly. Danaher *et al* (2000) recognise that

there are different dimensions to the gaze – for instance a difference in the gender internalisation of the gaze. They discuss a well-used example of how women view media images of how women ‘should’ look – for example, magazine pictures showing the ideal woman being fit and thin. Amongst some women, there is a perceived duty to conform to this image and they follow beauty and slimming regimes in order to do this. These women have taken on the notion of how they should fit into society and they have internalised this and conformed; and through regular dedication to going to the gym and berating themselves for weight gain, they monitor themselves.

Although Danaher *et al* (2000) use different examples of the internalisation of the gaze, they do not help us to understand why the gaze is internalised by some people and not others. This comes back to the issue of different group and individual norms - why do some individuals believe in different norms to the rest of a group, or to other individuals? If internalisation of the gaze, as a tool of power, is dependent on everyone internalising the same, common values then there will never be internalisation wholesale of one value in society, because of different individual and group norms. For instance, the above example of women monitoring how they look in line with what society deems as ‘normal’ – some women will not agree with the norm being imposed upon them and will carry on living according to their own individual values – they will eat what they like, wear what they like and behave how they want. They will not internalise an imposed norm. The same could be seen in a housing example. Two neighbours on a housing estate, with largely similar income and perceived norms, can behave in entirely different ways. One neighbour may have internalised the societal norm to work hard and aspire to improvement, the other may not – they may not want to

work and they may not want to adhere to tenancy conditions (the won't work/ can't work debate cannot be included here, the assumption is that one neighbour won't work and the other will). Why do these two neighbours act in different ways – why will one internalise a societal norm and the other will not? Similarly, Gypsies and Travellers could be viewed as eschewing the norm of living a settled life in a house. However, this meta-norm of society, of house dwelling, does not accord with the long history of the norm of nomadism of the Gypsies and Travellers. In some current examples Gypsies are forced to accept the settled norm because there is no alternative accommodation provision, but others refuse to do this and will not give up their norm of nomadism.

The internalisation of the gaze is a difficult subject to research because there is an invisible element. The subject being examined here is whether a value has been internalised by an individual. The individual may not know that they have internalised the gaze – indeed this reflects an ultimate form of power of having a person conform to another's wishes, without them knowing that they are conforming. The earlier explanation of Foucault's definition of governmentality stated that knowledge was inherent. With the gaze though, it cannot be taken for granted that knowledge is inherent in the internalisation process. By internalising a value one is absorbing it almost to the point that that it is difficult to tell where the internalised norm starts and the rest of an individual's assumptions about life end. Indeed how are individual assumptions formed, are they partly made up of internalised norms? For these reasons the study of the internalisation of the gaze as a technique of societal power, is problematic. This is not a fatal flaw for this research, as the focus is not solely on the internalisation of the gaze. Instead, it specifically analyses manifestations of discourse

as control, through examples such as the implementation of legislation and through physical aspects, such as architecture. However, it is important to highlight the limitations in trying to examine something which by its very definition is 'invisible' to external scrutiny. This research attempts to interpret the effects of the gaze and of discourse on Gypsies and Travellers; but it does so in the knowledge that there are criticisms of such an approach, especially from those who prefer a positivist approach to research and who rely solely on empirical methods.

In order to shape behaviour it is necessary to know how people are behaving and to have constraints, incentives and punishments in place to modify that behaviour, where it does not fit in with societal norms. The gaze as a technique of surveillance and of power is vital to this shaping of behaviour, vital to the art of government.

It has been seen in earlier discussions on the three dimensions of power that one of the ultimate forms of power is for B to assume the norms of A without knowing they are doing so. But is it possible for A to tell whether B has really assumed norms or whether they are pretending to in order to stop being put under overt, external, surveillance. Vaz and Bruno (2003) discuss Foucault's gaze and interpretation of the panopticon and they assume that the docility of B would only be a 'mask' carried as long as they felt that A was observing.

To put it differently, we would internalize power's eye but we would not identify with its values. In reality, instead of an unfolding of ourselves in consciousness and its object, our conduct, we would experience a threefold partition of our interiority. We would distance ourselves from our behaviours and look at them with power's internalized eyes. However, there would be an additional detachment: a part of ourselves constituted by our consciousness and desire would be sheltered from power's eyes.
(Vaz and Bruno, 2003: 276)

This is an interesting concept and one that is extremely difficult to research, much like internalised gaze, how does one research that which is hidden? However, the idea of a hidden 'self' within a mask of internalised gaze strikes a chord with a section of the Gypsy/Traveller population. Some Gypsies and Travellers, there are no definitive figures to enable one to know how many exactly, have settled in permanent houses; occasionally this is through choice, because illness has stopped them from leading a nomadic lifestyle; or it is through 'coercion'. Coercion is not in its overt form, but instead Gypsies and Travellers are coerced, by the state, to live in houses because there is no alternative provision for them; as discussed in chapter two, there are not enough Travellers' sites. In a variety of studies, including Niner (2003) where Gypsies and Travellers are asked their views, they say things such as 'travelling is in the blood'. Comments from Gypsies and Travellers describe the travelling lifestyle as beyond nomadism, and as such they still feel like Gypsies/Travellers even when they are in a settled house. This 'travelling in the blood' is an example of the hidden part of the self within the internalisation of the norm of living in a house. To all intents and purposes a Gypsy/Traveller living in a house has bowed to the generic societal norm of living a settled life – however, it is not an observable fact that they have really internalised this gaze, indeed anecdotal comments from Gypsies and Travellers point to the converse.

As discussed previously, surveillance – especially internalised surveillance - is difficult to research. Another problem to note, at this point, is the issue of what is meant to be included in the gaze. From Foucault's writing it is assumed that the gaze looks over the

whole of society. There is always someone who has the power to watch over us in various different aspects of our lives. Foucault says:

A constant supervision of individuals by someone who exercised power over them – schoolteacher, foreman, physician, psychiatrist, prison warden – and who, so long as he exercised power, had the possibility of both supervising and constituting a knowledge concerning those he supervised. A knowledge that was no longer about determining whether or not something had occurred; rather, it was about whether an individual was behaving as he should, in accordance with the rule or not, and whether he was progressing or not.
(Foucault, 1994: 59)

Unfortunately, this does not really narrow down what is covered by the gaze, although it is helpful in a further definition of this type of power. If gaze is defined as the surveillance of the behaviour of individuals to gain knowledge as to whether they are behaving according to societal norms – then this covers everyone and everything. The gaze is all encompassing. It is not realistic to try and study a surveillance of everyone in society through a variety of mechanisms. It is necessary to narrow the metaphor in order to have a distinct notion to study. In this research the notion is that discourse is a form of control, and it can have an affect on a distinct group, such as Gypsies and Travellers.

There are different ways of examining the ‘gaze’. One way to start is by looking at explicit techniques and implicit techniques. For instance, an explicit technique of the gaze is the use of CCTV cameras on housing estates that suffer the consequences of ‘anti-social’ behaviour. An implicit technique, that has already been discussed, is the portrayal of a categorised group in the news media. This is the centre of the debate on discourse as surveillance in relation to Gypsies and Travellers and will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter and again in the findings of chapter nine. Yet

another implicit method is through television – soap operas and films can inculcate patterns of behaviour. Think of the discussion in the press of the ‘suitability’ of certain characters as ‘role models for young people’ or of the rows over whether violence on television instils unacceptable norms amongst the viewers. These media images are implicit ways of controlling and shaping behaviour – they are implicit mechanisms of the gaze.

Internalised gaze is difficult to categorise. As discussed earlier, in some cases of internalised gaze, knowledge is not necessarily part of the process – a person can internalise the gaze and behave according to a norm without knowing that is what they are doing. On the other hand, as mooted by Vaz and Bruno (2003) a person can pretend to have internalised the gaze whilst hiding a piece of their ‘real’ self from view.

However, in other cases of internalisation there is knowledge in the equation and therefore there is a specific attempt to control behaviour. It could be, however, that there is knowledge at the beginning of this control of the behaviour but that the knowledge drifts off the more the behaviour becomes internalised. “I must join a gym in January so that I don’t look larger than the ‘ideal woman’” in later months becomes “it is Tuesday – gym day”. The behaviour control becomes so internalised that it is a routine rather than a specific control.

Fopp (2002) looked at ‘increasing the potential for gaze, surveillance and normalisation’ by examining an Australian homelessness policy. He found that the homelessness policy under scrutiny kept homeless families in short-stay, agency funded accommodation, for longer than they needed to. This was because of a lack of affordable long-term accommodation to go into. However, the outcome of the increased

stay in the short-stay accommodation meant that the homeless families were under the watchful eye of the agency and they were therefore under a surveillance and normalisation regime.

Lianos (2003) examined a way forward to make Foucault's theories relevant today:

...changes on the ground call for the construction of a new theoretical paradigm which should take account of three contemporary tendencies: a) the embedding of control in the widespread and often consensual interaction between the user and the outlets and systems of institutional action; b) the emergence of an 'unintended control', that is not oriented towards values; and c) the inherent contribution of sociotechnical systems, which at once regularise social behaviour and project onto their users a consciousness formed around invisible, yet ubiquitous, threats.

(Lianos, 2003: 412)

Paying particular attention to points b) and c) made by Lianos, above, the issue of unintended control has not been examined a great deal in relation to Foucault's work.

The idea of motivation, or intention, has been analysed to try and understand why certain groups are put under surveillance. However, it has not been in the remit of this research to examine the detailed, often technological, surveillance which is aimed at all individuals in society – for instance surveillance of sales transactions by companies (often for marketing purposes), the increasing use of CCTV (often for crime prevention purposes) and other minute types of surveillance that are conducted every day by a variety of agencies. The issue of unintended control, raised by Lianos (2003), falls more easily into the examination of increased technological surveillance – which is largely the focus of surveillance studies.

Hier (2003) examines welfare monitoring to exemplify surveillance practices as processes of social control. He discusses the concept that increasingly different

surveillance techniques are being brought together into an overall ‘surveillant assemblage’.

Although this characterizes an increasing pattern in surveillance, particularly where electronic or automated surveillance is concerned, it is important not to lose sight of the fact that these infrastructures remain connected to, or develop out of, ‘early modern’ systems of surveillance, underscored by the desire to coordinate and control populations, to make ‘visible’ that which evades immediate perception – the panoptic impulse.
(Hier, 2003: 403)

The motivation of surveillance techniques to make visible that which evades perception, for the purposes of this thesis – Gypsies and Travellers – is a focus of surveillance and control of which one should not lose sight. However, the efficiency of so-called ‘surveillant assemblages’ could be in dispute, in the light of high profile failures. In the early part of 2004 an investigation was underway into how the murderer Ian Huntley’s previous alleged behaviour went undetected. Huntley was given a job as a caretaker in a school in Soham, Cambridgeshire and he was found guilty of the high profile murders of Holly Wells and Jessica Chapman. The police, in various counties, had kept records of alleged crimes committed by Huntley, but because of confusion over the implications of the Data Protection Act (1998), much of the information was deleted from electronic, shared, files. This case does not indicate a ‘surveillant assemblage’ but instead highlights the gaps in surveillance and record keeping across different agencies. However, it is just one high profile example of how surveillance measures can break down and it shows the failures of technology and those operating the technology.

As mentioned previously in this chapter, the field of surveillance studies is an increasing body of research; but it does seem to focus on the technological rather than the theoretical. For example, the premise of Foucault’s gaze was that surveillance

would be internalised by the individual – doing away with the need for technology to enforce surveillance. Nevertheless, there are obviously cases, such as Huntley, where the gaze is not internalised and then technological methods of surveillance need to be employed. When the technological methods fail there is little preventative control that can be implemented and, in the Huntley case, the only option left is punishment after an event has taken place. This thesis takes as its focus the non-technological side of surveillance; it does not examine the use of police or local authority information databases, or the footage of CCTV cameras. One example of explicit surveillance is discussed in the findings of chapter nine, but it is analysed as being unexpected in a discourse which relies on implicit discriminatory discourse to highlight the ‘otherness’ of Gypsies and Travellers. Instead, the thesis examines the discourse of the media and the public. This discourse is the result of internalisation of societal norms, and which manifests to highlight the ‘otherness’ of minority groups – namely Gypsies and Travellers. This is in order that their presence is heightened and surveillance made easier.

It is necessary to highlight the importance of Foucault in the discipline of control and surveillance theories; this helps to explain the focus of Foucaultian theories to understand power and control in this research. Wood (2003) sums up the perceived importance of Foucault to the discipline: “When I was talking to colleagues about the theme of this issue, it was put to me that: ‘surely every issue of *Surveillance and Society* is a Foucault issue’.” (Wood, 2003: 235).

Critique and Use of Foucault's Theories

Although widely used, Foucault's theories do not escape criticism. McNay (1994)

asserts a Marxist critique of Foucault's explanations of power:

Many of the problems that arise with Foucault's theory of power are related to the fact that a multiplicity of divergent phenomena are subsumed under a totalizing and essentially undifferentiated notion of power. In short, the concept of power is generalized to such an extent that it loses any analytic force. Many Marxists have accused Foucault of a lack of differentiation in his theory of power which results in a reductionist and functionalist account of processes of social control. There is a certain irony to these criticisms in so far as Foucault elaborated his theory of power in contradistinction to the economic reductionism that, in his view, hampered Marxist analysis.

(McNay, 1994: 104-5)

Habermas (1987), one of Foucault's most vocal critics, also has problems with the 'undifferentiated' notions of power, as he feels that they do not reflect the complexities of modern society. Habermas does not agree with Foucault's rejection of modernity in his explanations. He also suggests problematic contrasts between social theory and systems of knowledge:

...discourses emerge and pop like glittering bubbles from a swamp of anonymous processes of subjugation. With his energetic reversal of the relationships of dependency among forms of knowledge and practices of power, Foucault opens up a problematic of social theory in contrast to the rigorously structuralist history of systems of knowledge, and a naturalistic problematic in contrast to the history of the understanding of Being (as a critique of metaphysics).

(Habermas, 1987: 268-9)

Habermas also criticises Foucault's own approach to discourse analysis:

Foucault wants to eliminate the hermeneutic problematic and thus the kind of self-relatedness that comes into play with an interpretative approach to the object domain. The genealogical historiographer should not proceed as does the practitioner of hermeneutics; he should not try to make comprehensible what actors are doing and thinking out of a context of tradition interwoven with the self-understanding of the actors.

(Habermas, 1987: 276-7)

This particular criticism of Foucault links strongly with advice provided by Heuss (2000) and which is analysed at the beginning of the methodology in chapter three. The importance of context is vital in the 'practice of hermeneutics' particularly in relation to Gypsies and Travellers.

The critiques of Foucault's work are necessary here in order to demonstrate a thorough approach to the use of his theories of power and control. Not all theorists agree with Foucault's approach but these could be due to epistemological differences amongst researchers. In spite of the critiques, Foucault's work continues to be used and developed in a number of studies, because it has much to offer those studying power and control, particularly in relation to discourse.

Donzelot discusses, in his work *The Policing of Families* (1979), government through family. He examines the implications of the involvement of the family in the political:

This direct insertion of the family into the political sphere of the *ancien regime* had two consequences for the exercise of social power. With regard to the central apparatuses, the head of the family was *accountable* for its members. In exchange for the protection and recognition of the state, he had to guarantee the faithfulness to public order of those who were part of that order; he also had to supply a fee in taxes, labor (corvees) and men (militia). Consequently, the fact of not belonging to a family, and hence the lack of a sociopolitical guarantor, posed a problem for public order. This was the category of people without ties, without hearth or home, of beggars and vagabonds who, being in no way connected to the social machinery, acted as disturbers in this system of protections and obligations. There was no one to supply their needs, but neither was there anyone to hold them within the bounds of order.

(Donzelot, 1979: 49)

Although Donzelot, refers to an *ancien regime* several centuries ago, there is similarity with the expected function of the family in society today. For instance, as well as anti-social behaviour orders and curfews for youths who act in an anti-social manner – there

are also parenting orders that penalise the parents of anti-social youths. This is quite an explicit contract between the government and the family.

Donzelot, also discusses three 'philanthropic poles' of power held over the family: moralisation, normalisation, and contract and tutelage. These three forms of power have commonalities with the three different types of power (discipline, training and surveillance) identified by Foucault (1977). Donzelot talks about the power of surveillance over the family to ensure that it meets the norms expected of it. He says:

Leaning on one another for support, the state norm and philanthropic moralization obliged the family to retain and supervise its children if it did not wish to become an object of surveillance and disciplinary measures in its own right.

(Donzelot, 1979: 85)

This work by Donzelot reinforces the gaze and surveillance explanations of control by Foucault. Not only is the gaze internalised individually, but there is an element – according to Donzelot – of the family internalising the gaze as a unit, in order to deflect surveillance techniques of the state and the wider neighbourhood.

This, brief, examination of Donzelot's policing of the family also links well to some research by Gould (1988) which examined the Övervakare in Sweden. The Övervakare were ordinary members of the Swedish community, employed by the state as an explicit form of social control over problem families. Where a child was thought to be at risk of a neglectful, alcoholic or other troubled parent, the Övervakare would keep a surveillant eye over the family and could report to the state. Although the Övervakare could have been seen to act in a mentoring role, there was no doubt that they were manifestations of the gaze in Swedish society and they were deployed in the absence of what Donzelot

referred to as the internalisation of the gaze as a family unit. The Övervakare were provided for in law in 1902 and in some, less institutionalised, form have been used since. However, Harloe (1995) in explaining the origins of the title of his book stated that:

...The People's Home – appropriates a word – *folkhemmet* – frequently used to characterize the distinctive approach adopted by the Swedish Social Democratic Party to the building of what was seen for many years as the most developed form of welfare capitalist regime in the world. It was first used in 1928 by one of the key figures of Swedish Social Democracy... *Folkhemmet* was a vision of society with social, economic and political citizenship for all.
(Harloe, 1995: 1)

In one of the most revered states, for its universalistic social policies, there was an undercurrent of surveillance and gaze through the use of Övervakare to keep an eye on those who had not internalised the norms of childcare.

This interventionist approach to controlling 'anti-social' groups in society is not new to housing studies and it can be related to all sorts of groups including Gypsies and Travellers and also those deemed as 'anti-social' in permanent dwellings too. Jacobs *et al.* (2003) examined this interventionist approach – particularly in relation to historical methods of housing management such as Octavia Hill's controlling methods of managing tenants:

The implementation of policies to tackle anti-social behaviour provides a particularly interesting example because there has always been an interventionist discourse within housing management practice that has emphasised the importance of social control and tenant responsibility.
(Jacobs *et al.*, 2003: 438)

Flint and Rowlands (2003) similarly look at intervention and at normalisation. As part of their examination of intervention and governmentality, they discuss the 'branding' of

housing consumption. They state that citizenship is framed by a moral identification but also by an identification of consumption – in this instance the consumption of housing (this is particularly interesting in relation to Gypsies and Travellers as not only do they not consume the ‘normal’ owner occupied tenure of housing, they do not ‘consume’ housing at all). Flint and Rowlands refer to Rose (1999):

It is useful to apply this commercial concept of branding to acts of governance that seek to prescribe socially sanctioned acts of consumption, through what Rose terms ‘grammars of living’ in which subjects are directed to align their own conduct through behaving in correct ways (Rose, 1999).
(Flint and Rowlands, 2003: 224)

Rose (1999) uses Foucault’s writings on governmentality as a starting point for his work – however, he does make clear that he is not a Foucault scholar and that he does not intend to transplant Foucault’s work into his own theorising on the subject of power and control. As with most of the writers and thinkers on the subject of relational power, it is difficult to be sure which relationships warrant examination. Rose tries to be specific:

The investigations of government that interest me here are those which try to gain a purchase on the forces that traverse the multitudes of encounters where conduct is subject to government: prisons, clinics, schoolrooms and bedrooms, factories and offices, airports and military organizations, the marketplace and shopping mall, sexual relations and much more.
(Rose, 1999: 5)

It seems that Rose is saying that these power relationships – governmentality – know no bounds and that in any organisation or relationship there is scope for discovery. Rose uses ‘freedom as a pathway into the analysis of government’. This is of interest in this paper as the hypothesis of this research moots the idea that freedom is not tolerated – but instead undergoes surveillance. For instance, the freedom of Gypsies to choose a travelling life is not celebrated by government or society – but instead is highlighted

through discourse and media and is then put under surveillance and normalisation techniques of power.

Rose specifically discusses the issue of control:

Through hierarchical observation and normalizing judgement, institutionalized in prisons, schools, lunatic asylums, reformatories, workhouses and similar assemblages, competences, capacities and controls upon conduct were to be inscribed into the soul of the citizen. The free citizen was one who was able and willing to conduct his or her own conduct according to the norms of civility; the delinquent, the criminal, the insane person, with their specialized institutions of reformation, were the obverse of this individualization and subjectivization of citizenship.

(Rose, 1999: 233)

In referring back to the earlier discussion of Foucault's work on governmentality and the gaze it is possible to suggest that Rose means that anyone who is free from explicit imposed surveillance, either by government or society, is someone who has agreed to be imposed by the 'gaze' both internal and external. For instance, a free person has been normalised through education – both formal and worldly education. They have then 'opted-in' to society and said 'yes, I will conduct my own behaviour in accordance with what the government and the majority of society want of me'. Those that want to be truly free of 'normalisation', to live to different rules than society stipulates, are the very people who face the most rigorous surveillance and the harshest discipline.

Garland writes about power and control in the context of the criminal justice system and he, like many other authors on the subject of power, has been influenced by Foucault's work. Garland (1990) discusses Foucault's body of work on surveillance and normalisation:

Significantly, these disciplinary methods do not simply punish troublesome cases, but develop a whole new method of sanctioning which Foucault calls 'normalization'. This method is essentially corrective rather than punitive in orientation, concerned to induce conformity rather than to exact retribution or expiation. It involves, first of all, a means of assessing the individual in relation to a desired standard of conduct: a means of knowing how the individual performs, watching his movements, assessing his behaviour, and measuring it against the rule. Surveillance arrangements and examination procedures provide this knowledge, allowing incidents of non-conformity or departures from set standards to be recognized and dealt with, at the same time 'individualizing' the different subjects who fall under this gaze.
(Garland, 1990: 145)

Although Garland's writing focuses on the punishment of crime and the measures of power and control involved with that, there is still much relevance of his work for this thesis. The methods that are employed in the criminal justice system – discipline, surveillance and training – are also evident in society at large; for example, they are not just tools with which to punish criminals. They are tools with which the law abiding, but non-normalised Gypsies and Travellers, are made to conform or be punished.

Garland does acknowledge that there are wider boundaries of control in society:

As the character of everyday life changes, its changing habits and routines often have consequences for the structure of informal controls, that can, in turn, cause problems for the functioning and effectiveness of the institutions of formal control. We have to bear in mind, therefore, that the field of crime control involves the social ordering activities of the authorities *and also* the activities of private actors and agencies as they go about their daily lives and ordinary routines. Too often our attention focuses on the state's institutions and neglects the informal social practices upon which state action depends.
(Garland, 2000: 6)

This description of power and control in the criminal justice system also acknowledges the intricate relationship between different structures and individuals that make up a power relationship; of course when one part of a structure changes this will have a knock-on affect on other parts, as Garland describes. This type of discussion relates

well to the work of Foucault (1980), where shifts in the relationship between people and things means that individuals are at one and the same time both givers and recipients of power and control. Garland (1990) also writes specifically on the subject of surveillance and how the constant collection and audit of detailed information on people is replacing the overt, and sometimes violent, repression of people through sporadic displays of physical power and control. Clapham (1997) interprets Garland's work and suggests that police procedures fit in with the old model of repression, but current housing management procedures fit with the new model of constant collection of information and surveillance. Clapham refers to a changing style of housing management which sees a concentration on 'problem tenants' and 'difficult-to-let' estates. This change is continuing apace with the introduction of legislation which sees housing officers compiling information and applying for 'anti-social behaviour orders', curfews, 'parenting orders' and evictions to clamp down on the seeming rise of anti-social behaviour. It would appear that surveillance is becoming an increasingly used tool in the armoury of housing management.

Dandeker's (1990) work links in well with that of Garland and it also acts as a bridge between the discussion on surveillance and control, in this chapter, and the discussion on Cohen's work on deviance and 'folk-devils' which is analysed in chapter five. First, though, Dandeker helps to clarify a typology of surveillance, with five main types: (1) Petty Tyranny, (2) Direct Democracy, (3) Patronage, (4) Bureaucratic Dictatorship, (5) Rational-Legal (see Figure four).

	Personal Administration	Bureaucratic Administration
Autocratic Interests	<p><u>Petty Tyranny</u> Autocratic power is exercised over a subject population by a single person whose means of supervision and information gathering do not extend much beyond his or her own personal capacities.</p>	<p><u>Bureaucratic Dictatorship</u> Personalism and competition pervade the system. factionalism operates in such a way that the ruler cannot relate to the bureaucracy as if it were a dependable administrative machine.</p>
	<p><u>Patronage Surveillance</u> activities and the reproduction of systems of rule are tenuous social processes characterised by personalism as well as the anonymous or impersonal features more prevalent in modern societies. Surveillance activities are autonomous from controls of the subject population and of bureaucratic discipline.</p>	
Liberal Interests	<p><u>Direct Democracy</u> Surveillance activities are carried out by all members of the collectivity in pursuit of popular interests, although this may result in the tyranny of the majority over the liberties of particular individuals or minorities.</p>	<p><u>Rational-Legal</u> Both ruler and bureaucracy are accountable effectively to the subject population and distributive resources according to a widely held ethic of acceptable bureaucratic behaviour.</p>

Fig. 4 Typology of surveillance, adapted from Dandeker, 1990: 45-51

Dandeker discusses the five types of surveillance in a historical way, with the bureaucratic administration being more modern than the personal administration. This ties in the surveillance studies' focus on centrally driven technological forms of surveillance, rather than concentrating on the type of surveillance discussed in this thesis – which falls more easily into the 'Direct Democracy' type of surveillance. He also discusses Cohen's work on deviancy and control and its links with surveillance:

Destructuring ideologies are discussed in terms of their advocacy of four changes in the structures of surveillance and social control: first, a shift away from centralized state control towards decentralization, deprofessionalization and non-intervention; second, a move away from categorization, separate knowledge systems and professionalism and the classificatory impulse towards de-professionalization, de-medicalization, anti-psychiatry and forms of self-help; third, the substitution of the asylum and the prison by community care and non-custodial responses to deviance; fourth, less emphasis on positivistic science as a means of establishing causal knowledge about the mental processes of deviants in favour of, on the one hand, neo-classical and justice models which emphasize 'just' punishment for offences committed by morally responsible individuals, and, on the other, more behaviourist models which eschew explanation in favour of programmes for the control of deviancy that simply 'work'.
(Dandeker, 1990: 145-146)

This history of surveillance is linked to the history of bureaucracy and the state; and where emphases of governance have shifted, so it seems have the emphases of surveillance. Paradigm shifts in the way society regards 'otherness' or deviancy has affected the methods employed to gather information and monitor the behaviour of others. Cohen's work on this area of deviancy and 'folk-devils' is discussed in chapter six, and Dandeker has allowed for a link to tie these two discussions together.

Conclusion

An examination of theories of power and control has been undertaken in this chapter; this has largely centred around analysis of Foucault's ideas on 'governmentality' and 'gaze'. The discussion on governmentality demonstrated the notion of fluidity of power between structures and individuals. This is an important concept for the theoretical framework developed in this research; the framework is discussed in more detail in chapter seven. The fluidity of power is also exemplified in the empirical research which includes a brief examination of the Gypsy Traveller Media Advisory Group (GT MAG) in the findings in chapter nine. GT MAG is an example of a change in the direction of power, as it involves Gypsies and Travellers monitoring the press; rather than the usual case of media discourse allowing easier monitoring of Gypsies and Travellers.

The second main Foucaultian notion of power, analysed in the chapter, was that of the 'gaze' (1969). For the purposes of developing a theoretical framework in which to examine the empirical research findings, this is of great importance. In spite of critiques on the theory of the gaze (that it could be all encompassing – looking at surveillance of everyone in society – and that researching internalisation of the gaze is difficult) it provides useful concepts with which to explain how the actions of certain groups, for example Gypsies and Travellers, are monitored and it also provides theoretical links with discourse theories (these are examined in the following chapter).

Foucaultian explanations of the gaze demonstrate how surveillance in society works. It allows for discussion of surveillance as a tool of control, whether it is the overt type of surveillance or the covert, internalised, gaze. In the absence of internalising the gaze a

more overt type of control is used through heightened societal surveillance operationalised through and by discourse. The discourse element of this thesis' theoretical framework is discussed in the next chapter; so far the concentration has been analysis of surveillance through the gaze.

Therefore, although a variety of theories of power and control have been discussed throughout this chapter by way of explanation, it is the notion of the gaze which is most useful in the developing framework. Foucault's notion is not just transplanted wholesale into the analysis of the empirical research in chapter nine. Instead the idea of the gaze and its links with social norms (see chapter six) is used to try and understand the affect of discourse on Gypsies and Travellers. This helps to tackle the criticism that the notion of the gaze is all encompassing and could be applied to everything and everyone in society. Instead it is seen as a useful theoretical tool, to add to discourse theory and analysis of social norms, to examine the notion that discourse can be used as a tool to control Gypsies and Travellers.

However, Foucault's gaze is not used in isolation; it is part of a new theoretical framework mooted by this research. It is the examination of the gaze, in conjunction with discourse theory and methods, and with ideas on social norms, that provides a framework for discussion in chapter seven and allows analysis of the findings in chapter nine.

Chapter Five - Theories of Discourse

Introduction

The previous chapter discussed explanations of power and control and it specifically focused on Foucault's governmentality (1980 & 1994) and gaze (1977 and 1994).

Foucault described governmentality as a new type of power, which superseded sovereignty and discipline, that was made up of a complex system of apparatuses and knowledge. The gaze was defined, in its simplest form, in terms of the panopticon principle; but difficulties surrounding the internalisation of the gaze, and the problems of researching the invisible, were identified. Discourse was previously highlighted as an implicit manifestation of the gaze. In this chapter, discourse is examined more closely, but the links with control are maintained.

Firstly, definitions of discourse and language are discussed in the context of theories of control and power. Different methods of discourse analysis are then examined, culminating in an attempt to provide a typology of discourse that highlights the predominant studies in the housing field. Finally, media discourse, particularly in relation to Gypsies and Travellers, is reviewed to provide a context for analysis of the findings in chapter nine.

Foucault...point[s] out that what comes between ourselves and our experience is the grounds upon which we can act, speak and make sense of things. For Foucault, one of the most significant forces shaping our experiences is language. (Danaher *et al.* 2000: 31)

Language/Discourse is Power

Discourse can be a problematic, ambiguous term. So, it is important, that in this chapter, the terms discourse and language are discussed before moving on to look at how they are used as a tool of power and control.

Language is legislation, speech is its code. We do not see the power which is in speech because we forget that all speech is a classification, and that all classifications are oppressive...
(Barthes, 1977: 460)

Barthes succinctly describes language as power, in his lecture to the College de France. He also talks of discourse in the same way – indeed the terms are used interchangeably. Barthes explains that he does this, not because language and discourse are the same thing, but that they are inseparable.

It is not only... the words... which are subject to a system of controlled freedom, since we cannot combine them arbitrarily; it is the whole stratum of discourse which is fixed by a network of rules, constraints, oppressions, repressions, massive and blurred at the rhetorical level. Language flows out into discourse; discourse flows back into language...
(Barthes, 1977: 470)

It is important to note Barthes' view on language and discourse, their differences and yet their dependence upon one another, in linking theories of discourse and theories of control.

Barthes' patron at the College de France was Foucault and so when Barthes talked of power, it was in reference to the all pervasive, relational power; not the more traditional, zero-sum type of power. Eco (1986) reinforces this view that Barthes is talking about relational power:

In fact, Barthes is too subtle to ignore Foucault...; therefore he knows that power is not “one” and that, as it infiltrates a place where it is not felt at first, it is “plural”, legion, like demons.
(Eco, 1986: 240)

The main premise of Foucault’s work on discourse and language is that it is not reactive. Discourse does not just describe an action or thought; indeed, for Foucault, discourse is productive.

Language is capable of building up zones of meaning that serve as a stock of knowledge that individuals use in everyday life and which can be transmitted from generation to generation. These systems of meaning or discourse represent or describe the nature of the world or reality and become taken for granted. They tend to be seen as having independent, objective reality, which is above the subjectivity of individuals. This is partly because they are transmitted from generation to generation through socialisation and so people perceive that they are the reality of the world into which they are born.
(Clapham, 2002: 61)

Clapham went on to look at the bureaucratic discourse of housing management, by looking specifically at the Chartered Institute of Housing’s *Housing Management Standards Manual* and how it constructed the nature of housing management through its discourse (Saugeres and Clapham, 1999). This particular paper is discussed later on in the chapter.

The literature review on theories of control, for this chapter, examined Foucault’s ideas on the power of discourse, particularly the following works: *The Order of Things* (1966), *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972), *Discipline and Punish* (1977), *The History of Sexuality, Volume One, The Will to Knowledge* (1976) and *The History of Sexuality, Volume Three, The Care of the Self* (1984a). Foucault’s thinking on power does change over time and throughout his publications, indeed it would be remarkable if Foucault’s discourse were not open to historicisation, much as he would expect us to

historicise other discourse. Fairclough (1992) discusses the changes in Foucault's work on discourse:

In his earlier 'archaeological' work, the focus was on types of discourse ('discursive formations'...) as rules for constituting areas of knowledge. In his later 'genealogical studies, the emphasis shifted to relationships between knowledge and power. And in the work of Foucault's last years, the concern was 'ethics', 'how the individual is supposed to constitute himself as a moral subject of his own actions'...
(Fairclough, 1992: 39)

Historicisation is not the only factor that may occur in Foucault's writing. Foucault's own discourse on power and discourse analysis can be opened up to scrutiny. Are there textual silences in Foucault's discourse on discourse? At this point, the reader could ask the same question of this work, is it possible that the discourse in this thesis is neither ideological, nor subjective? What control function might the discourse in this research have? This discussion is raised here, not to put doubt on the motive behind this work, but to highlight the issue that research into discourse analysis is still itself part of a wider discourse. This wider discourse could be part of a mechanism of control and a tool of power.

However, Foucault's work on discourse and power is important. He specifically links discourse and surveillance, below:

The examination that places individuals in a field of surveillance also situates them in a network of writing; it engages them in a whole mass of documents that capture and fix them. The procedures of examination were accompanied at the same time by a system of intense registration and of documentary accumulation. A 'power of writing' was constituted as an essential part in the mechanisms of discipline.
(Foucault, 1977: 189)

It is helpful at this point to sum up and clarify what is meant by discourse and discourse analysis. King (2004) provides a definition:

Discourse theory goes further than merely an analysis of language, and has been developed into a thorough critique of ideology, hegemony and power relations. 'Discourse' can here be seen as a catch-all term for the social practices articulated through language.
(King, 2004: 3)

Jacobs (1999) clarifies the link between discourse theory and power:

...power conflicts are actualised through language and that specific discursive practices are the medium in which power is exercised and dominance maintained.
(Jacobs, 1999: 204)

Finally, Hastings (1999b) says that:

Post-structuralism, and Foucault's corpus in particular, are central to understanding what is at stake in the notion of discourse, particularly in terms of how language practices are thought to interact with other social practices. The key post-structuralist insight is that language constitutes or produces the concepts and categories we use to make sense of the world.
(Hastings, 1999b: 10)

Foucault (1999) also discusses the notion of gaining control over an issue in language as a precursor to gaining control over it in reality. He discusses the discourse of sex and says:

As if in order to gain mastery over it in reality, it had first been necessary to subjugate it at the level of language, control its free circulation in speech, expunge it from the things that were said, and extinguish the words that rendered it too visibly present.
(Foucault, 1999: 514)

This subjugation of 'sex' in language, in order to control it in reality, is interesting for the hypothesis of discourse as control in relation to Gypsies and Travellers. With regard to sex, Foucault was arguing that its presence in language heightened its presence in

reality. However, discourse conspired to hide sex in language through textual silence and therefore to hide it in reality. This thesis argues that the Gypsy/Traveller discourse, whilst it may hide the needs of Gypsies and Travellers (see chapter two), heightens the presence of their 'otherness' which makes it easier for them to be kept under the surveillant gaze of society and controlled.

Discourse has been examined, in this section, in a theoretical context, which has strong links to the analysis of power and control theories in the previous chapter. Next, it is necessary to look at the range of discourse analysis methods used, in a variety of studies, in order to frame the primary research, discussed in the methodology and chapter nine.

Methods of Discourse Analysis

There is a plethora of different discourse research methods to choose from, depending on the type of research being undertaken. Discourse Analysis is a popular type of research but it has faced criticisms:

...discourse is something everybody is talking about but without knowing with any certainty just what it is: in vogue and vague.
(Widdowson 1995: 158)

To avoid Widdowson's criticism of being 'in vogue and vague' it is important to clarify the different types of discourse analysis. Neuendorf's (2002) work provides a useful examination of the different methods and theories available under her title of 'content analysis'. She defines content analysis as '...the systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics'.

Neuendorf (2002: 4-8) in explaining what content analysis does, reveals a number of different types of analyses:

Summary of Discourse Methods

- Rhetorical analysis (emphasis is on how the message is presented, not what the message says)
- Narrative analysis (focuses on characters as carriers of the narrative)
- Discourse analysis (popular method for analysing public communication)
- Structuralist or Semiotic Analysis (focuses on deep structures and latent meanings)
- Interpretative analysis (focuses on the formation of a theory following coding and analysis of messages)
- Conversation analysis (empirical approach to analysing transcribed conversations)
- Critical analysis (emphasises the importance of culture in the analysis of media messages)
- Normative analysis (provides a checklist with which to examine histories – e.g. where a statement is seen as ethnocentric, rather than universally ‘true’)

Fig. 5: Summary of Discourse Methods

This thesis does not fully concur with Neuendorf’s typology of content analysis.

Through an extensive review of discourse literature, it seems that ‘discourse analysis’ is a wide term that is an umbrella to many facets and methodologies. So, discourse analysis is the umbrella – not content analysis. Content analysis is a facet of discourse analysis and not vice versa. Discourse analysis is not just applied to text or conversation, it also applies itself to body language. Indeed, the focus on the body is a message that recurs in a variety of Foucault’s work on power and discourse. In addition, the school of symbolic interactionism provides examples of messages that are part of discourse but do not belong to the written or spoken word.

There are many texts that attempt to explain discourse analysis, or variants thereof.

Some of the important works in the area of discourse analysis (and discourse analysis and disadvantage) include: Billig and Schegloff (1999) Fairclough (1992, 1995, 2001)

Fowler (1991) Jarworski and Coupland (1999) Reisigl and Wodak (2001) Riggins (1997) Schegloff (1987, 1997, 2002) Ten Have (2002) Van Dijk (1993,1999a, 1999b) Weber (1990) Widdowson (1995) Wodak and Meyer (2001). These works cover a broad range of discourse analysis. Jarworski and Coupland, for instance have edited a Discourse Reader, which includes a number of authors on different types of discourse analysis. Fairclough wrote numerous books, one of the most interesting was his work (1992) *Discourse and Social Change* where he looks at discourse as a social theory through examinations of constructing social relations of the self. In this work, Fairclough also looks at Foucault and discourse analysis. He is quick to point out the differences between Foucault's work and his own. Fairclough claims that Foucault takes quite an abstract approach to discourse, his was more related to social theories of discourse, rather than any robust analysis. However, Fairclough also states that some of Foucault's work was specific on different types of discourse, for instance, medicine and psychiatry being two of the more prominent fields. Whilst Foucault is important in understanding the link between discourse and power; Fairclough's approach in looking to embed the discourse analysis in something, so that it is not abstract, is useful. This research embeds discourse analysis in text, for instance media articles, and then looks at how that discourse is interpreted into controlling actions. This should avoid Widdowson's (1995) accusations of being 'in vogue and vague'.

Schegloff is a prolific writer on the subject of discourse analysis, and he favours a type of analysis called conversation analysis, indeed he was its creator. Billig and Schegloff (1999) discuss the usefulness of conversation analysis (which is supposed to be empirically sound and is embedded in the text of participants in their own language).

However, Billig denies Schegloff's claims and points to its flaws. In his reply Schegloff robustly supports conversation analysis and criticises Billig's interpretation of it. Some theorists see Conversation Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as two opposite sides of a coin. However, others, such as Schegloff (1998), examine CDA more carefully and they suggest that the two analyses are part of the same. Schegloff argues that CDA:

...would require a conversation analysis to be carried out first, 'otherwise the critical analysis will not "bind" to the data, and risks ending up merely ideological'.

(Schegloff quoted in Meyer, 2001: 17)

Also in the corner of conversation analysis is Ten Have (2002) who has written *Doing Conversation Analysis*, which deals with application and methodology. Wodak (2001) favours CDA and, with Meyer, has written *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. Wodak has also looked at discourse and race in her work with Reisigl, which is covered further on.

Another type of discourse analysis is content analysis, and this is Weber's work (1990). It is embedded in text, but it seems to be more of a tool of analysis, rather than being encompassed by theory. Content analysis is an empirical approach to discourse analysis. For instance, to see how high up the agenda Gypsies and Travellers were in a political debate, one could look through relevant texts and count the amount of times these two words were mentioned. It is a useful tool of examination and fits well with two pieces of work.

Firstly, Stubbs (1996) *Text and Corpus Analysis*, appears to rely on Content Analysis. His work was heavily embedded in text and particularly looked at computer analysis of discourse in text. Computer analysis has come a long way since Stubbs' work and there are a variety of computer packages that enable coding and analysis of texts. However, Stubbs work is important in explaining the necessity of computer assisted studies of texts as a 'scientific' approach to a subject which can be accused of being subjective and vague, this was discussed in the methodology.

Secondly, Smith and Taffler (1999) wrote a research paper in the *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal* entitled 'The chairman's statement: A content analysis of discretionary narrative disclosures'. Smith and Taffler were concerned with the content of the chairman's statement in the annual report – specifically they wanted to find out whether the narrative was indicative of a failing company. Failed manufacturing and construction companies, listed on the London Stock Exchange, were matched on a paired basis with healthy companies (pg 629). The z-score model was used to establish the health, or lack thereof, of companies. The z-score model is a statistical tool, which combines various ratios; and in this case was used as a predictive model of bankruptcy. A pilot survey was run, and from the preliminary analysis of the pilot chairmen's narratives a dictionary was established. It was devised by using a combination of computer packages, including the Oxford Concordance Programme (as did Stubbs, 1996), and by noting the frequency with which words, phrases and themes were used. The dictionary was then used as part of the analysis of statements in the main part of the research. Smith and Taffler's content analysis provides defensible research in both the sampling and analysis stages. The sampling of statements is defended through the use

of London Stock Exchange listed companies in combination with the z-score model to establish failure of a company. The use of computer packages to count the frequency of word use in the analysis is also a robust mechanism. However, it is necessary to point out that the research methods used could still hide subjectivity. For instance, just because a piece of research uses so-called objective, positivist methods, does not mean that it is automatically beyond examination for a subjective stance. Also, content analysis could be seen as applying a quantitative type of analysis to a qualitative area – narrative.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) seems to be the most predominant method in the studies analysed in this chapter. However, there is an element of sharing amongst the methods. CDA has context as a core element, it does not just count the occurrence of words, or analyse particular phrases, without looking at the context in which the language is used. However, CDA does need an anchor; it needs to examine particular texts as examples (Schegloff, 2001). Therefore, CDA may consist of a part content analysis, or conversation analysis, but it then examines the findings in a wider context. This is the approach taken in this thesis, and in a variety of studies examined, below.

Fowler (1991) is a key writer on discourse analysis, but he is also a specialist in media discourse analysis theory and methods. Towards the end of this chapter is a section which actually examines some media discourse in order to contextualise the findings in chapter nine. This examination of Fowler's theories of media discourse analysis provides a background for that. Fowler (1991) specifically looks at discourse in the news. He refers to news as practice:

Thus news is a *practice*: a discourse which, far from neutrally reflecting social reality and empirical facts, intervenes in what Berger and Luckman call 'the social construction of reality'.

(Fowler, 1991: 2)

This linguistic construction of social reality is a powerful tool in creating categories and sorting them into 'conflictual opposites' (Fowler, 1991: 6). With the example of Gypsies and Travellers, the news constructs Gypsies and the settled community as conflictual opposites. After a while this construction of reality sees Gypsies as embodying the enemy of the 'normal' settled community.

Fowler goes on to look at values in the news and he refers (pages 13-14) to a list of contextual factors formulated by Galtung and Ruge (1973). There are twelve factors in the list of news values. The concept for Galtung and Ruge, is that the more values there are in an event, the more newsworthy it is. For the purposes of this discussion though, the factor 'reference to persons' is important. Fowler analyses this:

F11, 'reference to persons', or 'personalization', is also a socially constructed value. Its application varies a good deal from paper to paper (thus underlining its artificiality), being most striking in the popular Press. Presumably its functions are to promote straightforward feelings of identification, empathy or disapproval; to effect a metonymic simplification of complex historical and institutional processes (Arthur Scargill 'stands for' a whole set of alleged negative values in trades unionism; WPC Yvonne Fletcher, shot dead from a window of the Libyan Embassy while policing a demonstration, is made to stand for 'Britain's moral superiority over Libya')...

(Fowler, 1991: 15)

There is a possible extension to Fowler's analysis of Factor F11, in order to understand the treatment of Gypsies and Travellers in the press. What do Gypsies and Travellers 'stand for'? This is examined in chapter nine, which analyses media reporting and public speech on Gypsies and Travellers. However, it is reasonable to state here that the

findings from the media analysis on Gypsies and Travellers sees them as 'standing for' a cost to the taxpayer, causing a mess and being 'other' to the settled community. This case of the Gypsies and Travellers as standing for 'otherness', links again with the tool of control through Bauman's theory of proximity (1989), which is discussed in the next chapter. Fowler also discusses this in his analysis of Galtung and Ruge's Factor 4:

F4 "meaningfulness". 'Meaningfulness' with its subsections 'cultural proximity' and 'relevance', is founded on an ideology of ethnocentrism, or what I prefer to call, more inclusively, homocentrism: a preoccupation with countries, societies and individuals perceived to be like oneself; with defining 'groups' felt to be unlike oneself, alien, threatening. Presupposed is what several media specialists have helpfully identified as a consensual model of society. This is the theory that a society shares all its interests in common, without division or variation... But although consensus sounds like a liberal, humane and generous theory of social action and attitudes, in practice it breeds divisive and alienating attitudes, a dichotomous version of 'us' and 'them'.
(Fowler, 1991: 16).

This theory of consensus and consensual norms is discussed in detail in chapter six, where there is an examination of Elster's (1989) theories on social norms. The other link between Fowler's analysis of media reporting and social norms, is with Cohen's work on the 'folk devil'. An examination of the Gypsy and Traveller as folk devil is included further on.

Finally, though, Fowler emphasises the ramifications of stereotyping in the press, it is not just a one-off occurrence but "...is in fact a reciprocal, dialectical process in which stereotypes are the currency of negotiation" (Fowler, 1991: 17). In other words, when an event is reported in the news it reinforces the stereotype; and the fact that a stereotype is part of the event makes it more newsworthy. The importance of including Fowler here is twofold – he is an expert in the field of news media discourse and is cited by many other authors. Also, he appears to be a proponent of critical discourse analysis

(although he calls it critical linguistics), but his examination of tools such as Galtung and Ruge's (1973) list of factors means that his work may be more easy to embed into real texts – for example, media reports. Indeed he uses excerpts from media reports, at points, to exemplify his theories.

Pertinent to this thesis' focus on Gypsies and Travellers, several of the studies examined in the literature review looked specifically at discourse and race, or discourse and exclusion. Van Dijk (1993) for example, discusses how racism is reproduced. He reviews discourse analysis on both a micro and macro scale for this, stating that:

However, at a more global level of analysis we may also distinguish structural "orders of discourse", that is, complex, societal, political, or cultural *systems* of text and talk.

(Van Dijk, 1993: 122)

This message from Van Dijk, endorses the emphasis placed on the Foucaultian explanation of power, which was discussed earlier in relation to Lukes' three-dimensional view.

Reisigl and Wodak (2001) also looked at discourse and race. Specifically they analysed post-war anti-semitism in Austria. Part of the methodology of their research was to code discourse about Waldheim (former secretary of the UN who ran for Austrian presidency in 1986, but stories about his involvement in the war and his anti-semitic stance were uncovered by the press). The researchers triangulated their method by matching Austrian media discourse with other media, such as the U.S. media, in order to establish a balanced approach. Reisigl and Wodak's research serves as a useful

example of coding information in the media and it was discussed in terms of methodology in chapter three.

Riggins (1997) includes papers from a variety of authors on a number of subjects. One of the papers, pertinent to this research, was Helleiner and Szuchewycz (1997) *Discourses of Exclusion: The Irish Press and the Travelling People*. They raise an interesting point:

In the case of Ireland, a focus on elite discourse is important because discrimination and antagonism toward Travellers is commonly attributed to an unenlightened public or, more specifically, to the working class. By contrast, our analysis aims to demonstrate how the powerful discourses of the press contribute to the creation of an ideological context that legitimates coercive state policies, everyday discriminatory practices, and ultimately violence against Travellers.

(Helleiner and Szuchewycz, 1997: 112)

Helleiner and Szuchewycz's work is important as they found that discriminatory discourse is not just internalised in the 'working class' but by 'society' as a whole. Also, it does not just end with the discursive practice, but discourse continues on to sanction political and sometimes physical action against Gypsies and Travellers.

Helleiner and Szuchewycz incorporate issues of normality and 'otherness'. They examine a particular article from 1967, which was an editorial in the Connacht Tribune containing conflicting discourses (see examination of Stenson and Watt, 1999, later in the chapter). This article was urging sympathy towards Travellers whilst at the same time propagating negative images and stereotypes. However, with regard to 'otherness' the editorial said:

...the wretched families among the itinerants are not people who rejected the normal pattern of community life...They were born and reared to the wretched

life they lead...They never had a chance to sample the normal pattern of living and to develop a human dignity.

(*Connacht Tribune* editorial, 1967, in Helleiner and Szuchewycz, 1997: 115)

The main focus of the editorial was to pity the Travellers and their 'otherness'. Indeed Helleiner and Szuchewycz say that the editorial was written in *Itinerant Settlement Week in Galway City*. This settlement discourse had two outcomes, one of upsetting the 'settled community' and the other of marking the Travellers out as 'other'. Whilst the discourse may be slightly different in articles today, to the 1967 editorial, the assumptions and stereotypes would not be dissimilar. If anything, the focus may have moved away from one of sympathy to one of discrimination and racism. These issues are explored further in the findings in chapter nine; but they are also examined in chapter eight which discusses the different systems of discourse, of legislation, policy and practice. Settlement and pressure to settle are two of the methods by which Gypsy and Travellers' 'otherness' have been controlled; but even when settled they are still seen as 'other' to some extent.

Having examined the different approaches to discourse analysis research, with particular reference to examples of race and discourse, and latterly, Gypsies and Travellers and discourse; the chapter will now move on to review the use of discourse analysis in the field of housing.

Discourse Analysis and Housing Studies

Having looked at discourse analysis, generally, it is important to examine its applicability in the field of housing studies. There are other research fields that contain

Gypsy and Traveller work, notably law, health and education; but housing, as a field, is a valid and sensible base within which to build this thesis. In order to analyse the study area of discourse analysis and housing, a number of papers are examined.

Marston (2000) links ideology and discourse analysis, and he argues that positivist approaches to policy analysis have not helped to address the way in which language constructs identities. In his examination of housing policy in Queensland he found a rise in the use of the customer metaphor, and he says:

Metaphor and word meaning have direct relevance to the theme of policy legitimation and identity construction.
(Marston, 2000: 355)

The use of metaphor and identity construction is discussed further on in this chapter, and again in analysis of the findings in chapter nine. The metaphor of 'Gypsy' and 'Traveller' is a powerful tool in constructing the social identity of Gypsies and Travellers.

Marston (2002) uses critical discourse analysis to examine housing policy, by way of two methodologies. Firstly, he examines written policy texts and secondly he interviews housing professionals in Queensland, Australia. Marston hits on an important note in organising discourse analysis:

During data collection I was conscious of the need to ensure a temporal dimension was included in the study, particularly since policy texts are, in one part at least, documents drawing on historical discourses. Historicizing discourse is an important dimension of Foucault's approach to discourse, knowledge and power.
(Marston, 2002: 86)

This is an important point. Using housing discourse as an example, the changes can be seen, over time, in the discourse of practitioners. This ranges from paternalism, to laissez faire, and then some may argue is heading towards a paternalistic housing discourse again (see Power, 1987). Haworth and Manzi (1999) also examine discourse changing over time. They particularly look at the judgemental discourse which accompanies changes in local housing management practices. They say that:

...social policy discourse in Britain is the willingness to introduce an explicitly moral dimension into analyses of problems, with the result that increasingly punitive strategies are adopted. For example, current debates on welfare reform focus attention upon concepts of 'dependency', 'individual responsibility' and the importance of the work ethic whilst proposing reduced state support, in the guise of increased choice, for those failing to conform to approved standards of behaviour.

(Haworth and Manzi, 1999: 153)

The terms that Haworth and Manzi refer to, such as 'individual responsibility' do change over time, depending on the political context. Various terms become vogue for a political term and others fall away. What Haworth and Manzi are saying though, is that it is not just the terms that change, but the action that goes with the discourse – hence the discourse of 'individual responsibility' signifies a potential drop in welfare provision.

By transferring this historicisation of discourse across to Gypsies and Travellers it is possible to see that where language used about other Black and Minority Ethnic groups is no longer socially acceptable, it cannot be said to be true of Gypsies and Travellers specifically. In other words the BME discourse has moved on, and discriminatory discourse is less acceptable in general; yet Gypsy and Traveller discourse remains in a rut, where discriminatory terms are often used.

Marston (2002) also highlights how a moral discourse was used to frame a policy problem. He specifically speaks of the position of 'bad tenant' in the housing moral discourse and he refers to a contrast between 'us' and 'them' (pg 86). In his explanation of the 'bad tenant' position Marston says this is used (in the policy setting) to silence dissent. For example, to be positioned against a policy set to deal with 'bad tenants' demonstrates an alignment with the 'bad tenants'. This moral discourse of 'us' and 'them' can again be seen in the Gypsy and Traveller discourse in the media and in public speech; chapter nine provides coverage on this. The discourse sets out to position Gypsies and Travellers as 'other' in order to distance the speaker or writer from negative characteristics associated with Gypsies and Travellers. This work by Marston, looking at the 'bad tenant', links in well with Cohen's work (1980) on folk devils and moral panics. Gypsies have been made folk devils, consistently from about the 16th Century (Hawes and Perez, 1996).

Marston (2004) examines managerialism and public housing reform in Australia. This particular paper by Marston provides a further theoretical link between the fluidity of power and control, and discourse analysis. He says:

Resistance is an important social and political process; it is a force that illustrates micro-rebellions against dominating discourses at the organisational and societal level. The attention to resistance and the conception of subject positions as a site of struggle helps us to focus on the way that power takes on a discursive form. There is a pressing need to understand the way social identities and the attendant ideologies of legitimacy and entitlement are constructed in welfare discourses and how these relate to social relations of power.
(Marston, 2004: 7)

The notion of the fluidity of control and the resistance of discourse is an important concept to discuss here. The discussion in chapter four, on Foucault and the third-dimensional view of power, made clear that control is not a simple action of A making B do something. It is much more subtle than that, and is dependent on perceptions and relationships between actors. This thesis however, looks at the notion that discourse is a tool of control, and it results in discriminatory actions over Gypsies and Travellers. Marston (2004) provides an important reminder of the complexity of relationships in discourse. Indeed, this is discussed further on, towards the very end of this chapter.

Although this thesis moots the notion of, what may be seen as quite a simplistic relationship between discourse and control over Gypsies and Travellers; there is evidence of resistance to dominant discourses, as suggested by Marston (2004). At the end of the section on the media, later in the chapter, there is a brief discussion on the newly formed Gypsy Traveller Media Advisory Group (GT MAG), which was set up specifically to resist dominant discourse. The GT MAG is a new group and it has only recently started to provide a vehicle for such a resistance. As such, it is suggested that the discourse and control over Gypsies and Travellers currently demonstrates a more simplistic dominance of society over the travelling minority. However, it will be interesting to see whether organisations such as GT MAG help Gypsies and Travellers to resist the dominant discourse in the future.

This analysis of discourse theory and housing papers, now turns to look at work which concentrates more on the theory side of the discussion. As discourse analysis is still a relatively new application in the housing research field, the importance of theoretical

discussion cannot be underestimated. Saugeres (1999) examines the social construction of housing management discourse. She focuses on the notion that although there is talk of objectivity, the values that housing staff reproduce are indeed subjective. Linked to this subjectivity is the notion that “staff are not passive recipients of organisational rules and socialisation, but both reproduce and resist dominant ideologies through everyday discourse and practice” (pg 93). Saugeres goes on to argue that:

... first, social life is constructed by people through interaction. Thus, the social world is not an objective reality existing outside the experiences of social actors. Secondly, language is crucial to the social construction of reality, as it is through language that people construct their views of the world and their place in it. Thirdly, meaning is created through interaction and language.
(Saugeres, 1999: 94)

Saugeres looks at bureaucracies first and then focuses on housing organisations. She states that there is an inherent tension in housing management discourse (pg 98-99), namely that housing officers are rule-bound and objective on the one hand, but on the other hand they are required to be reflexive and show discretion and personal understanding of individual housing situations. This article shares some common concepts, of a shared practitioner discourse, with the work of Lipsky (1980). It also seems to have strong theoretical links with Structuration theory and the work of Giddens (1984).

Watt and Jacobs' (2000) paper, like Saugeres', is also strong on the theoretical discussion of why discourse analysis is important to housing; also it provides some good examples of analysis using discourse as a practical method. They examine the discourses of social exclusion by drawing on Ruth Levitas' work (1998) and applying her categorisation of exclusion discourses to the Social Exclusion Unit's report (1998)

Bringing Britain Together: A National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal. Levitas (1988: 7) proposes three exclusionary discourses (1) Redistributionist (RED) (2) Social integrationist (SID) and (3) Moral underclass (MUD). Watt and Jacobs select excerpts of the Social Exclusion Unit's report and then try to assess which is the dominant discourse of the report. This piece of research was discussed in chapter three, which looked at the methodology.

Saugeres and Clapham (1999) conduct a similar piece of research embedding discourse analysis in a real housing text. In this paper the Chartered Institute of Housing's *Housing Management Standards Manual* is examined. Saugeres and Clapham find that there are four themes which demonstrate the use of discourse to construct the nature of a housing management task (pg 257). They say that:

Professional discourse, as in the Manual, must be seen in the light of power relations between the profession and its clients and in terms of boundary disputes between professions. Discursive practice both constructs and reflects these relationships.
(Saugeres and Clapham, 1999: 260)

Saugeres and Clapham also highlight contradictions in the discourse in the Manual. On the one hand the Chartered Institute of Housing advises that tenants should be consulted and involved, but on the other they advocate a paternalistic role for housing managers in exercising social control over tenants – particularly in relation to estate management (pg 266). This advocacy of social control is also evident in housing policies governing the management of caravan sites. As is discussed in chapter eight of this thesis, many site policies weigh in heavily with the responsibilities of the Gypsies and Travellers, but there is very little on the rights that they are owed.

A similar piece of research to Watt and Jacobs (2000) and Saugeres and Clapham (1999) is the work of Hastings (1998) who used discourse analysis:

...to explore how the linguistic resources of a key British urban policy document, *New Life for Urban Scotland*, are involved with reproducing and sustaining a particular 'knowledge' or discourse about the causes of urban decline"
(Hastings, 1998: 191).

The examination of this key political text highlighted themes and sentences in order to establish what the paper was saying things 'stood for'. An example is where Hastings refers to a sentence in the paper that says that 'nowhere was this more apparent [than Glasgow]'. This made Glasgow out to be an extreme case and she compared this with other texts that described the problems in Glasgow as typical rather than extreme (Hastings, 1998: 200).

Hastings, in another paper (1999a), looks at 'transformative relationships' as part of an exercise of power. She does this by looking at working partnerships and interviewing those involved in the partnership on what problems were identified that caused the partnership to develop to resolve them; and asking them to talk about their own theories on those problems. Hastings argues that transformation takes place through discourse, when one partner may concede an issue and change their views as a result of the discussion with another member of the partnership. However, she argues that transformation is not a simple exercise of power:

Transformation can also be understood to have at least two dynamics. First, there is the one-sided process highlighted already, which can be called 'uni-directional transformation in which "one or more partners struggle to modify or change another partner in their own image" (Hastings, 1996, p. 263). Secondly there is the contrasting dimension of 'mutual transformation' which describes: "a less coercive, antagonistic or competitive set of interactions or relationship in

which each partner might be willing to accept the need to change themselves, as well as aspire to change others” (Hastings, 1996, p. 263).
(Hastings, 1999a: 92)

In relation to the transformative relationship that may occur within the discourse between the travelling and settled communities, the uni-directional approach seems to be the most resonant. There is certainly not a ‘partnership’ feel between these two communities so it may not be fair to try and apply Hasting’s theories to the situation. However, her summary on uni-directional transformation does seem to fit the position of the controlling discourse of the settled community over Gypsies and Travellers. The discourse in the media, and in public speech, marks the Gypsies and Travellers out as ‘other’ and compares their lifestyles to what is considered ‘normal’. This certainly seems to be about trying to make the Gypsies and Travellers conform to societal norms, rather than allowing a consensual meeting of opinions between the two communities.

Partnerships are key to research by Atkinson (1999). However, Atkinson doesn’t focus on the transformational aspects of discourse between members of the partnership. In a critique of Atkinson’s work, Jacobs explains that he looks at the context of partnerships and states that although the perceived wisdom is that partnerships are dynamic and enabling, the actual discourse of the partnerships “represent[s] an attempt to initiate, structure and impose a set of relationships concordant with overall government ideological objectives” (Jacobs, 1999: 204). In other words Atkinson is suggesting that partnerships reproduce existing objectives, rather than change and innovate.

Darcy (1999), like Watt and Jacobs (1998) and Hastings (1998) looks at the impact of key housing policy documents on community housing policy in Australia. Darcy states

that he employs the technique of 'textually oriented discourse analysis' (pg 13). This technique has similar objectives to many of the pieces of housing research analysed in this part of the chapter and indeed it is similar to the coding of media reporting employed in this methodology. It is the impact of the discourse on future action that is the common link between many of the papers in this literature and with this research.

In a similar vein Stenson and Watt (1999) examine texts from a local authority for competing discourse. They say on the one hand there can be a universalistic approach to welfare provision and policy making, but on the other hand there is the issue of tight definitions and targets which pull away from a universalistic approach.

We stress the unevenness of change at local level and that tensions between logics of government can be manifest in the same texts for dominance.
(Stenson and Watt, 1999: 192)

Stenson and Watt's paper also includes an understanding of governmental discourse, one which links in with the social constructionist element discussed earlier in this chapter:

Hence, in the governmental context, discourses are not seen simply as representations or reflections of external events of 'problems' confronting governing agencies. Rather they create their own 'regimes of truth', the acceptable formulation of problems and also solutions to those problems (Foucault, 1980). Discourses create, *inter alia*, a cast list of political and economic agents which government must consider, objects of concern, agendas for action, preferred narratives for making sense of the origins of current situations, conceptual and geographical spaces within which problems of government are made recognisable. They also create a series of absent agenda, agents, objects of concern and counter-narratives, which are mobilised *out* of the discursive picture.
(Stenson and Watt, 1999: 192)

These counter-narratives, which are mobilised out of the discursive picture, tie in with the idea of textual silences, which are discussed in more detail in relation to Huckin's

(2002) work. Conflicting narratives and textual silences are an important part of critical discourse analysis and silences are vital to the context of the issue, rather than just focusing too closely to the text. Textual silences are problematic, in that there may be an issue of subjectivity that is impossible to prove or disprove. However, there are links to the findings in chapter nine, for both narrative conflict and textual silences. For instance, the narrative conflict in the media reports on Gypsies and Travellers includes examples of an overall piece being positive in their language towards Gypsies and Travellers and yet quotes from local councillors may include racist or discriminatory comments. The element of textual silence is evident in the lack of 'positive' reports in the media – particularly the local press – compared with the majority of 'negative' reports linking Gypsies and Travellers with 'mess' and 'cost'.

A further paper by Hastings (2000) looks specifically at what discourse analysis offers housing studies. This paper is purposefully theoretical and does not aim to provide a robust analysis of the mechanisms available. It is useful at this stage in the chapter as a method of summing up the literature so far on discourse analysis and housing studies.

Hastings proposes three challenges that discourse analysis offers:

First, and crucially, a discourse perspective implies an epistemological break with positivism... Related to this, the second challenge proposed by discourse analysis is that it allows housing questions to be explored from non-traditional disciplinary perspectives... Third, the engagement with discourse analysis has provided the means to investigate new empirical territory within the housing field.

(Hastings, 2000: 132)

The third issue, raised by Hastings, is a salient point for this research. It would not necessarily be possible to examine what people thought about Gypsies and Travellers, through traditional, positivist, methodologies. Discourse analysis is not only a new

theory and methodology to housing studies, but it allows for different housing areas to be studied that were not possible to study before.

Hastings (2000) maintains that many housing researchers have focused on 'texts rather than talk'. She states that researchers examine official policy documents, largely ignoring background memos and unpublished documents. At the time Hastings' paper was published this was true, but the paper by Marston (2002) discussed earlier, surely defies that claim now. Hastings also highlights the importance of looking beyond texts, to conversations. One example she refers to is Gurney (1999) who talks to residents in a particular area (this is discussed further on). However, as Hastings makes clear, this is not pure conversation analysis as there is an interview setting, with questions from the researcher. One of the most important parts of Hastings' article is tackling the use of discourse analysis. She explains that discourse analysis is not about examining words or texts for the sake of analysing language use. Instead, the point of discourse analysis is to show us power displays, or explanations of social interaction, that were not previously known before discourse analysis was used. This is a key concept in this research into the notion of discourse as a tool to control Gypsies and Travellers.

Gurney (1999) referred to a small-scale study in St George, Bristol. In the analysis of the survey he was able to include a table (pg 1711) of 'some common housing tenure aphorisms'. These aphorisms were recorded verbatim on more than twelve separate occasions, each occasion in a different household. Whilst there is not a quantitative robustness to such data, it is not merely anecdotal – the fact that statements are repeated

on a number of occasions by different people, gives validity to the research and a real possibility of the application of these statements to explain wider social issues.

Lack of robust analysis is one of the most significant criticisms of discourse analysis, for instance, Widdowson's (1995) criticism of being 'in vogue and vague'. Coolen, Kempen and Ozaki (2002) examined experiences and meanings of dwellings. Their paper was a workshop summary, which looked at the research methods used in the area of housing studies. The summary reflected on qualitative and quantitative research – an example of the former was the use of verbal accounts and narratives. However, Coolen, Kempen and Ozaki voiced concerns over the validity of samples and findings and suggested that the way forward was to make use of a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. It is difficult to reconcile quantitative analysis and discourse analysis. Discourse analysis seems to be firmly ensconced in the qualitative approach. However there have been quantitative approaches to discourse analysis. An example of such an approach was by Smith and Taffler (1999), discussed earlier. No doubt Coolen, Kempen and Ozaki would be interested to read Smith and Taffler to see a quantitative analysis applied to text, but they may have been disappointed that there was no example in the housing studies field. The findings of this thesis, in chapter nine, contain an element of quantitative analysis. Findings include numerical representation of the quantity of nodes with different characteristics; the information is presented in tabular or chart format by way of summary in many of the findings.

Another important point to note, which was discussed earlier, is that discourse analysis is not just the analysis of the written or spoken word, it also includes body language and

what is not said. Silence is an important element in discourse analysis, but it is also a difficult area. It is a subjective issue and one that may be open to the criticism that has been discussed earlier – lack of robust analysis. Huckin (2002) examines textual silence and the discourse of homelessness. He devises an interesting taxonomy of silences; these include speech-act silences, presuppositional silences, discreet silences, genre-based silences and finally manipulative silences. Manipulative silences are the focus of Huckin's paper. He focuses on media reporting of homelessness in the U.S. and uses the Lexis-Nexis database as the sample frame. This database also forms the sample frame for the analysis of media reporting on Gypsies and Travellers – this is detailed in chapter three. On manipulative silences, Huckin states that:

Journalism can be equally manipulative. In a pioneering discussion of manipulative silences, Van Dijk (1986) notes that 'the ideological nature of discourse in general, and of news discourse in particular, is often defined by the unsaid. Information that could (or should) have been given is selectively left out'.

(Huckin, 2002: 352)

Huckin's work is important, but it must be approached with caution because of the potential lack of objectivity and analysis. Huckin's paper is different to some others; some textual silence research examines a document and discusses words or phrases that the writer feels are missing from the document, and thus creating a textual silence. This is the area of textual silence which does not sit well in a robust analytical piece of research, because of its opaque subjectivity. Huckin, on the other hand, uses a tool of searching texts, the Lexis-Nexis database, and he examines silences in the whole discourse of media texts. This is, perhaps, more easy to defend, as the researcher is not looking for words that should be in a text, but texts that should be in a media discourse; however there are still issues of subjectivity.

Whilst the methodology of Huckin (2002), and other textual silence researchers, must be approached with caution, the theoretical argument for this body of research is strong.

Indeed Foucault (1999) writes:

Silence itself – the things one declines to say, or is forbidden to name, the discretion that is required between different speakers – is less the absolute limit of discourse, the other side from which it is separated by a strict boundary, than an element that functions alongside the things said, with them and in relation to them within over-all strategies. There is no binary division to be made between what one says and what one does not say; we must try to determine the different ways of not saying such things, how those who can and those who cannot speak of them are distributed, which type of discourse is authorized, or which form of discretion is required in either case. There is not one but many silences, and they are an integral part of the strategies that underlie and permeate discourse. (Foucault, 1999: 518)

Again, this quotation from Foucault is in relation to his discussion on the discourse of sex, but his emphasis on the importance of what is not said is equally important when examining textual silences in housing research.

Discourse Analysis and Gypsies & Travellers

During the literature review on discourse analysis and on Gypsies and Travellers, there was a dearth of information on research which looked at applying discourse analysis to the issues of Gypsies and Travellers. There are two Eastern European examples which will be examined later, but only a small number of pieces of work on discourse analysis of Gypsies and Travellers emerged in England. Holloway (2002) examines this, but she applies the analysis of discourse to the writings about Gypsies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. She refers to a ‘fluidity of otherness’ in the discursive construction of the Gypsy:

First, it shows that the meaning of the category Gypsy/gipsy was far from stable in the late 19th century and early 20th century. For example, taking national-level debates...highlighted the contemporaneous but contradictory meaning attributed to Gypsies by the romantic and reformist movements: whereas romantic writers and gypsologists elevated Gypsies to the status of noble savages living in harmony with nature, reformists were more likely to label them as a deviant and criminal minority.
(Holloway, 2002: 711)

This is still true today and the conflict of 'true/real' Gypsy as the good romanticised notion, versus 'fake' Gypsy/Traveller demonised as folk-devil is still relevant in contemporary discourse, both in the media and elsewhere.

Turner (2000) looks at discourse and Gypsies and Travellers and he examines more contemporary political discourse as well as analysing a small selection of press articles.

He quotes Jack Straw:

Jack Straw believes that many Travellers 'go burgling, thieving, breaking into vehicles, causing all kinds of trouble, including defecating in the doorways of firms'. They are 'masquerading as law-abiding Gypsies, when many are not'.
(Turner, 2000: 68)

Turner draws comparisons with other ethnic groups, particularly 'migrants'. Such comparisons are also examined in this chapter, in order to contextualise the media discourse on Gypsies and Travellers, and it includes reference to the discourse on asylum seekers where comparisons can be drawn. Again, the issue of 'true' and 'fake' Gypsy becomes apparent. Straw seemed to think that he could tell who a 'real' Gypsy was and that he established that most Gypsies were not 'real' but instead 'masquerading'. Turner also, briefly, examined the press for examples of discriminatory discourse and found a variety of articles which reflected a negative image of Gypsies and Travellers. It is difficult to know how and why each article was

chosen, as the methodology is not clear in Turner's work. However, there is certainly a demonstration of negative discourse in the press. Finally, he looks at the issue of 'conformity versus identity' and says:

Paradoxically, Travellers who move into houses – where integration into settled society seems most complete – are the most isolated of all. Isolated in the environment they are in, because they are different and seen to be different, isolated because they are not with their family and kin.
(Turner, 2000: 76)

This is reflected in a variety of ways, for example Niner's (2003) research includes statements from Gypsies and Travellers which resonate with this sentiment. It is also reflected in the discussion on the gaze in chapter four. Although the gaze, from an outsider's perspective, seems to have been internalised by the settled Traveller, there is still a secret part of themselves which has not internalised the 'gaze' and will remain independent from settled norms.

Turner (2002) examines the portrayal of Gypsies and Travellers by discourse in the Houses of Parliament, particularly the House of Commons. He states that the language used in Parliament is indicative of the esteem in which a particular group is held by politicians and policy makers. Turner refers to a parliamentary debate on 'the problem of Gypsies' raised by Ann Widdecombe. The discussion on Gypsies had followed on from a speech about dangerous dogs.

'Even where they are not directly responsible for assaults on the population, the behaviour of itinerants is a problem. Dogs and cats regularly disappear from nearby areas to these encampments'. Widdecombe's comments paid heed to the existence of a social hierarchy, even within the dog world: 'My distinguished predecessor, Sir John Wells, lost a pair of much-loved and valuable dogs'. The police were not interested; the local authority was not interested. Luckily, an 'alert constituent', walking past an encampment, 'noticed two dogs that were cleaner and fitter not only than the other dogs but the occupants'.

Even extracted from the substantive points raised in the debate, the terms used are significant. Both dangerous dogs and Gypsies need ‘control’; both are ‘problems’.

Miss Widdecombe was very explicit about the need for ‘control’. It was mentioned by her several times. Indeed, the British way of life itself was threatened. She closed her speech by arguing that there was a need to find a means of ‘controlling the menace before it becomes a greater one, when it will no longer be so easy to bring it within the laws that apply to the rest of civilised Britain’.

(Turner, 2002: 7-8)

Turner discusses the language used by Widdecombe in the context of a discussion on Gypsies and Travellers as ‘criminal by nature’. Turner’s (2002) paper is particularly useful to this research in identifying themes in political discourse. These themes are summarised in figure six, below, as a reference point for the examination of discursive trends outlined in the findings in chapter nine.

Political Discourse Themes

- Criminal by nature
- Outside the community
- Menace
- Dirty
- Dishonest
- Immoral and amoral
- Nomadic
- ‘real’ and ‘fake’

Fig. 6: Themes outlined by Turner 2002.

Before summarising the different discourse theories and methods, there are two final papers from Czechoslovakia and Slovenia, and one British paper analysing the reaction to Czech and Slovak Romani in the British press, that are important in this discussion; mainly because they concentrate on representation of Gypsies in the media. Erjavec (2001) demonstrates how discriminatory discourse is ‘normalised’ in the Slovenian media:

The syntactic structure of discriminatory discourse offered the readers categories which differed very little: the headline and the lead constructed a closed interpretation of the situation and the rest of the news report strengthened, legitimated and naturalized this interpretation especially with its use of evaluation. In order to create a coherent meaning of the news text, journalists first reduced the definition of the situation to only one event, which presented the majority population in a positive light. To construct only one, natural dominant interpretation of the ethnic discrimination they selectively (mis)used information, used discourse of difference with colonization of common-sense language, and the strategies of denial of discriminatory discourse. The majority population was the dominant group, responsible for the process of doing and saying as actors and sayers. The study of the Slovenia media adheres to the analytic paradigm of critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Erjavec, 2001: 699)

Erjavec found that Gypsies are not newsworthy unless they fit into a media stereotype.

The problem occurs when they are reported as fitting into a stereotype – that stereotype is further reinforced and the discriminatory discourse becomes ‘objective truth’, because it is so well embedded in the public conscience. Erjavec looked at one specific incident in the village of Maline, Slovenia. She said that from September to October 1997 the villagers and the local authority prevented a Romani family from moving into a house they had legally bought and they then forced the family to sell the house. There was no public outcry to this act of discrimination and Erjavec felt that this was because of the way the discriminatory behaviour had been reported in the media. Erjavec examined 37 print media articles related to the incident and she looked in detail at how the news was reported:

The villagers are depicted as the dominant actor in all the leads analysed. They are associated with the positive predicates of the material processes, such as guarding, defending, protecting. This gave the impression that the house is the property of the villagers and that they are making sure it is not appropriated. The construction of this meaning was effective because the journalist withheld a key piece of information, namely, that the Romani family had legally bought the house and that the villagers are violating the rights of the Roma to their property by preventing them from entering the house. The first sentence of the lead itself partially defines the situation as an event in which the villagers are guarding the house and, with selective (mis)use of the information, orients the reader to process the news report in a pre-determined direction. (Erjavec, 2001: 709-710)

This construction of news as 'truth' demonstrates the power of discourse in controlling Gypsies and Travellers, by putting the dominant group in the proactive, protecting, role and by leaving out vital information on the legality of the ownership of the Romany family's house. The reader of the article firstly does not know the truth of the situation, and secondly becomes complicit in the normalisation of discriminatory discourse.

Leudar and Nekvapil (2000) also looked at the representation of Romanies, but this time in Czech television debates. They examined conversations in debates between Czechs and Romanies and found that many descriptions were used and they were warranted as common sense, or universal truths. However, they found that the Romanies did not recognise the descriptions used by the Czechs, as they left out a lot of the positive, individualistic, characteristics of Romany Gypsies. They quoted sixteen examples of descriptions, from Czechs and Romanies, across four debates. It is worth including all sixteen examples here:

1. Romanies have a different mentality than white people, they express themselves differently, they look different.
2. They do not behave themselves like normal people.
3. They create hassles everywhere.
4. Gypsies have a distaste for work.
5. Gypsies should live like we do, following the laws, the rules of the game.
6. What interests them is money, sex and enough food.
7. They take as much as possible from the other.
8. The Gypsy ethnic group accounts for seventy, eighty percents of criminality, and therefore they are an immense burden for this uh for this country.
9. Fifty to sixty percent of those criminal acts are really committed by the members of this ethnic group
10. The Romany ethnic group accounts for a considerable share of crimes like pick-pocketing or pimping.
11. Romanies simply commit a certain part of banal criminality.
12. People only knew about us that we steal, rob, murder.
13. Romany in the media equals thief, thug, jail bird, simply criminal element.

14. One pimps, steals, makes living pick-pocketing but the majority of Romanies are trying to look for work.
 15. What is commonly said about us – incompetent, no know-how, they can't read, they do not have the intelligence.
 16. Most Romanies are religious.
- (Leudar and Nekvapil, 2000: 488-489)

The majority of these sixteen statements are negative and discriminatory, even those which have been made by the Romanies are defending against negative statements, rather than promoting positive statements. Some of the descriptions in the statements accord with some of the newspaper statements in the findings of this thesis, however, in this thesis there is more of a negative characterisation around mess and cost, where as in the Czech media Leudar and Nekvapil show more of a focus on crime.

Clark and Campbell (2000) examine 'most' of the leading British daily and Sunday papers in the last two weeks of October, 1997; this was a time where the media and the public perceived there to be a Gypsy 'invasion' at Dover. They openly state that this was a 'selective investigation' and it aimed to examine the treatment, in the British press, of Czech and Slovak Romani Gypsies seeking asylum. They say:

Alongside blatant ignorance and ideologically loaded commentaries, was the fact that the Roma were seen as 'soft targets' by staff writers and editors of the major newspapers. They were, in the words of one features writer... 'fair game' and a group that could help 'sell copy'; their perceived 'exotic otherness' combined with their 'scrounging refugee' label gave newspaper columnists and editors a license to wax lyrical.
(Clark and Campbell, 2000: 41)

These pieces of work by Erjavec (2001), Leudar and Nekvapil (2000), and Clark and Campbell (2000), demonstrate the presence of discriminatory discourse in the media and they are pertinent to this research. They also focus specifically on the media, rather

than any other discourse. This thesis looks beyond the media and includes discourse in legislation and by politicians and discourse by the general public.

This discourse in the media is discussed further, in a moment, to enable a context for the findings in chapter nine. The next section of this chapter will summarise the information on discourse analysis discussed thus far, before moving on

.

Developing a Typology of Housing Discourse

Many different methods of discourse analysis, and their application, have been discussed so far. By way of bringing this all together, the following summary is provided:

Type of Discourse Analysis	Research Examples	Housing Specific Examples
<p>Critical discourse analysis <i>Interested in relationship between language and power. Links to language as social construction, looks beyond the language to its context.</i></p>	<p>Foucault (1966, 1972, 1975, 1976, 1984) Fairclough (1992, 1995, 2001) Wodak and Meyer (2001) Van Dijk (1993, 1999a, 1999b) Widdowson (1995) Billig (1999) Fowler (1991) Jarworski and Coupland (1999) Riggins (1997)</p>	<p>Gurney (1999) Helleiner and Szuchwycz (1997) Marston (2002) Saugeres (1999) Watt and Jacobs (2000) Hastings (1998, 1999 & 2000) Huckin (2002) Atkinson (1999) Darcy (1999) Jacobs (1999) Haworth and Manzi (1999) Stenson and Watt (1999) Turner (2000 & 2002) Holloway (2003) Erjavec (2001) Leudar and Nekvapil (2000) Saugeres and Clapham (1999) Clark and Campbell (2000)</p>
<p>Content analysis <i>Verging on a quantitative approach, this looks only at text and in some examples words or phrases are counted. Does not look at context.</i></p>	<p>Weber (1990) Smith and Taffler (1999) Neundorf (2002) Stubbs (1996)</p>	<p>Huckin (2002), although Huckin looks at content analysis for textual silence, he examines the context too.</p>
<p>Conversation analysis <i>Looks at conversation, strictly conversation analysis should not include discussions in an interview situation.</i></p>	<p>Schegloff (1987, 1997, 2002) Ten Have (1999)</p>	<p>Coolen, Kempen and Ozaki (2002) Gurney (1999) – an element of Gurney’s paper looks at narrative but it is not conversation analysis in its strictest sense.</p>

Fig. 7: Typology of discourse research

What this figure shows, is that whilst there is a spread of research, across the three predominant types of discourse analysis in general research, there is not such a spread across housing research. The most popular method of discourse analysis, across the board, seems to be critical discourse analysis. This popularity is certainly reflected in housing research. Some exceptions include Gurney's (1999) work, which seems to lie across two categories, substantively it is critical discourse analysis but because of the nature of discussion, it could be argued there is an element of conversation analysis; although, if it were true conversation analysis, the narrative of all parties to the conversation (including the researcher) would be analysed. Huckin's (2002) research is also spread across two categories, this is because, to a degree, the examination of textual silences is content analysis – or more likely 'lack of content' analysis. It is difficult to argue for Huckin's inclusion because he looks for textual silences across discourses, rather than across texts. This is difficult to quantify and does not really bring a quantitative type of approach to the research. The reason for including it is to show that analysis of textual silence could be seen as content analysis in certain circumstances.

Before concluding this chapter on theories of discourse, it is necessary to include information and analysis on media discourse; a theoretical discussion analysing Fowler's (1991) work is included earlier in the chapter, but the next section looks at examples of media reporting. The media plays a significant part in constructing discourse and it is also an important component of the methodology in this thesis. In order to help understand the findings, particularly those relating to the coding of newspaper articles, it is necessary to understand a little more about the media.

Discourse in the Media

The media is not merely a reporting mechanism that reflects events and feelings, it helps instead to create and shape events and feelings. The media is now more pervasive than ever thanks to the improvement of information and communications technology. The news is shown on dedicated channels 24 hours a day and is updated in real time. The internet allows for email and websites that contain a variety of different news and views – all of which is accessible in many homes, offices, schools and libraries across the country. This accessibility of the media (and the accessibility of the population for the media to broadcast to) is a reasonably new phenomenon. It is for this reason, and in the current context of highly capable information and communications technology, that the media influence over public perceptions and actions should not be underestimated.

As the confines of the prison, the convent, the family house, the neighbourhood, the executive suite, the university campus and the oval office are all invaded through electronics, we must expect a fundamental shift in our perceptions of society, our authorities and ourselves.

(Meyrowitz, 1987: viii)

If one couples this pervasive nature of the media with the fact that ‘news’ is not published as hard data without a hint of bias, it is possible to see how a group not liked by the media can be its victim. It has been argued that the media picks up on the ‘public mood’ and reflects that in its reporting style in order to ensure its popularity and commercial viability. Steyn (1998) refers to the news as soap opera:

...it inevitably ends up adapting life to the teary plot structures it understands: the welfare mom who doesn't know what she's going to do once her benefits end; the lesbian couple doing a sterling job of raising their baby despite the wilful refusal of the town clerk and the local minister to give legal or religious sanction to their relationship; the black community leader for whom affirmative action at an American college provided a ticket out of the ghetto and who fears that the abolition of racial preferences will condemn an entire generation to guns, crack and gangsta rap...

For most people, news is something that crops up between sitcoms, soap operas and commercials, and it is not surprising that, over the years, it should have absorbed the same techniques as its colleagues. Most news anchors are, in essence, actors playing newsmen; their sets are fake newsrooms (BBC television's is computer-generated – in other words, even the set is an act of deception); increasingly, special reports are underlaid, like any drama, with incidental, emotionally manipulative music, and from time to time, if the story lacks exciting visuals, it's easiest just to borrow from Hollywood directly: a recent NBC *Nightly News* story on the changing role of the CIA used clips from *The Spy Who Came in From the Cold*.”
(Steyn, 1998: 168-9)

Steyn is writing about media portrayal of news in the context of criticising it for being ‘sentimentalized’. For the purposes of this chapter, it is a useful quotation to demonstrate how ‘the news’ is not immune to skew or bias, and how it is not just a reporting mechanism. It depends on the distribution channel for the news and who is ‘telling’ the news as to how distorted the facts might be. This means that the interests of those telling or producing the news will be reflected in the way the news is told. Printed news stories about Gypsies tend to show bias against Gypsies – as is demonstrated in the findings in chapter nine. Also there is a tendency to distinguish between ‘proper Gypsies’, the traditional Roma, and New Age Travellers. Travellers are depicted as thieves and expensive to clear up after – with little regard for the facts of the matter.

Analysis of the news media is an important subject area, but one which cannot be incorporated within the confines of this thesis. Some of the structuring of news and the methodology of news-telling was examined earlier in the chapter in an analysis of the work of Fowler (1991). However, there is a wealth of research in the field of media studies such as the work of the Glasgow Media Action Group. The Group's first

publication (1976) was entitled *Bad News* and it focused on electronic media, in this instance television news. In its theoretical stance it is linked with the work from Fowler (1991) in its use of Galtung and Ruge's (1973) 'news values'. The values are classed as one of four main filtering processes for news; the other three being (1) time/resources, (2) 'television values' or what looks good visually, and (3) 'cultural air/ideological atmosphere' (Glasgow Media Action Group, 1976: x). Although the concentration of the research is on television news, the Group compared 'contours of coverage' with the printed press. It examined coverage of industrial action in 1975 over television news broadcasts and newspaper reports (pages 186-187). The newspapers were seen to cover disputes in a wide range of economic sectors, where the television news concentrated on only a few sectors. A further publication by the group (Eldridge, 1993) was called *Getting the Message, News, Truth and Power*. Similarly to previous work, the book examined current issues and their representation in the media and it also analysed opinion and understanding of the news, through audience research. Audience studies were also included in a third piece of work (Philo, 1999) entitled *Message Received*; which moved away from the focus on news and included other television such as film and soap-opera and examined audience reactions to representation of issues on television. This helps to define the difference between the Glasgow Media Action Group and Fowler (1991). Fowler is not a media analyst but uses some media studies theory in his discourse analysis of news media. The Glasgow Media Action Group are media analysts and their work overlaps with Fowler's at the point where discourse in the printed press is used as a comparison with the electronic media. It has been important to include references to media research in this section of the chapter, but it

must be remembered that this thesis focuses on discourse in the printed press and its focus is on the theories of discourse analysis, not media studies.

The portrayal of Gypsies in the popular press varies. However, the majority of features and reports do seem to rely on predictable, negative images. One article in the Evening Standard (2000) featured an article *Digging in against travellers:*

Green fields and commons in Twickenham, Hampton Court, Barnet, Reigate, Walton on the Hill and Epsom have seen travellers pitch up before being driven off by legal action, only to leave behind piles of rubbish to be removed at council taxpayers' expense.

Local authorities say they are fighting a war of attrition, handicapped by a laborious legal process. It's a guerrilla campaign that has seen the travellers moved on from one site to another, taking advantage of open gates and legal delays to set up temporary home.
(Sawer 2000: 11)

The core of this article seemed to be reporting on the fact that legal delays on eviction processes meant that Gypsies were illegally camping on London's common land. However, from the quotation above it would not be unrealistic to think the article was a call to arms against Gypsies. The first paragraph is telling Evening Standard readers that 'you, personally, are paying for rubbish clearance from Gypsy sites through council tax'. The second paragraph talks of a 'war' and a 'Guerilla campaign'. This is quite extreme wording for a feature reporting on Gypsy sites, and it could be seen to incite racial hatred toward Gypsies through its aggressive wording.

The theme of the 'cost' of Travellers stretches across the media and is not just limited to print. In a bulletin of East Midlands Today on BBC1 news, a reporter said:

Money that was ear-marked for this year's Newark and Nottinghamshire show has already been spent on keeping Travellers off the site. Nearly £16,000 has

been spent on security measures at the showground. On two occasions nearly 700 Travellers with 200 caravans have been removed from the site.
(*East Midlands Today*, 2003)

The cost of Gypsies is an emotive issue, as shall be seen in chapter nine, in the media analysis and the analysis of information from the Colchester Borough Council meeting and associated reports.

In addition to the issue of 'cost' there is also a theme of the division between 'real Gypsies' and 'New Age Travellers'. This division is perceived and it has been central to media and political discussion of asylum seekers for some time. The Evening Standard, in March 2000, ran a feature entitled *Seeking a safe haven*. This seemed to be a sympathetic article looking at how asylum seekers struggled to get on in the UK. However, the article did presume to know the difference between 'cheats' and 'genuine asylum seekers'.

Never has it been such a bad time to be a genuine asylum seeker. A frenzy of vituperation has been generated against all refugees – in newspapers, among politicians and elsewhere... But the cheats are a minority. Most asylum seekers, like Matin, a fresh-faced 16 year old who arrived in London from Afghanistan last November in the back of a smuggler's lorry, are genuine.
(McCrystal, 2000: 7)

The above quotation on the reporting of asylum seekers is important here as it provides a comparison with the reporting on Gypsies and Travellers. This comparison was mentioned previously in relation to Turner's (2000) paper. Asylum seekers and Gypsies/Travellers are written about with the use of similar discriminatory characteristics – similar social constructions of the 'truth'.

In the late 1990's and early 2000's the word 'bogus' was being used by central political figures. The term seemed to be used to incite strong feelings out of political motivation. It is impossible to distinguish who started with this term 'bogus' or 'cheat' as opposed to 'genuine' or 'real'. Did the politicians start using these terms and then the newspapers reported them? Or did the newspapers use the terms and the politicians picked up on them being popular terms that would portray the message? Either way it seems to be accepted that there are 'cheats' and then there are 'genuine' asylum seekers; and that politicians and journalists can tell just by looking at someone which is the case.

This distinction between genuine and non-genuine is certainly an issue for Gypsies.

The traditional 'Roma' Gypsies are seen as 'proper' Gypsies with their painted wagons and traditional way of life. The New-Age travellers are seen to be less honest and are perceived to be thieves and cheats with a tendency to create a mess on common lands.

This distinction is based upon perception and it can be exaggerated in the media.

A further trend in media reporting is that of Gypsies and Travellers in the accession countries to the European Union. A variety of scare stories have been used in newspapers and this theme gathered pace early in 2004. The Guardian newspaper included a summary of the situation, entitled *False Figures*:

A new race scare is running in the media. It began on an inside page of the Sunday Times with a news story suggesting that at least 100,000 Gypsies are expected to arrive in the UK when the European Union expands by 10 states in May.... The Sun followed up on Monday with a front page and two inside pages on the tens of thousands of Eastern European Gypsies heading for Britain. By yesterday, the Express was forecasting on its front page that 1.6 million Roma were ready to "flood in".

(The Guardian, 2004: 25)

A story in the Express was the start of a newspaper campaign to get the Government to keep tight immigration controls, such as Spain, France and Germany. On its front page on 5th February 2004 the Express paper felt it had won the campaign and printed their headline: *Gypsies: You Can't Come In*. The front page said:

Gypsies planning to come to Britain this May are to be sent packing after Tony Blair finally admitted yesterday that taxpayers face being fleeced.

Mr Blair dramatically dumped Labour's open-door policy after ministers became alarmed by evidence that large numbers of poverty-stricken migrants, including many Roma gypsies, will head for Britain to claim benefits when their countries join the European Union.

The U-turn is a victory for the Daily Express, which has led the way in exposing the scandal.

(O'Flynn, 2004: 1-2)

In an earlier report in January 2004, the campaign had included an article outlining the problems of Gypsies coming to Britain, and it allegedly quoted the view of Express readers.

Secret plans to deal with a massive influx of gypsies from eastern Europe have been drawn up by ministers amid warnings that Britain could be overwhelmed. While publicly claiming Britain will benefit from its open-door policy to 10 new EU member countries, the Government privately fears it could lead to economic disaster. Countries like France, Germany and Spain have taken much tougher stances than the UK, and as a result ministers have prepared emergency powers to contain the potential catastrophe...

The scale of public concern about a predicted 100,000 gypsies coming here from the Czech Republic alone over the next seven years was clear yesterday in a vote by Daily Express readers. In answer to the question "Should we let gypsies invade Britain?" 98 per cent of people – 16,829 readers – said no...

The number of people removed from Britain is running at a record high of 1,500 a month said a [Home Office] spokeswoman. It was right that immigration law continued to be enforced, she added.

(Baird, 2004: 8)

These reports in the Express newspaper are extreme. Indeed the Express journalists considered reporting their own employer to the Press Complaints Commission. Seventy of the Express staff held a meeting at the National Union of Journalists and expressed that they were uncomfortable with the pressure being placed on them to write 'anti-Gypsy' articles (Kundnani, 2004).

The positive approach to Gypsy and Traveller issues, displayed by some of the Express journalists, demonstrates that there may now be more attention paid to the treatment of Gypsies and Travellers in the press. Gypsies are recognised by the Commission for Racial Equality and in race legislation as a Black and Minority Ethnic group; however, the language used about them would not be tolerated by other Black and Minority Ethnic groups. For instance, if a politician called Black or Asian people 'scum' (as MP Andrew MacKay called Gypsies in the House of Commons in 2002) there would be a public outcry and a political backlash. However, some suggest that many Black and Minority Ethnic groups still face 'demonisation' in the press – some of it is more overt than others. Kellner (2003) notes that "Media culture is only too ready to use black figures to represent transgressive behaviour and to project society's sins on to African Americans" (pg77). Kellner uses examples of Mike Tyson and Michael Jackson as examples of this representation of society's ills. Whilst examples of this labelling and representation of a number of Black and Minority Ethnic groups can be seen in Britain's media still, none receives the vilification and stigmatisation of the Gypsies and Travellers, or asylum seekers.

It could be argued that the representation of Gypsies and Travellers in the media goes beyond labelling in order to heighten their presence and keep them under surveillance. It could be alleged that the media constructs their own Gypsy and Traveller truths.

Zelizer (1993) highlights the problem of media construction of 'truth':

In an age where so few people are able to accomplish primary experience of public events and must instead depend on some degree of mediated experience, the use of narrative to alter realities and construct new ones that better fit the narrator's agenda is a practice with problematic implications. For the success of such a practice is predicated on the acquiescence of publics, publics who accept such preferred constructions as "real" and accurate.
(Zelizer, 1993: 204)

Zelizer refers to the 'narrator's agenda'. This is difficult to ascertain in the reporting of Gypsies and Travellers in the media. For instance, did the Express have an agenda of persuading the public that Gypsies and Travellers were a threat to Britain, and if they did what benefit would that agenda bring the Express? Perhaps the Express felt that its agenda was to reflect the views of the public; if resonant themes and narratives were used perhaps more people would buy and read the newspaper because they agreed with the views. In the latter case there is a motive, that of making more money. However, in the first scenario it is difficult to see what the Express may have gained from taking such a strong stance, unless it was to align themselves with a particular political party. The motive for narrative social construction is an interesting concept and if a view was taken that the Express wanted to reflect and embellish on the views of the public, in order to sell more newspapers then this would tie in more readily with Zelizer's idea of public acquiescence. Although the newspaper may be reflecting the views of the public it is at the same time embellishing upon those views and constructing a new 'truth' about Gypsies and Travellers to further feed the anxieties of the public. However the public has to be ready to accept these new truths for the construction to work.

It is notable how much impact the media has on the 'truth' of a situation and that false or exaggerated representation soon becomes a new 'truth'. This links in with chapter six which looks at moral panics and folk devils and the place of the Gypsy and Traveller. The lesson for this chapter is that there is a need for monitoring of the media and a requirement for standards and a code of practice which must be enforced, not only by the Press Complaints Commission (PCC), but also by the currently acquiescing public.

The media is regulated by the PCC and journalists should work according to a code of conduct drawn up by the National Union of Journalists. Additionally, the Commission for Racial Equality has also provided guidance for journalists entitled *Travellers, Gypsies and the media* (CRE, 2000). The main areas of the guidance include "Steer clear of exploiting prejudice", "Check the facts", "Don't let your news agenda only be driven by the way others are handling the issue", "Look behind the story line", "Listen to the people you are writing about", and "Don't label people if it is not relevant" (CRE, 2000). The guide is quite short and it doesn't contain a lot of detail in the above areas; but importantly, it raises the issue that Gypsies and Travellers should be treated fairly in the media.

Morris (2000) underlines this unfair treatment of Gypsies and Travellers in the media:

Yet the print media commonly suggest to their readers, in their representations of Travellers, that this category of people routinely display certain negative characteristics not only typical of but essential to the group: that is, they represent Travellers in a stereotypical and prejudicial fashion. The relationship of the representation to the real is the same as it would be for any societal group: some Travellers are dishonest or law-breaking, some don't clean up after

themselves. The difference is that while some settled people also have those characteristics, all other settled people are not assumed also to possess them, as is the case for Travellers.

(Morris, 2000: 213)

She goes on to discuss the use of categorisation and stereotyping:

But while useful as a means of simplifying complex things and people, stereotyping is problematic when used by adults to simplify and therefore more easily deal with things of which they are afraid and lack knowledge. If everything they read about the object of their fears and ignorance (from childhood books to adulthood newspapers) simply confirms their reductive assumptions, they are encouraged to continue in this simplistic and sometimes prejudicial thinking. Therein lies a major root of social exclusion.

(Morris, 2000: 215)

Important in Morris' work, and in this research, is the distinction made between 'real' or 'good' Gypsy and 'New Age' or 'bad' Traveller. This was discussed earlier on in connection to the distinction made between 'real' and 'bogus' asylum seekers. Morris (2000) claims that often the 'real' Gypsy is a figment of the imagination. Just as the media and the public can embellish on a negative image, so they can for a positive image. The 'good' Gypsy is one who wears traditional brightly coloured clothing and lives in a painted, horse-drawn caravan; the 'good' Gypsy is mysterious and romantic and 'care-free'. The problem arises when the reality of Gypsies and Travellers does not match up to romantic myths of 'good' Gypsies. The juxtaposition between the truth and the myth, as well as the exaggerated representation of the 'bad' Gypsy in the media, serves to highlight the characteristics of Gypsies and Travellers and to mark them out as 'other'.

The 'bad' Gypsy is dirty, thieving, surviving on wits rather than skill and so necessarily living outside the mores and laws of settled society, providing a low standard of goods and services to settled people and then using nomadism to 'slip the net' of the law, scrounging and parasitic, living off the scraps and through the loopholes of settled society and taking it for what he or she can get, leaving disgusting piles of human and industrial waste on every piece of land on

which he or she has settled, potentially violent, creating expense, fear and conflict by their very nature. This aspect of the so-called Gypsy character is so firmly held by settled people that 'to gyp' has come to mean 'to be cheated', as in 'I've been gypped'.
(Morris, 2000: 216)

Perhaps one of the reasons that there has been little response from the Travelling community to their representation in the media, is that firstly there is a high level of illiteracy and there is also the issue that Travellers move on if they receive prejudicial treatment and so, sometimes, are not in one place long enough to fight the media representation.

There is an increasing interest, by certain groups, in the representation of Gypsies and Travellers in the media. The newly formed Gypsy & Traveller Media Advisory Group (GT MAG) monitors articles in the press concerning Gypsies and Travellers. The membership of GT MAG consists of Gypsies and Travellers, representatives from the Commission for Racial Equality, Gypsy organisations such as Friends, Families and Travellers; local government and a number of academic institutions are also represented. The main objectives of the group are to monitor and catalogue discriminatory media representation of Gypsies and Travellers, to ensure that discriminatory reporting is brought to the attention of the media regulators and to raise awareness and positively promote Gypsy and Traveller culture and lifestyle (GT MAG, 2003).

The Group only formed towards the end of 2003, but already a complaint has been made to the Press Complaints Commission about the Express article, which was analysed earlier in this chapter. In addition, a member of GT MAG has spoken to the

Chair of the All Party Parliamentary Group on Roma on the discussions in the Commons about the EU accession countries, which included provocative questions on Gypsies and Travellers by the Conservatives. A letter was also sent to Newsnight to highlight the issue of Gypsy and Traveller representation in the media. It is hoped that as the Group becomes more established, the negative representation of Gypsies and Travellers in the media will be monitored much more carefully than at present and that the media will have to be more careful about negative racial stereotyping.

The GTMAG is not just an interesting concept on a practical level, it is also of interest in looking back to chapter four on the theories of control. Particularly relevant here is Foucault's (1980) explanation of power as a fluid concept – rather than a fixed zero-sum entity. It has been argued throughout this thesis that Gypsies and Travellers are controlled by society through techniques of surveillance, as a result of their heightened presence. In a traditional, zero-sum concept of power this would see Gypsies and Travellers as permanently oppressed by the rest of society. Society holds power and control over Gypsies and Travellers and it would seem that the power relationship is heavily skewed against the Travelling community. Perhaps GTMAG represents a turning point in the relationship. Rather than the Gypsies and Travellers being held under surveillance by the media – the media is now under the surveillance of Gypsies and Travellers, to a certain extent. The relationship between the media and GTMAG represents Foucault's fluidity of power, and it provides a relevant practical example of Marston's (2004) resistance to dominant discourse, as discussed previously. The impact of GTMAG cannot be monitored here as it is still only in its infancy, however this

would be interesting research for the future – as will be discussed in the conclusion chapter of this thesis.

Conclusion

Discourse theories and methods have been examined throughout this chapter; a wide range of approaches are evident in the research field. Examples from some of the empirical discourse research are analysed, alongside the primary research for this research, in chapter nine. However, it is important to, briefly, extrapolate a key theme from the discourse theory which will be used as part of the theoretical model in chapter seven. Again, there is a focus on Foucault's explanation of discourse and its explicit links with theories of control. For instance, the 'power of writing' (Foucault, 1977: 189), and the control in discourse as a precursor to control in reality (Foucault, 1999: 514). In particular, the latter point is an important contribution to the theoretical framework in this thesis.

Control in discourse, as a precursor to control in reality, is key to the hypothesis of this research. The control of Gypsies and Travellers can be demonstrated in a range of discourse – media, political, legislative and public; and this is discussed in chapters eight and nine. However, this thesis asserts that the real control over Gypsies and Travellers is in the translation of discourse into action. Examples of discourse into action have been discussed in the introductory chapter where Lodge (2004) discusses his treatment by the police. It is also examined in chapter eight where legislation and policy discourse, and its interpretation, are analysed.

In chapter four, it was concluded that Foucault's notions on the gaze were of importance, amongst the theories of control, in developing a theoretical framework to discuss the findings of this research. Again, Foucault's theory of the links between discourse and control will be taken from this chapter, to add to the framework in chapter seven.

A variety of research, in the housing field and on Gypsies and Travellers, was examined in this chapter and especially in the latter area there were common findings of discriminatory discourse. These key pieces of research will be reflected upon during the analysis of the findings in chapter nine. It is important that such empirical work is used to build up a picture of the discourse surrounding Gypsies and Travellers and that the primary research from this study is not analysed in isolation from the literature review in this area. Where this thesis takes one step further than the existing work is in mooting the notion that discourse is not just a reflection of people's views on Gypsies and Travellers; but indeed that the discourse can be 'operationalised' into actual control. The framework that is developed from ideas in this chapter, and from theories on control in chapter four, and social norms in chapter six, helps to explain the movement of control from discourse into action.

The next step in this research is to look at some of the theories behind social norms and 'otherness'. The findings in chapter nine provide examples of discourse which refers to Gypsies and Travellers as 'other' and it is important to find out: 'other' to what? This will be achieved by looking at what is meant by society, examining the theories behind

social norms and analysing some of the important literature in the area of folk devils

(Cohen, 1980).

Chapter Six - 'Society', Moral Panics, Folk Devils, and Gypsies

Introduction

Previously, theories of power and control have been examined (chapter four) and theories and methods of discourse have been reviewed (chapter five). This chapter reflects on these issues and aims to provide an explanatory framework in which to understand why control of certain groups in society is seen as necessary.

In chapter four the theories of Dandeker (1990) were examined within a typology of surveillance and control. This analysis included a reference from Dandeker, which discussed Cohen's (1980) work on deviancy and control and its links with surveillance.

He reviewed Cohen's notion of a shift in the structures of surveillance and social control, which included a shift from:

...establishing causal knowledge about the mental processes of deviants in favour of, on the one hand, neo-classical and justice models which emphasize 'just' punishment for offences committed by *morally responsible individuals*, and, on the other, more behaviourist models which eschew explanation in favour of *programmes for the control of deviancy* that simply 'work'.
(Dandeker, 1990: 146) [*Emphasis added*]

There is a clear distinction, made by Dandeker, between 'morally responsible individuals' and 'deviants'. This chapter aims to address the issue of reflexivity surrounding some of these terms and it examines what is meant by 'deviant' by analysing what is meant by 'society', and it makes the links between deviants and Gypsies/Travellers. Cohen and Young (1973) state that it is important to look at:

...the conceptions of deviance and social problems revealed in the mass media and the implicit view of society behind such conceptions.
(Cohen and Young, 1973: 10)

This chapter will follow the advice of Cohen and Young (1973) and examine 'conceptions of deviance and social problems' in order to provide context and explanation.

'Society'

Society means different things to different people in a variety of circumstances.

However, one possible meaning of society refers to 'society as a whole'. Here society includes differing individuals and groups and incorporates, or tries to control, their different norms and ideals. In this way society is seen as abstract. It is an entity which can be joined by deciding to contract in, or something to be excluded from if 'societal' norms are not adhered to.

Current government thinking would seem to support this theory of society as abstract. The Labour Government is responsible for a raft of 'social inclusion' initiatives, aimed at bringing everyone into 'society'. Conversely, Margaret Thatcher once argued that "there is no such thing as society", she went on to qualify this by stating:

My meaning, clear at the time, but subsequently distorted beyond recognition, was that society was not an abstraction, separate from the men and women who composed it, but a living structure of individuals, families, neighbours and voluntary associations...
(Thatcher, 1993: 626)

Often society can be taken to mean an entity. It is referred to as something with which people interact and are involved in or excluded. However, this thesis would argue that society is not an abstraction, rather it is to do with the relationships between people and

organisations, structures and agencies, – the imbrication of men and things (Foucault, 1994). Indeed society is not a one ‘whole’ but a mixture of structures and sub-structures, groups of societies. The word society denotes a commonality of the people and structures within it. However, it is not possible to assume a commonality of norms amongst, for instance, all the people in England. The current government seems to assume that there is a society at large and that there are societal norms to which everyone must conform or be excluded.

Berger and Luckmann (1966) talk about society as both objective and subjective reality:

Since society exists as both objective and subjective reality, any adequate theoretical understanding of it must comprehend both these aspects. As we have already argued, these aspects receive their proper recognition if society is understood in terms of an ongoing dialectical process composed of the three moments of externalization, objectivation and internalization.
(Berger and Luckmann, 1966: 149)

This links in with the examination of Foucault’s internalisation of the gaze, discussed in chapter four. Berger and Luckmann continue to look at the theory of society as subjective reality, and they say:

When the generalized other has been crystallized in consciousness, a symmetrical relationship is established between objective and subjective reality. What is real ‘outside’ corresponds to what is real ‘within’. Objective reality can readily be ‘translated’ into subjective reality, and vice versa. Language, of course, is the principal vehicle of this ongoing translating process in both directions.
(Berger and Luckmann, 1966: 153)

Berger and Luckmann define society as subjective reality which, through language, links in with ‘objective’ reality – each defining the other. Not only is this useful in thinking about what society means, but it shows the links between society, the gaze and discourse. It helps to explain how the objective ‘reality’ of Gypsies and Travellers is

internalised into subjective reality, but then enters a dialectical process with objective reality again; a cycle of definition and social construction of reality continues.

Although there is an assumption of 'society' as a whole, it must be recognised that society is made up of groups of people with different perceived norms. These norms are sometimes constructed from outside; or they are a set of values which honestly reflect the values of the group or individual. Although the differences between members of society is spoken of in more sensitive terms in the 21st Century, the following quote serves as an illustration of perceived norms:

In the first place there is the artisan element. Members of this class are in receipt of fair wages. As a rule they are steady, thrifty and socially ambitious. They are good tenants...

The next step in the gradation is occupied by individuals who have not mounted quite so high in the social scale. One section has been unfortunate, and...has become discouraged...The other includes those prone to be lazy or careless, and those who are not particularly intelligent or ambitious or are possessed of bad habits...

The third section includes the incorrigible, the drunkard, the criminal, the immoral, the lazy, and the shiftless...as Lord Shaftesbury significantly remarks, they have hardly any domestic or civilized feelings...

(U.S. Commissioner for Labour, 1895: 439-42 cited in Harloe, 1995: 21-2)

Although the language in this quotation is not the sort of language one would expect of politicians today, similarities of concept can be found in the work of Murray (1990 & 1994) and his views on the 'Underclass'. Additionally, the research findings in this thesis demonstrate that there are still politicians who use such language, which is discriminatory and racist – the example of MP Andrew MacKay, speaking in the House of Commons in 2002, is referred to in chapters one and nine.

There has been much work on social exclusion and the characteristics of those that are excluded. This usually focuses on economic differences or inequality of access to goods and services due to ethnicity, gender or age, for instance (Morris & Winn, 1990). Murray's underclass is different to these examinations of social exclusion in that there is a feeling of 'otherness' about those excluded – it is not down to wealth but instead attitudes and group norms. There are current examples of those who could be categorised as Murray's underclass; they are groups that tend to be vilified by the politicians and the press for not sharing social norms. Gypsies and Travellers are certainly able to be categorised as underclass from the discourse about them in the press and the House of Commons. Words such as 'anti-social', 'nuisance', 'trouble', 'problem', and 'alternative lifestyle' mark them out for such categorisation. Other examples include young single mothers (they became pregnant on purpose in order to jump the queue for a council house – see the Conservative Party Manifesto 2001, in Watt, 2001), economic migrants (not 'real' asylum seekers but those wishing to benefit from England's job market or welfare system – this was a topical issue in the media in the first half of 2001, see Brockes, 2001; and in political rhetoric, see Risman, 2002), indeed council tenants as a whole tend to have a stigma attached to them which smacks of 'underclass'.

If Blair and the U.S. Commissioner for Labour were talking today about societal norms, they would both agree that the norms for the whole of society would relate to the first and part of the second group – e.g. the artisans and the unfortunate who have not been able to scale to the top group in society. The lazy, incorrigible, immoral and drunkard people are assumed to have norms that are not relevant to the good of society as a whole

and therefore these perceived norms are not included in the social contract. Everyone in society must aspire to the norms of being employed, hard working, steady and ambitious. Everyone must want to do better all of the time – one should not rest on one’s laurels – this is for the incorrigible and lazy. Indeed Prescott, in an article about the Social Exclusion Unit for the Guardian, wrote:

We [the government] now place emphasis on “joining up” policy between government departments and taking a long-term approach, applying three basic principles: *reintegration, prevention and mainstreaming*.
(Prescott, 2002: 4-5) [*Emphasis added*]

These three methods of reintegration, prevention and mainstreaming are a controlling mechanism focused on the ideal of ‘society’. There is a plethora of schemes, initiated by the Social Exclusion Unit, in an attempt to keep people focused on the norms of society and to prevent them from ‘dropping out’ or being excluded by society. In this sense, society is seen as a club from which one may be barred for bad behaviour.

Although ‘society’ can be viewed as an abstract structure, to which individuals should aspire to be a part, it can also be used as a way of highlighting those who do not work towards the good of the whole. In this way the term society is a means of demonstrating who is not ‘in’ society and it has a function to highlight those in need of additional surveillance.

In chapter four, Foucault’s analogy of the gaze was examined as a tool of control. The gaze, surveillance, would not be effective if there were not specific individuals or groups defined as ‘other’ and isolated from society. How would one know who to watch if they were not pointed out? In the earlier quote from the U.S. Commissioner,

the lazy and the incorrigible were pointed out as not valuing the same norms as those steady, hard working artisans. The artisans are alright, he was saying, we need to keep an eye on the lazy and incorrigible though.

Although Foucault's approach and the three-dimensional view of power (Lukes 1974) have been the focus of the discussion on theories of power and control so far, there are noticeable elements of the traditional zero-sum model (one-dimensional view) present in the current system of government in this country. Successive governments fight to win and maintain power and to a degree set the rules and define terms in society. There is a multi-directional flow of power and the majority of the population can vote governments in, and lobby them for improvements in the law and in public services. However, once a government is in office it has power to make law and policy and to define societal issues and themes through its own governmental discourse. Therefore, when the government talks about social inclusion it is important to know what it means by the term society.

Whilst Thatcher placed much more responsibility on the individual and the family and did not really hold with society as an abstract entity (Thatcher, 1993), Prime Minister Blair has a much more inclusive emphasis. It seems that Blair would like everyone to be a stakeholder of this society. Under his leadership there have been ideologies and programmes such as 'Social Inclusion' (Social Exclusion Unit 1998 & 2004), 'New Deal for Communities' (Social Exclusion Unit, 2001), and 'Action Zones' in health and education aimed at reducing social divisions and inequalities (for an example see Barnes *et al.* 2003). All are aimed at including people in 'society'. This has to mean that

whilst there is an assumption of 'society' as a whole; there are people who are outside of 'society', as defined by the government. Despite these early social inclusion programmes, it should be noted that the Labour government seems increasingly intent on highlighting those seen as 'outside of society'. One example of this is the emphasis on the increased use of anti-social behaviour orders, which were provided for in the Anti-Social Behaviour Act (2003).

Indeed it may be easier to explain what society means by discovering who is considered to be outside of it, and why. Through reading a variety of policies from the Social Exclusion Unit (1998, 2001, 2004), as well as examining the groups that local authorities, through the Supporting People programme (which came into force in April 2003) are focusing on, the following groups can be seen to be socially excluded:

Example of Socially Excluded Groups

- Black and Minority Ethnic people
- Single mothers
- Offenders
- Homeless
- Unemployed
- Disabled
- 'Social' housing tenants (paradoxically)
- Asylum seekers
- Gypsies and Travellers

Fig. 8: Example of Socially Excluded Groups

Each of these groups has different ideals and different perceived norms, as discussed earlier. It is difficult, then, for each of these groups to be included (or controlled) by a single set of societal meta-norms. The above (figure 8) does not show an exhaustive list, but it is sufficient to start a debate on who is included and excluded in the government's view of society.

There is a further issue as to whether, or why, it is left to the government to decide/define what society is and who is excluded from it. This boils down to a fundamental question of democracy – do governments lead the public, or does public opinion lead government action? Blair refers to himself as ‘running the country’ when in fact he can only say that he is running the administrative centre of operations. Does Blair lead the public, or does he bow to public opinion? This is a question for another debate, but the government’s own perception of the power they hold over society needs to be considered here in the discussion on the importance of the government definition of society. If one looks at a traditional view of government, such as the example of captaining a ship discussed in the examination of Foucault (1994) in chapter four, it is possible to see why government should define society. If governing society is like managing a ship then it is up to government to manage the role that everyone has; how each individual’s functioning and capability can be utilised for the best possible outcome. Being part of society depends on the role that you play within it. John F Kennedy, in his inaugural speech (January 1961), said: “Ask not what your country can do for you – ask what you can do for your country”. In this respect of governing a country being similar to captaining a ship, a person is involved in society if they are contributing to the smooth running of it. If no contribution is made then it is deemed that certain people or groups are outside of society, as far as the government is concerned. This is problematic, as those who do not have the capability to contribute towards society are excluded from it. It is also tied up in the issue that there is a sub-society, or as Murray termed it ‘Underclass’. Those perceived, by government, to be

outside of 'society' are viewed as strangers to those who conform to societal norms.

They are the subject of, often unwarranted, panic and subsequent surveillance.

Social Norms

This is an important section in understanding 'society' and it also acts as a bridge, in this research, between the evaluation of what society means and an examination of moral panics. Social norms can be almost ethereal, precision is difficult. Some of the most interesting work in the area of social norms is by Elster (1989). He attempts to explain social norms as something concrete and real:

Rational action is concerned with outcomes. Rationality says, 'If you want to achieve Y, do X'. By contrast, I define social norms by the feature that they are *not outcome-oriented*. The simplest social norms are of the type 'Do X', or 'Don't Do X'. More complex norms might say, 'Do X if it would be good if everyone did X'....

For norms to be *social*, they must be (a) shared by other people and (b) partly sustained by their approval and disapproval. Some norms, like norms against cannibalism or incest, are shared by all members of society. Other norms are more group specific...The other respect in which these norms are *social* is that other people are important for enforcing them, by expressing their approval and, especially, disapproval.

(Elster, 1989: 98-99)

Elster has endeavoured to explain norms in a simplistic, formulaic, way. This is useful for the purposes of a preliminary definition; – but it only takes the debate so far.

Additionally, some of what Elster has said in the above quote is ambiguous. For instance, he says that "Some norms, like norms against cannibalism or incest, are shared by all members of society". Does Elster have an ideological view of society and really believes that incest does not take place in the society he is writing about? Or does he mean that those who do not conform to the norm of not committing incest are outside of society? The latter interpretation of Elster's comment is the one which fits best with the

philosophy of this thesis. Those who commit incest are seen as ‘anti-social’ against, or outside of, society. This example can also be carried across to Gypsies and Travellers. They are seen as not conforming to the norm of ‘settling’ in a dwelling and therefore are assumed to be ‘anti-social’ or a ‘nuisance’.

Elster makes another point about the social norm:

Rules against incest and cannibalism exist in most societies. ‘Unnatural’ sexual acts, such as homosexuality or sodomy, are often frowned upon. There is often much hypocrisy surrounding these practices. In a case... a young man was severely punished for having committed incest with his cousin. ‘Yet it was plain that everyone had known about the incest for months. Incest was wrong – the Mbuti seemed unanimous about this – but it was not until the incest became indiscreet that it required action’... Let me digress to expand upon this point, which is of quite general importance: *to violate a norm in public shows a disdain for public opinion that is often more severely disapproved of than the norm violation itself.*

(Elster, 1989: 108-9) [*Emphasis added*]

A recent example of this can be seen in the spate of cases of sex offenders in the Catholic Church, which had been covered up. Although not a wider social meta-norm, the norm of the Catholic Church seemed to be that paedophilia was acceptable as long as it was not found out. Several cases in recent years have seen Bishops and Deacons asked to stand down by the Pope because they accepted paedophilia amongst their priests and just moved them onto to a new diocese, where their behaviour was not yet known.

Scruton (2001) discusses societal ‘allegiance’:

It is allegiance which defines the condition of society, and which constitutes society as something greater than the ‘aggregate of individuals’... It is proper for conservatives to be sceptical of claims made on behalf of the value of the individual...

(Scruton, 2001: 24)

This conservative view of society, in addition to presuming that it is greater than the sum of its parts, also determines that one part of society is dependent on another for the health of the whole. If one part of society is not working for the greater good, then it must be sacrificed. The Church is an example where those not working for the greater good have not been sacrificed, their behaviour has been covered up, and this did damage its reputation as a whole.

Elster's (1989) view on the importance of public opinion is also relevant to Gypsies and Travellers. It is almost acceptable that there is a way of life outside of the 'settled' population – as long as it is not physically evident. Unfortunately, this seems to be true even in reformist policy. An example of this can be seen in the Traveller Law Reform Bill (2002) which, in Schedule 2 to the Bill, said:

Keep groups small and inconspicuous. Anything more than six vehicles is likely to be a problem but this will depend on the site and proximity to other properties.
(Traveller Law Reform Bill, 2002, Schedule 2, paragraph 1)

The Bill clearly tells Gypsies and Travellers to be inconspicuous, to not offend public opinion and meta-societal norms. The Bill was hailed as a triumph by Tory MP David Atkinson, who wishes to 'control' Gypsies' behaviour, but it has also been hailed as a triumph by Traveller Law Centres, largely due to the proposal for a Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Commission. The Bill has since failed, as discussed earlier in this thesis, but some of the sections have been incorporated into other legislation, such as the Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act (2004).

So far, the discussion in this section on norms has focused on the wider 'social norms', for instance norms that are accepted by all of society. However, just as sociologists would not examine 'society' as a whole but instead examine particular groups, so it must be for the examination of social norms. Micro-norms apply to particular groups, and they are unique to that group. For instance, Gypsies and Travellers see being 'on the road' as a norm. Living in a permanent dwelling is not a Gypsy norm.

If you lived in a house, you wouldn't have so many friends around you for a start, you'd be isolated, 'cos we've got different ways from the house dwellers and we're just used to that way.

(F1, Irish Traveller on LA site, quote from Niner, 2002: 38)

There are many other examples of group micro-norms. An example includes young children in school belonging to a rebellious 'cool' group of kids, who would not want to be seen doing homework and abiding by rules, as they would not gain social acceptance within the group. The micro-norm for this group of school children is to disobey school rules and to buck the meta-norm of working hard to achieve an end goal. Another example may relate to anti-social youth on a crime-ridden estate, where a security tag worn round the ankle of probationers is a badge of pride.

Deviance and Moral Panics

Stanley Cohen studied moral panics in his work entitled *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers* (1980 – note that this study took place in 1972, but has been re-published a number of times since). His work is born largely from the sociology of deviance. Wilkins (1973) attempts to explain perceptions of deviance and the importance of information:

As another example of the influence of information on the perception of normality, consider the following experience of the author. Rather late one Saturday evening he was returning to his home from central London. He joined a bus queue, which seemed to him to consist of some six or seven tough and probably delinquent gang members. He inferred this from the way they stood, and particularly from the manner of their dress. They had not spoken. His knowledge of the delinquent sub-culture did not relieve him of certain feelings of anxiety, or at least of a defensive attitude towards the members of the group. However, immediately they spoke he was able to completely modify his perception of 'abnormality' or deviance of the group – they spoke in French. From his knowledge of the habitual dress of French youth on holiday in England, he was able to fit this apparently 'deviant' behaviour and dress symbolism into a 'normal' or expected context. It would seem, therefore, that we may claim that what is defined as deviant is determined by our subjective experience of 'non-deviant' or 'normal', but that our experience and the resulting classifications can be changed by certain types of information. (Wilkins, 1973: 23)

This example of the definition of deviancy is now over 30 years old, and although the language and the context may not be relevant, the premise of the explanation still holds today. The importance of information, discourse, on the perception of deviancy can be used in an example of Gypsies and Travellers. The very words Gypsy or Traveller create perceptions of deviance or an element of being 'anti-social'. However, particularly in the media, distinctions are made between 'real' Romany Gypsies and 'fake' Travellers; this is often done through reference to the clothes that are worn, or the wagons driven. Sometimes the term 'smartly dressed' is used to denote respectability and normality; to distinguish 'real' Gypsies from deviants (Thorpe, 2002). This has the same effect as Wilkins hearing the youths speaking French in the earlier example, the information changed his perception of the level of deviancy.

This sociology of deviance is evident in the work of Durkheim, especially his research into suicides (1989). However, there has been more work on this sociology by Becker (1964):

The conventional style of studying deviance has focused on the deviant himself and has asked its questions mainly about him. Who is he? Where did he come from? How did he get that way? Is he likely to keep on being that way? The new approach sees it as always and everywhere a process of interaction between at least two kinds of people: those who commit (or are said to have committed) a deviant act and the rest of society, perhaps divided into several groups itself. The two groups are seen in a complementary relationship. One cannot exist without the other; indeed, they are functions of one another in the strict mathematical sense of quantities whose value depends on the value of other quantities.

(Becker, 1964: 2)

This sociology of deviance, according to Becker, fits well with the theory of control discussed in the chapter four, by Foucault. For instance, the deviance described by Becker is not one dimensional – that person is deviant, there is something wrong with them. Instead it relies on at least two, if not three, dimensions of control to explain the sociology of deviance.

It is important to understand some of the theories of deviancy that were being mooted at a similar time to Cohen's work on folk devils. Cohen (1980) explains reactions to groups and events, and he aims to help understand why and how the panics are started, and indeed who starts them:

The level for explaining labelling, societal reaction or moral panic is shifted from social control agencies or cultures – or vague allusions to the 'wider society' – to the specific operation of the state. This means relating the working of the moral panic – or the mobilization of public opinion, the orchestration by the media and public figures of an otherwise inchoate sense of unease – to overall political shifts.

(Cohen, 1980: xxiii-xxiv)

In other words the mobilisation of a panic is not just accidental; it serves to concentrate the political power of the state. Cohen uses Gramsci's concept of hegemony as a theory to underline this assertion:

Hegemony denotes the moment when the ruling class is able not merely to coerce its subordinates to conform, but to exercise the sort of power which wins and shapes consent, which frames alternatives and structures agendas in such a way as to appear natural.
(Cohen, 1980: xxiv)

These discussions from Cohen's work raise questions about the inability to identify the controlling mechanism/s and power bases. Different theorists have varying concepts of power and control (as discussed in chapter four), and even in the examination of one theorist it is difficult to obtain to a single definition. Foucault (1980), for example, says that it is possible to be implementing power techniques on others and at the same time have power targeted upon ourselves. In some ways it is necessary to suspend the need to have a solid definition of a concept in order to describe its implications. Wittgenstein (1974) first published his work *Tractacus Logico-philosophicus* in 1921. He looked at language games, and his work supports the notion of 'getting on with it' and 'observing':

By appealing to language games, Wittgenstein is urging the traditional philosopher not to think but to look and see what persons actually do and say in the course of their daily lives. The description of such activities and utterances rather than synoptic philosophical theory about them will provide an accurate picture of reality.
(Stroll, 2002: 103)

It could also be that a functionalist description of power would be more apt – instead of looking at what it is, it looks at what it does. Functionalists describe controlling mechanisms according to their outcomes and impacts, as opposed to description of its components at any one time.

Cohen's (1980) work argues that the use of moral panics has become more sophisticated since his case study of the Mods and the Rockers. He states that the old sequence, where a specific event triggered a panic, a moral enterprise - followed by mobilisation of control culture - is now gone. In its place a general sense of disquiet is created:

The control culture is mobilized in advance, real events being anticipated and taken to confirm and justify the need for gradual ideological repression.
(Cohen, 1980: xxiv)

This theory does take a rather sinister and negative view of the state's role in the creation and use of moral panics. The use of state control is necessary in an orderly society; the entire premise of the social contract (Rousseau, 1994) is that in 'opting in' to society one agrees to adhere to the rules, which will better life for the majority of society. Cohen's moral panics theory would perhaps fit better with a zero-sum, model of power, which sees governments shaping and controlling behaviour in order to retain and increase their power.

Folk Devils

Folk devils are the focus of moral panics. In Cohen's (1980) study these were groups of 'youth' – Mods and Rockers. Cohen helps to describe the term folk devil:

But the groups such as the Teddy Boys and the Mods and Rockers have been distinctive in being identified not just in terms of particular events (such as demonstrations) or particular disapproved forms of behaviour (such as drug-taking or violence) but as distinguishable social types.
(Cohen, 1980: 9)

Therefore, the folk devil is not necessarily seen in context of a type of behaviour. Instead, some group members may have helped to define the group but then the media/society/state define the whole group as a particular social type.

There is a plethora of folk devils that goes beyond Cohen's case study; for example the Gypsies. In old-wives' tales Gypsies stole babies; according to Anne Widdecombe they steal pets (see Turner, 2002) and according to the local people of Colchester they are murderers (see findings in chapter nine). The role of Gypsies and Travellers as folk devils is played out in government policy decisions and is reinforced by the media. The government, for instance, uses the role of Gypsy as folk devil from a functionalist perspective in order to tell the rest of society how not to live. It has been said, previously, that folk devils are played out by government and reinforced by the media, but it is equally likely that they are represented unfairly by the media and this is reinforced by government policy (as was seen in the Express 'campaign' against East European Roma, 2004). Rather than the government and the media having a unilateral relationship, it is suggested that it is a cyclical, mutually re-enforceable one.

There are some famous examples of folk devils whose infamy may have outlasted their original crime. For instance, Myra Hindley was a classic folk-devil and some argued that she was serving a longer sentence than she should, because of this folk-devil label. Mary Bell is another example of the folk devil. The latter is already living outside of the prison walls, but both women had argued in the courts for life-long anonymity in the face of potentially life-threatening vigilante action if they are not hidden from society's gaze (see Riddell, 2002). Both Hindley and Bell are examples of individual folk devils,

where as the folk devils that Cohen (1980) discussed were groups (mods and rockers) and the folk devils in this thesis are also groups (Gypsies and Travellers). However, Hindley and Bell were individual examples of a group of folk devils – child killers – and, as such, they are useful to analyse here.

Myra Hindley is an especially good example of a folk-devil, especially since her death in November 2002. She is now immortalised as the bleach blond ‘evil’ criminal. Her offences were severe. Hindley and Ian Brady assaulted, killed and buried a number of children and the public like to demonise them to make them different from ‘us’. This is examined in greater detail, later; particularly work from Bauman (1989) will be examined on why the ‘us’ and ‘them’ of folk devilism is so important to social norms.

Is what you do separate from what you are? Are we the sum of our actions, or are we more than that? Is evil an action or something lodged inside us? Can you begin again? Hindley went to confession. Her priest kept vigil beside her bed the night before she died. She received the last rites on Friday. Her soul was shriven. The Catholic religion teaches us that redemption is possible, that even the greatest sinner – even someone who has tortured and killed children for the obscene pleasure of it – can be washed clean of their guilt. Evil is a noun, something like dirt inside you.

But for most of us, evil is more like a verb: something you do, not something you are. This is the more modern and more terrifying view of our moral universe – because, instead of regarding Hindley as simply monstrous or aberrant, ‘possessed’, as it were, by evil, we have to start seeing her as not so very different from all of us, just someone who made different choices.

She is not alien, but human. This is what humans can do, if they take the hellish road and step by step go down it. This is what the Holocaust should have taught us, the awful lesson of the twentieth century. Our history is full of the vast terror of possibility.
(Gerrard, 2002: 14)

Hindley is a prime example of a folk-devil and this commentary from Gerrard unearths the emotional requirement for folk devils. Society needs folk devils to be different; we need distance between 'us' and 'them'.

Folk devils are created in order that the government, or society as a whole, can say 'they are not like us, they can be treated differently'. If folk devils are punished severely, or treated in an inhumane way, then their definition as folk devil absolves those involved in their treatment, of guilt. If everyone was recognised equally it would not allow people to be treated differently. If a folk devil is marked out as different then it allows 'society' to be comforted that it is alright to treat them in a different way to the way they would like to be treated. A good reference in this area of how a group of people can be treated inhumanely, without causing guilt, is the work of Zygmunt Bauman *Modernity and the Holocaust* (1989). A central theme of this work, which looks at how the Germans treated the Jews, is the issue of proximity. Bauman says that Germans found it difficult to single out Jews that were their neighbours and their work colleagues. The Nazis had to remove them from the proximity of daily neighbourliness – remove them from the social – for everyday Germans to see the Jews as different and therefore subject to the horrors that were fated by the Nazis. The issue of proximity is important in understanding folk devils of all kinds, from asylum seekers to Gypsies.

Bauman (1989) explains the importance of proximity:

Being inextricably tied to human proximity, morality seems to conform to the law of optical perspective. It looms large and thick close to the eye. With the growth of distance, responsibility for the other shrivels, moral dimensions of the object blur, till both reach the vanishing point and disappear from view.
(Bauman, 1989: 192)

To use the example of Gypsies and Travellers, this law of proximity can be seen to work. Gypsies can be 'moved on' after 28 days following legislation such as the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994. They are not allowed to 'settle' on certain unauthorised sites and yet there are not enough authorised sites to accommodate them. This bureaucracy is effective in maintaining a distance between 'us' and 'them'. The distance allows society to believe they are not like 'us' and their conscience remains clear when Gypsies and Travellers are treated badly either by the public, the press or the government. The distance created between Gypsies and 'us' has allowed them to become folk devils, and allows them to be treated differently without too much introspection and troubled conscience.

Bauman, in his description of the treatment of Jews, says:

This neutralizing, isolating and marginalizing was an achievement of the Nazi regime deploying the formidable apparatus of modern industry, transport, science, bureaucracy, technology. Without them, the Holocaust would be unthinkable...

(Bauman, 1989: 188)

Using the 'formidable apparatus' discussed above, the Jews were, step-by-step excluded from German society and turned into folk devils. Bauman discusses the work of another theorist, that of Raul Hilberg. He examines Hilberg's steps that led to the exclusion and destruction of the Jews:

“Definition

Dismissals of employees and expropriation of business firms

Concentration

Exploitation of labour and starvation measures

Annihilation

Confiscation of personal effects.”

(Bauman, 1989: 190)

These steps are obviously extreme. In the early 21st Century in England it is not likely that the sequence would be followed through to its logical conclusion for Gypsies and Travellers; however there is historical evidence of them being victims of the holocaust (Kenrick, 1999). The steps have been included to serve as an illustrative example of the treatment of 'others' within the theory of proximity. A current example, which does follow some of Hilberg's steps, is found in the Czech Republic. In a documentary entitled *Gypsies, Tramps and Thieves?* (Channel 4, 2000) the treatment of Gypsies in the Czech Republic was shown. One of the main messages that came over in the programme was not that Gypsies were treated unfairly and cruelly by sections of the Czech population, but that it was state sanctioned. One case was shown where a Gypsy man had been killed, by the 'skinheads' and although there was evidence of their guilt, the alleged perpetrators were not convicted of the killing. Most 'house-dwelling' Czech citizens answered questions about the Gypsies in a derogatory fashion; they felt that they got what was coming to them. One lone voice amongst this group stood out, he said that "Skin heads are carrying out ethnic cleansing for the Government." This seemed to be an example of skin heads carrying out action, which defined Gypsies as unworthy, and without going through all of Hillberg's steps it did end with killing. The fact that some of the skin heads felt they were acting on behalf of their country, and that the Czech population and the Gypsies also felt this, makes it a good example of Hilberg's model as discussed by Bauman (1989).

The above steps are discussed in great detail by Bauman; a summary of the discussion demonstrates the main points:

Definition sets the victimized group apart...Dismissals and expropriations...the victimized group is now effectively removed from sight;...Concentration

completes this process of distantiation....Exploitation and starvation perform a further, truly astonishing, feat: they disguise inhumanity as humanity...And thus the final act, annihilation, was in no way a revolutionary departure. It was so to speak, a logical...outcome of the many steps taken before.
(Bauman, 1989: 191-2)

Only certain sections of these steps can be taken from Bauman's work and used to explain other groups of folk devils in modern society. Although Gypsies, like Jews, have faced torture and annihilation in their history, it is not something that happens in the 21st Century in England. There are still aspects of these steps that can be useful though – the main one being definition. It will help to turn back to Bauman's explanation of this step, in more depth:

Definition sets the victimized group apart (all definitions mean splitting the totality into two parts – the marked and the unmarked), as a *different* category, so that whatever applies to it does *not* apply to all the rest. By the very act of being defined, the group has been targeted for *special* treatment; what is proper in relation to 'ordinary' people must not necessarily be proper in relation to it. Individual members of the group become now in addition exemplars of a type; something of the nature of the type cannot but seep into their individualized images, compromise the originally innocent proximity, limit its autonomy as the self-sustained moral universe.
(Bauman, 1989: 191)

An examination of this issue of definition takes place in more detail in the findings of media coding and analysis of public speech in chapter nine. There is an interesting link between the idea of definition, and the negative characteristics and labels that are identified with Gypsies and Travellers.

Bauman is not alone in his examination of the idea of proximity. Riggins (1997) discusses this concept in relation to the 'rhetoric of othering'. Riggins also links in with the issue of the politicisation and official sanctioning of othering that takes place in society.

...the perception of difference is influenced by economic and political motives...The rhetoric of Othering dehumanizes and diminishes groups, making it easier for victimizers to seize land, exploit labour, and exert control while minimizing the complicating emotions of guilt and shame.
(Riggins, 1997: 9)

It is important to put this part of the chapter into a current context of control. For instance, it is not really possible to be writing on social control, and which groups are being controlled, without at least acknowledging the events of September 11th, 2001, which saw the beginning of atrocities in New York and Washington, Bali, Nigeria and Madrid. This section does not intend to cover the treatment of minority groups in the U.S. and Britain post 9/11 in any great detail – but it cannot be ignored either. The reason that it is important to look at politics and control post 9/11 is that asylum seekers (which includes some Gypsies and Travellers) are increasingly seen as ‘other’ in English society. They are seen as different to English nationals and there is an assumption by some parts of the population and by the press, that asylum seekers pose a threat to an ‘English’ way of life.

The identity of the stranger in society, post 9/11, is important to recognise in this context. However, it is beyond the parameters of the research to provide an in-depth analysis of the effects of 9/11 on society and how minorities are now treated as ‘other’. A variety of publications look at this issue, see for instance Sardar (2002), Johnston (2002), Dodd (2002) and Blunkett (2002).

Conclusion

...the countryside, it seems, belongs to the middle class, to landowners and to people who engage in blood sports...This case suggests how a group, like New Age Travellers, can be denied a place in society through a particular construction of place. A rigid stereotype of place, the English countryside, throws up discrepant others...These groups are other, they are folk-devils, and they transgress only because the countryside is defined as a stereotypical pure space which cannot accommodate difference.

(Sibley, 1995: 107-8, quoted in Cloke et al 2002: 75)

Theories on society, 'otherness' and folk-devils have been explored in this chapter in order to provide a motive for the control of Gypsies and Travellers through discourse.

It is useful to return to the reference from Shuinear (1997) discussed in chapter five.

She states that Gypsies and Travellers need to be made 'other' by Gaujos in order to lift away the burden of their own faults and fears. Shuinear states that:

...the people onto whom these [faults and fears] are projected must be clearly distinct from the Gaujo mainstream, but not utterly foreign to it...

(Shuinear, 1997: 27)

The theory that helps to explain Shuinear, and which forms part of the theoretical framework for this thesis, is Bauman's (1989) ideas on proximity. Gypsies and Travellers (like the Jews in the holocaust) must be seen to be different, and distant, from mainstream society so that, as Shuinear explains, they can take the burden of faults and fears. Once they have taken this burden they can be treated differently in discourse, and they can be controlled.

Berger and Luckmann's (1966) theory would suggest that the distanced Gypsies and Travellers become a new objective reality, and that the ensuing 'othering' discourse then becomes embedded in an objective reality. The objective and subjective realities

are self-defining in a circular notion of discursive power. Elster's (1989) explanation of social norms and Cohen's (1980) theory of folk devils and moral panics frame the method by which groups can be othered – through social norms. Gypsies and Travellers can be shown to dispense with the societal norm of living in a settled house, society then needs to 'other' them as a function to show people how not to live. Various negative, subjective discourse is used to further distance Gypsies and Travellers and this then becomes a new 'objective' reality.

A range of theories, which explain society, norms and 'otherness' support the links that Foucault (1977) makes between discourse and control. They also suggest a motive behind the need to 'other' Gypsies and Travellers. Firstly, by distancing Gypsies and Travellers from the norm, it is easier on the collective conscience when they are treated badly (Bauman, 1989). Secondly, the distanced group serve as a dumping ground for society's fears and faults (Shuinear, 1997).

Although the theorists in this chapter have reinforced Foucault's, and one another's, ideas, there is one particular theory which is used in the framework for understanding the findings in chapter nine – Bauman's (1989) theory of proximity. It is this theory, in the context of an understanding of social norms discussed in this chapter, which aids the examination of key themes that result from the empirical research in this thesis.

The following chapter brings together the main ideas from chapters four to six, and develops a framework within which to discuss the media analysis, public consultation and focus groups which form the substantive part of the empirical research in this work.

Chapter Seven – Developing a Theoretical Framework

Introduction

This brief chapter is the key link between the preceding theoretical analysis and the following empirical material. The major elements concluded from chapters four, five and six are drawn together to develop a theoretical framework. This enables analysis of different systems of discourse such as legislation, policy and practice (see chapter eight) and examination of the primary research (see chapter nine). The framework aims to summarise previous analysis and to provide a definitive theoretical exposition of the research, by looking at the three elements together. This will then help to contextualise the analysis, which follows.

Existing Theoretical Frameworks

There is an existing body of work which examines frameworks of control or discursive frameworks; for instance Akerstrom Anderson (2003) and Clegg (1989). Akerstrom Anderson discusses frameworks, within which to understand the myriad discourses in the social science field. He looks at four main theorists for their discursive frameworks, but the one to note here is Foucault. In summarising his understanding of Foucault, Akerstrom Anderson says:

Power is present in our approach to others insofar as, for example, ‘criminals’, ‘mad people’ or ‘sick people’ are not in and of themselves criminal, mad or sick. Conversely, criminality and illness are discursive positions, which are established with the intent to control.
(Akerstrom Anderson, 2003: 3)

Akerstrom Anderson groups four main areas of Foucault's work into an analytical strategy – he incorporates archaeological discourse analysis, genealogy, self-technology analysis and dispositive analysis. In addition he adds concepts from Koselleck, Laclau and Luhmann in order to provide a tabular framework in which to provide an extensive choice of discursive explanations.

Clegg (1989) draws on a large number of theorists, amongst them Foucault, in order to develop his framework of power. The conclusion of his research culminates in a diagrammatic framework explaining 'circuits of power'. Foucault is important in understanding the circuit, his notions of power as moving, rather than fixed, is a vital component of this idea. In explaining his diagrammatic framework, Clegg states:

Power at this level will invariably be accompanied by resistance, which is indicated... in the model of episodic power relations. Those [arrows] pointing to the right-hand side indicate social relations constituting agencies, agencies utilizing standing conditions, and standing conditions utilized by agencies causing outcomes. The arrows which point to the left-hand side indicate resistance. Power which proceeds at the level of these episodic power relations is the most apparent, evident and economical circuit of power.
(Clegg, 1989: 215)

Resistance to power is outlined by Clegg. This concept, and the circular notion of power, was discussed in chapter four; and Marston (2002) was particularly referred to in the examination of the Gypsy Traveller Media Advisory Group. In constructing his framework, Clegg (1989) hangs his notion of power on ideas of modern and post-modern explanations of the state, organisation and the market. The framework detailed in this thesis focuses on Foucault's theory of gaze and links this with explanations of discourse. A further component of the framework is an analysis of society, norms and folk devils. This is in an attempt to explain why control of Gypsies and Travellers,

through discourse, is seen as necessary in society. Neither Akerstrom Anderson (2003) nor Clegg (1989) tackle this issue; they concentrate on the how, rather than the why.

Clegg states as much in his work:

The circuits of power framework enables us to analyse how this is so. Why it should be so is another question, suited to more polemical occasions than this text allows.

(Clegg, 1989: 272)

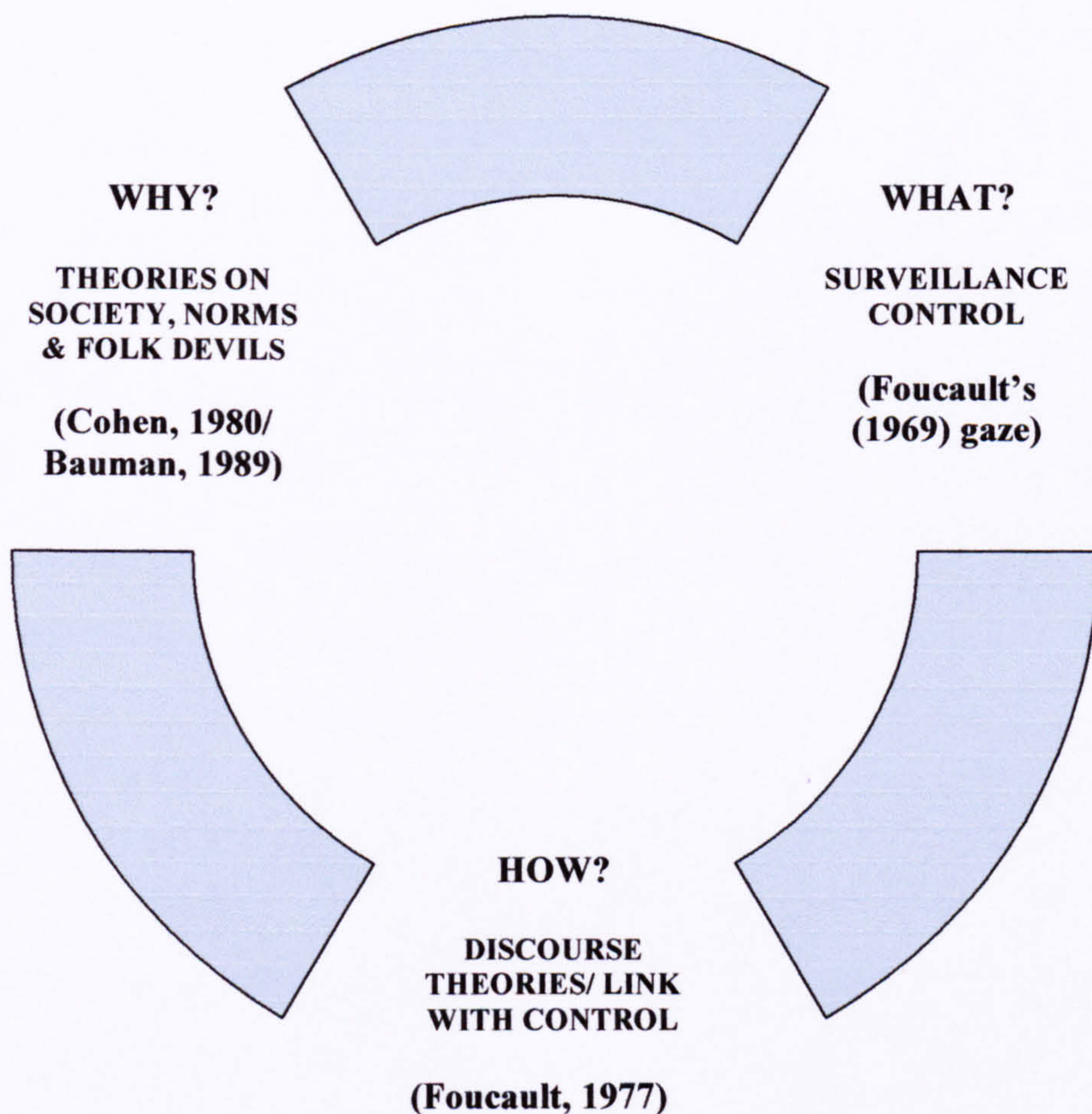
The question of why, is of great importance to this research. In failing to understand the motive for exercising a particular type of power and control, it is not possible to fully comprehend the concept of power. There is also a link between the motive behind power and the question of who is controlling and who is being controlled. Attached to this is the notion of who the controlling is for; this is not as simple as looking at who is doing the controlling. For instance, the government would deny that social control is to directly benefit them and allow for political shifts. Instead, they may suggest that it is for the benefit of the collective 'whole' of society. This is discussed in further detail later, but it is important to note that the 'why' and 'who' of control are developed, in this framework, in order to build on the work of authors, such as Akerstom Anderson and Clegg, and to bridge a gap in this area of research.

Developing the Theoretical Framework

Three main theoretical areas have been discussed so far in this thesis: control (Foucault's gaze), theories of discourse (and the links between theories on discourse and control) and, thirdly, theories on society, norms and folk devils (Bauman, 1989 and Cohen, 1980). The latter theory was linked to explanations from researchers such as

Shuinear (1997). These propositioned a functionalist type of perspective, that a group such as Gypsies and Travellers was needed to take the burden of society's fears and faults. This begins to provide a motive for the control of the group through discourse and begins to answer the question of why there is a perceived need for the control of Gypsies and Travellers.

The framework brings together these three key areas:



(Fig. 9: Theoretical Framework)

The diagram shows three stages of a circular route of power and control: what, how and why. It is circular, rather than linear, because there is no set start and end point. Additionally, there are no arrows to denote direction of the route, as it is multi-directional and can flow any way.

The question of who is controlling, and being controlled, was discussed, briefly, earlier. It is not included as a separate question in the circular framework as it is embedded as part of each of the three stages. Additionally, the 'who' question is not included, because it is possible to apply the main theoretical model to any group, and this is examined further on. In applying the framework to the empirical material in this thesis, the 'who' relates to the government, media and public, largely as controllers. Gypsies and Travellers are seen as mostly subject to control. It is important to remember from explanations of resistance by Clegg (1989), and discussion in chapter four, that a 'target' of power can also apply power. Power is relational, and the above is a simplistic application of the theoretical framework. For instance, the Gypsy Traveller Media Advisory Group was discussed previously as an example of a target of control (Gypsies and Travellers), resisting the traditional flow of power and actually exercising control over the media. This exemplified how quickly the direction of power could change. However, theoretical discussion, the literature reviews and indeed the empirical research, point towards an application of this framework that, in the main, sees the controllers as the government, media and public; and Gypsies and Travellers are the controlled.

In applying the framework to the empirical research, it is surmised that Foucault's 'gaze' best explains the surveillant control that is exercised; and that discourse theories (and their link with control theories) demonstrate how the surveillant control is exercised over Gypsies and Travellers. Finally, notions on society, norms and folk-devils go some way to providing a motive for the need to control this group.

The theoretical framework of this research, shown in figure nine, hypothesises that surveillant control is exercised through discourse, because a particular group is seen to differ from macro societal norms. One of the criticisms of Foucault's (1969) gaze, discussed in chapter four, was that it could be applied to everyone and everything. This thesis specifically breaks down discourse into three groups in the empirical research (1) the government, (2) the public and (3) the media. Although this covers a very wide range of views still, it demonstrates how the theoretical framework could be focused on as narrow or broad entity as possible. For instance it could be applied to one particular local authority area – the discourse of a local authority's policies, procedures and employees/councillors could be examined over another particular group.

The controlled group in this thesis is Gypsies and Travellers. Again, the framework could be applied to any group – asylum seekers, anti-social youths and so on. Indeed, examples of media reporting, earlier in the thesis, draw parallels between Travellers and asylum seekers – particularly in the discourse of 'real' versus 'fake'. A variety of groups were cited as an example of 'anti-social' in chapter six, at figure eight. The theoretical framework could be equally applied to any of them, as groups controlled through discourse.

It is important to remember that discourse is not just a matter of text and talk, it is not reactive but indeed productive and constructive. It is the translation of discourse into action that controls Gypsies and Travellers. This notion is exemplified particularly well in examinations in the ensuing two chapters. For instance the discourse of legislation and policy is translated into judgement and procedure. The outcome of these judgements and procedures has a real affect on whether Gypsies and Travellers can stay on a particular site, whether they can build a site on their own land, or indeed what services they can expect to receive in a particular local authority area. The legislative and policy discourse does not stop with the words on a page; it is the translation of the discourse into action that is controlling.

The framework reflects the circular route of power and control outlined in chapter four. There are also links with the definition and re-definition of groups through discourse. For example, Berger and Luckmann (1966) discuss the social construction of reality, as broken into subjective and objective reality. Figure nine, above, showed the circular notion of power in this thesis' theoretical framework and this also reflects the definition and redefinition of objective and subjective reality. This is especially true when one looks at the question of who is being controlled. Gypsies and Travellers are defined according to societal norms and then kept under surveillance through societal discourse which controls and re-defines the group according to new subjective realities. This subjective reality is then taken as a new objective reality and so the definition and redefinition, through discourse, continues. In chapter nine, a discussion on Radio Four is included in the analysis of the findings of this research. One of the examples in the

radio discussion was of residents near Dover discussing asylum seekers according to the labels given to them in the media. When asked for examples of these asylum seekers in real life, the residents could not provide any. However, the subjective reality of the media discussion had become the objective reality of the Dover residents. The same can be seen in the analysis of media reporting, and of the Colchester public's views (again in chapter nine). These two parts of the construction of discourse around Gypsies and Travellers (1. the media and 2. the public) define and redefine the group beyond the recognition of Gypsies and Travellers themselves. This circularity of controlling discourse is demonstrated in figure nine.

The motivation of government and the media to define and redefine 'other' groups has been examined earlier. Cohen (1980) analyses the need for government to move a general fear into something more tangible, in order to allow for political shifts. It is possible to see the policies of Home Secretary Blunkett (post 9/11) reflect this. The fear of terrorist attack is heightened by government rhetoric in order that policy and legislative shifts can be made under the guise of protecting the population. A similar motive can be found for the government (and media – perhaps working in concert with government) in their discourse around Gypsies and Travellers. By othering them, particularly on the issue of cost, the theory of proximity (Bauman, 1989) means the general population is less concerned with adverse treatment of them.

The motive for the media 'othering' Gypsies and Travellers is perhaps not as clear as that of the Government. However, one suggestion is that by perpetuating the stereotype of Gypsies and Travellers as 'folk-devil' it enables more newspapers to be sold (and

thus the link with cost as motive is further enforced). This issue is discussed elsewhere in the thesis, particularly in relation to the Express campaign to stop Roma from the EU accession countries claiming benefits in the UK. The theoretical element is also discussed in chapter five where Galtung and Ruge's (1973) news values are examined. In perpetuating the discourse around Gypsies and Travellers the media is heightening their news value, which sells more newspapers. The more 'other' Gypsies and Travellers are seen to be, the more the population wants to read about them, the news then 'others' them even more and so the cycle continues.

In figure nine, the motive of making Gypsies and Travellers 'other' serves to heighten their presence in society which makes it easier to monitor them through discursive surveillance. The discursive surveillance redefines Gypsies and Travellers further, as folk devils, and refuels the motive to 'other' them, and so the cycle continues.

Using the Framework

The theoretical framework was developed using the discussions and conclusions from chapter four to six; and it enables some of the concepts such as power, control, gaze and discourse to be operationalised in the analysis of the empirical material. It is used as a context within which to analyse the legislation, policy and practice affecting Gypsies and Travellers, as discussed in the following chapter; and the discourse surrounding and controlling the group which is examined in the analysis of the primary research findings in chapter nine.

The theory outlines what type of power and control is being used (surveillance/gaze), how it is being used (through discourse) and why it is being used (to 'other' those that don't conform to societal norms). The question of who is separate to the core theoretical concept, so the theory can be seen to be applicable to a number of different 'anti-social' groups – not just Gypsies and Travellers. These separate components to the framework have been explained and critiqued in detail previously in the thesis. In bringing the ideas together it is possible to provide a context within which to analyse the findings of this research. It provides a vital link between the theoretical discussion, previously, and the analysis of empirical data, which follows.

Not only does the theoretical context help to explain the practical findings of the research, but in applying the theory it is possible to conclude which theories are the most use in explaining certain phenomena. Thus, the framework was not developed in isolation and then applied to the findings, but the two parts of the research helped to define one another. In operationalising key concepts such as gaze and discourse in the explanation of the media analysis, public speech analysis and Gypsy/Traveller focus groups. It was possible to see, for instance, that Foucault's gaze was particularly important in explaining the findings of the research. Although his ideas on governmentality were vital in defining what is meant by power and control, particularly in chapter four, it was his notion of the gaze which was particularly prevalent in analysing the discursive control over Gypsies and Travellers.

The theoretical framework, in this brief chapter, has brought together key theoretical concepts (gaze, discourse and society) to provide a link and a context for the following

analysis. It has built upon the work of writers, such as Clegg (1989) and Akerstrom Anderson (2003) in providing an explanation of why power is exercised over certain groups. It has also analysed who (which particular groups) are part of those controlling and those being controlled. But, it has been explained that because of the fluid notion of power, the circular route of the framework (as depicted in Figure 9.) is multi-directional. The following chapter looks at legislation and policy and practice issues that are important to the discussion on the travelling population. The issues were highlighted as part of chapter two; however they are discussed within the context set out in this framework, next.

Chapter Eight – Discursive Tools: Legislation, Policy and Practice

Introduction

...discourse analysis emphasises the construction of social identity in and through hegemonic practices of articulation, which partially fixes the meaning of social identities by inscribing them in the differential system of a certain discourse.

(Torfing, 1999: 41)

The main focus of this chapter is that there are many and various ways that Gypsies and Travellers are controlled in, and by, society. It is a collection of tools, such as legislation and policy/practice, which is inextricably linked within a discourse, that enforces control on Gypsies and Travellers. One example, of the links between the discursive measures and physical control, is highlighted by Foucault (1984b) in the development of state health programmes to control the spread of disease. The culmination of policies resulted in the physical structures of hospitals, but there was an emphasis on families taking control of the health of their own families. The scare of disease and contagion still plays a part in moral panics today and there is a perception that Gypsies and Travellers are 'dirty'. Morris and Clements (2001) look at health initiatives targeted at Gypsies and Travellers and it is possible to link state health policies with the discussion on the control of Gypsies and Travellers. Foucault (1984b) demonstrates discursive control translating into action, in this instance the physical entity of hospitals. This translation of discourse into action is further exemplified in the examination of legislation and policy and practice.

There is a variety of ways in which Gypsies and Travellers are controlled. The motive for the control measures is the perception that Gypsies and Travellers are 'other', they are folk devils, not like 'us', and therefore they need to be controlled. This was discussed in detail in the theoretical framework. This chapter aims to demonstrate that language is not benign, but can be translated into controlling action. The two discursive tools analysed here are legislation, and policy and practice. These two areas are discussed within the theoretical framework, outlined previously.

Legislation

Legislation is an overt tool to control all groups in society. Laws must be abided, or the consequence – if caught – is to pay a fine, provide a service to the community, or the ultimate sanction is to spend time in prison. As such, everyone is subject to legislation as a control mechanism. However, it would seem that Gypsies and Travellers are subject to tighter and less fair legislative control than members of the settled community.

Sandland (1996) in his paper *The Real, the Simulacrum, and the Construction of 'Gypsy' in Law* examines this notion; he describes his research as:

...a study of law as fantasy, as the constitution of marginality within yet outside marginality, and as the generation and reinvention of identity/difference. My topic is law's role in demarcating that double boundary which, first, separates travellers from the sedentary population and, secondly, sub-categorizes travellers into, on the one hand, 'real' or 'genuine' and on the other, the 'pretended' or 'simulated'.

(Sandland, 1996: 383)

He goes on to examine the courts' interpretations of the Gypsy in law. On examining one particular case, he says:

For the court in *Mills*, then, the essence of being a gypsy was the pursuit of a nomadic lifestyle and the absence of a fixed abode; a matter not of being, as Diplock LJ seemed to suggest, but of doing.
(Sandland, 1996: 388)

The Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (1994) and Circular 1/94 was introduced to the Commons as a way of putting Gypsies and Travellers on an equal footing with regard to planning and self-help. This legislation was outlined in chapter two. Here, the legislation is discussed within the context of the theoretical framework in chapter seven. The abolition of the duty to provide sites was excluded entirely from the political discourse in the House of Lords; and down-played in the Commons. Bancroft (2000) says as much:

Of course, the forces that shape law-making and implementation are seldom if ever value free, substantively rational or disinterested. In addition to the broad social power relations which structure law-making and implementation, there are aspects of political expediency, horse-trading, outflanking or smoking out of political rivals, all of which may be reflected in some way in the final legal text. Most of these processes can be identified in the production of the 1994 Act.

The Conservative government represented the parts of the 1994 Act affecting the planning regime as producing a planning system that was fairer all round.
(Bancroft, 2000: 48)

Planning legislation can be seen to play a large part in the control placed upon the nomadic lifestyle of Gypsies and Travellers. Different interpretations of the law mean that Gypsies and Travellers are even more disadvantaged as there is little clarity. The framework, in the previous chapter at figure nine, shows three stages in the discursive control of the travelling community. The drafting and presentation of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (1994), and Circular 1/94, falls within the discursive

theory demonstrating how control is exercised. The introduction of legislation in the Commons is the first phase of a circuitous route of interpretation of discourse, definition and redefinition. Once the wording of the law is agreed, it is then re-interpreted at the implementation stage. The hierarchy of the legislative system is theoretically separated into different powers so that those who create the law do not also implement it.

However, the government can increasingly be seen (through Blunkett) to be involved in interpretation and implementation, indeed legislation introduced post 9/11 obfuscates the law even further and there is little transparency and openness. This is relevant here, because according to the framework the question of who the control is for should ideally be 'society' as a whole, and who is doing the controlling should be the legislative. However, the hand of government can increasingly be seen in the interpretation of legislation and it is also proposed that it benefits government in that it can highlight society's fears (particularly post 9/11) and can then divert people from law which contravenes human rights and which allows for increased governmental control and policy shifts. The framework is useful, not just in looking at law and policy as it applies to Gypsies and Travellers, but in examining how the law is made and implemented in the U.K.

Allen (2000) discusses the implementation of planning legislation at a local level:

Final decisions are made by council committees, consisting of councillors who are dependent for their position on election by voters. Politics, therefore, plays a large part in the decisions as do also personal prejudices of individual members of planning committees. Planning officials who deal with the applications in the first place, and make recommendations to the committees who decide on them, also have their prejudices, which are not as a rule, in favour of Gypsies.
(Allen, 2000: 118)

This politicisation of planning decisions is echoed by Home (1994):

When gypsies move onto land without planning permission, or when councils propose sites for them, a hostile public reaction is virtually guaranteed. There will be front page coverage in the local, if not the national, press, and a flood of NIMBY (not in my back yard) objections.
(Home, 1994: 111)

The Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (1994), together with Circular 1/94, is open to different interpretations across the country. The different interpretations of Circular 1/94 are demonstrated in the varying case law; Lord Avebury (2004) signalled that the government is considering a revision to this Circular. The cases of Berry and Cooper were discussed in chapter two as exemplifying differing interpretations of the legal definition of a Gypsy in planning law. The definition and redefinition of Gypsy/Traveller in law is achieved through the circulatory framework explained in the previous chapter. The motive for definition, even legal definition, can be seen to be politicised. The functionalist need to 'other' in legal cases is even more important as it sets precedents and provides a moral and legal code that people should adhere to. This also links to the question of how control is exercised in the framework. The use of legal discourse, and particular legal definitions of Gypsy/Travellers (as opposed to self-definition as proposed by the travelling population and endorsed by the ODPM select committee in its report of 8th November 2004) serve to control through their interpretation. For instance Berry was interpreted (through legal discourse) to not be a Gypsy and therefore to be unsuccessful in his application for planning, yet Cooper was interpreted to be a Gypsy at the stage of legal appeal. The legal definitions do not just stand alone as benign words, the discourse creates an opportunity to control.

The Homelessness Act (2002) was also outlined earlier in the thesis. Gypsies and Travellers should be included in local needs analyses under this piece of legislation, but

Lord Avebury found that few local authorities were doing this on a practical level. In chapter five, research by Huckin (2002) on textual silence was examined. In this instance, one is not looking at textual silence, but instead at implementation silence. A policy implementation gap is evident. The refusal of local authorities to analyse Gypsy/Traveller needs, under their legal duties, means that Gypsies and Travellers are left out of strategic planning, and housing support is not being given as it should be. Refusal to implement is the translation tool from discourse into (non) action. Again, the motive is to distance Gypsy/Travellers from the mainstream settled population. However, in this case, rather than a general need to 'other', the motive may be linked to cost. If local authorities found out the needs of Gypsies and Travellers then they may have to meet them, and this would affect budgets. The issue of cost is discussed in more detail in the next chapter. It would seem from Avebury's research that Gypsies and Travellers are being failed, on a strategic level, by local authorities who are not fulfilling their duties to consider their needs under the Homelessness Act 2002. However, it is not just on a strategic basis that Gypsies and Travellers can be controlled under this legislation. On a practical level, Gypsies and Travellers who present as homeless are often forced to take bricks and mortar housing, in the absence of suitable Traveller accommodation. Crawley says this:

...reflects an implicit assumption that those in Travelling communities will eventually choose to move into permanent 'bricks and mortar' housing and will no longer travel... many families do move into housing, sometimes willingly, sometimes not.
(Crawley, 2004: 7)

This 'implicit assumption' links in well with the discussion on social norms and control in chapters four and six. Assimilation is a method of controlling and containing

'otherness'. Forcing Gypsies and Travellers to move into bricks and mortar housing, because of the lack of an alternative, is a strategic effort to achieve this level of control.

Hawes and Perez (1996) sum up the situation between the state and the Gypsy/Traveller, they too note the element of coercion:

Even when, in 1968, the state acknowledged the legitimacy of a way of life quite alien to the notions of the house-dwelling majority and began to provide sites, still the law included unique prejudicial sanctions which were aimed at those very elements of travelling life which make it different from any other.

In the words of one Traveller, it is as if the Gorgio is saying: "Of course we must cater for your interesting differences, but we must encourage you, to the point of coercion, to stop being different – or at least make it as difficult as possible" (Hawes, 1994).
(Hawes, 1996: 156)

However, there has been recent case-law which examined the offer of bricks and mortar housing to a homeless Gypsy family. The family turned down the offer because they said it was not suitable. The local authority felt that in making the offer of accommodation it had discharged its homelessness duty. The case was *R (on the application of Thomas Clarke) v Secretary of State for Transport Local Government and the Regions and Tunbridge Wells Borough Council (2002) EWCA Civ 819B*. The judge in the case said that where the applicant could prove that they had adhered to a travelling lifestyle and they had antipathy towards a house then "the offer of bricks and mortar was as unsuitable as an offer of a rat infested barn". This case was a triumph for Gypsies and Travellers who felt that their different accommodation needs were finally recognised, rather than covered up. However, there was also the issue of 'proof' of adherence to a travelling lifestyle. This part of the judgement seems to be an attempt to distinguish between 'genuine' and 'fake' Travellers. In this way it echoes the analysis

of the media coding and public speech discourse in chapter nine. A more recent case, however, did not follow this precedent. In *Codona v Mid Bedfordshire District Council* (as reported in *The Times* newspaper on 21st July 2004) the offer of temporary Bed and Breakfast accommodation, to Leanne Codona, was seen as a discharge of legal duties under the Act, despite her aversion to bricks and mortar. So, the legal picture is still unclear on where Gypsies and Travellers stand with regard to offers of accommodation made under the homelessness legislation.

The conditions of the (failed) Traveller Law Reform Bill (2002), outlined in chapter two, demonstrated a balance of rights and responsibilities that seemed to lean more heavily towards responsibilities for Gypsies and Travellers, than rights. It is often the case with Gypsies and Travellers that the duties are much more onerous than the rights, which is reflected in the Bill. The caveat on interference with the rights of Travellers is quite wide in Section 8 of the Bill; it seems that it could be interpreted quite widely in order to substantiate a claim for the need to interfere with Travellers' rights.

Additionally Schedule 2 is prescriptive:

**SCHEDULE 2
HEALTH, SAFETY AND COMMUNITY CODE FOR GYPSIES AND
TRAVELLERS**

Keep groups small and inconspicuous. Anything more than six vehicles is likely to be a problem but this will depend on the site and proximity to other properties.

Consider your own health and safety. Space yourselves out and keep the area clean and tidy.

Consider the dangers of fire, electric cables and generators and passing traffic.

Look after the land you are on and consider nearby residents.

Do not dump or burn rubbish and leave the land clean and tidy.

**Keep animals, especially dogs, under control...
(Traveller Law Reform Bill, 2002: Schedule 2: 12)**

This approach certainly weighs in with duties, rather than rights. Additionally, it appears to endorse existing legislation – for instance the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (1994); one of its criteria for moving Travellers on, refers to six vehicles being enough of an encampment to be considered for removal.

The Traveller Law Reform Bill (2002) was viewed by many as a progressive piece of proposed legislation, partly because of the duty on local authorities to provide sites.

This duty is important and it was right that the Bill should be seen as a success in this regard. However, the onerous duties, rather than rights, seemed to be endorsing the link between Gypsies and anti-social behaviour. It is also interesting to examine who endorsed the Bill. The second signatory is Conservative MP Andrew MacKay. He referred to Gypsies and Travellers as ‘scum’ in his address to the House of Commons in January 2002 (this is discussed in more detail in the findings) and yet he signed this Bill in July 2002. If the Bill was a radical departure giving Gypsies and Travellers new rights to a nomadic lifestyle, whilst giving local authorities duties to provide sites, then an MP who thinks Gypsies are ‘scum’ would not have signed up to it.

Despite promises of new legislation to give Gypsies and Travellers the freedom to live their lives without undue interference, the law can be seen to control, rather than provide for. The law, divides Gypsies and Travellers between the ‘real’ and the ‘fake’ (as discussed in chapter two by Sandland, 1996), it controls the number of Travellers who can settle in one place and it is extremely prescriptive over the manner in which

Gypsies and Travellers should conduct themselves. Whilst there has been case-law which identifies the difference between bricks and mortar offers and appropriate offers of accommodation for homeless families, there is still a practice of offering Gypsies and Travellers houses; and recent cases, such as (Codona 2004), endorse this approach.

Legislative discourse, and its interpretation by the courts, is seen to be a tool of control within the theoretical framework, outlined previously. It is possible to see how the legal discourse can control Gypsies and Travellers, particularly through its use of legal definition, which denies some the label of Gypsy, and thereby finds against them in planning decisions. The question of why this particular tool is used, again, links back to the need to other the group. It justifies the number of planning refusals for Gypsies and Travellers, compared with those for the settled population (Bowers, 2004).

It is now necessary to take a brief look at the variety of ways in which the law is interpreted across different authority boundaries. The Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (1994) is used as an example to demonstrate the different ways in which the primary legislation is implemented within the context of local policies, practices and discourses.

Policy and Practice

The policy-implementation gap has been discussed already, particularly in the discussion on legislative control and how Section 61 of the Public Order Act (1994) is interpreted differently by varying police authorities. Policy is discussed further here in

order to see how local authorities work within legislative constraints and how they interpret their duties to Gypsies and Travellers. In some instances policies are behind the mistrust between agencies and Gypsies and Travellers. In her work looking at the implementation of social services policy with regard to Gypsies and Travellers, Cemlyn (2000) says that:

Social Services have become increasingly subject to the broader political context in their relationships with Travellers. However, there is also a specific history of troubled relationships. Welfare services in general, and in particular the threat to remove children from families, or their actual (and sometimes systematic) removal, have formed part of Travellers' historical experience of a state in Britain and elsewhere in Europe which was inimical to their way of life... (Cemlyn, 2000: 328)

As part of her research Cemlyn conducted a survey with all social services departments. She found that the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (1994) had a low profile within social services because there was little engagement with Gypsies and Travellers. However, in comparison to other Gypsy/Traveller specific policy areas, it was near the top of the agenda. Nevertheless, there was a disparity with regard to the policies and actual implementation of the Act.

In the first sample seven respondents (29.6%) replied that their authorities had engaged with policy around the CJPOA, and were among those respondents who indicated higher levels of engagement with Traveller issues generally. Reported attitudes varied widely, from a decision not to use the CJPOA, to taking a 'firm line' in relation to unauthorized camping. In a question related to interdepartmental coordination, inter-agency groups were the most frequently reported liaison mechanism (eight responses, 23.5%), and in five of these (14.7%) the focus of the groups was on the implications of the CJPOA. (Cemlyn, 2000: 331)

The different policy stances between local authorities, has also been in evidence during the literature review and data collection for this research. For instance, discussions took place with a number of Gypsy Traveller Liaison Officers and Planning Officers in

different local authorities, including: Cambridgeshire County, Colchester, Cornwall County, Fenland District, Leicester City, Lincolnshire County and South Norfolk. In Colchester, although the duty to provide sites was repealed in 1994, the authority is using its discretionary power to examine the development of a new site; as part of its policy on meeting the needs of Gypsies and Travellers. South Norfolk District Council, more recently, is following the same route. Cambridgeshire has a progressive approach to meeting the needs of Gypsies and Travellers, and Fenland District Council, in particular, seems to provide a number of sites and to be proactive in attempting to ease relations between the travelling and settled communities. Indeed, Fenland has had a great deal of tension between the two communities as a result of the high-profile case of the farmer Tony Martin shooting at two intruders, killing one and injuring the other; both of whom were Travellers. Lincolnshire County Council also seemed to take a proactive approach to Gypsy/Traveller site provision. It was one of only two local authorities in the country to successfully apply for ODPM funding for an emergency stopping site in 2003. Leicester City Council employed a Gypsy Liaison Officer who is well known amongst other professionals and who is an expert in the field; but she has been unable to facilitate any further site provision. The Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (1994) was followed to the letter in regard to new site provision in Leicester.

The mixed picture on site provision is indicative of differing interpretations of legislation and differing policies to deal with Gypsies and Travellers. The lack of consistency amongst local authorities makes it difficult for the travelling community to know where they stand. Their nomadic lifestyle means that they cannot become fully aware of their rights; instead they do not know how they will be treated from one

district to the next. Indeed some local authorities purposefully do not include the development of new sites in their policy making, in case it attracts Travellers to the area. They feel that by not having a policy, Gypsies and Travellers will not come to their district. Some local authorities that are next door to an area with an adequate number of sites feel that the generous provision attracts more Gypsies and Travellers to the area and that they may cross local authority boundaries and set up unauthorised encampments. This mixed response to Gypsy/Traveller policy making does constrain the travelling lifestyle, and in some cases this is executed by negative proactivity. If there was a more uniform approach to implementing legislation, the situation would be clearer to both the travelling and settled communities. Instead obfuscation takes the place of possible clarity, and the lack of information can translate to a lack of power for Gypsies and Travellers. It is interesting to note the proactive use of 'textual silence' (Huckin, 2002) in some areas where the policy of site provision appears to be to not have a policy. Additionally, the varying interpretation of legislation makes for a confusing policy discourse; this lack of clarity also serves to control the travelling lifestyle of Gypsies as authorities can hide behind the ambiguity.

The differing interpretations of legislative powers and duties, by local authorities, is interesting. On a micro-level there is evidence of different motives at work (the why factor in the theoretical framework). For instance, the local authority that does not provide sites, or proactively seek to ascertain the needs of Gypsies and Travellers in their area may have two motives. Firstly, there is the issue of cost – money needs to be found to build new sites (the Gypsy Sites Refurbishment Grant introduced in 2001 only covers existing provision). Linked to the issue of cost is the notion of politics and

political power. As Marston (2002) discussed in his study, people want to distance themselves from groups perceived to be unpopular. Local councillors and MPs do not wish to align themselves with the needs of Gypsies and Travellers for fear of putting themselves at odds with the majority of voters and hence not being voted for at the next election.

This brief section on policy and practice, particularly in relation to the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (1994), has served to demonstrate the existence of ambiguity in the interpretation of legislation. Textual silence in local policy and the discourse of site provision indicates a level of control over Gypsies and Travellers. The words of the legislation are either adhered to rigidly (for instance there is no duty to provide sites) or they are ignored (but there is a power to provide sites). This equally applies to Section 61 of the Act where in some areas the police remove Gypsies and Travellers in a strict manner according to the letter of the law; or in other areas they suggest to local people that the law does not allow them to remove Gypsies and Travellers from unauthorised sites. Local policy to interpret legislation, it would seem, is one of the tools that comprise the discourse used around Gypsies and Travellers.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined two main tools of control, within discourse: legislation, and policy and practice. Used together, these measures of control make the travelling lifestyle particularly difficult to maintain and it is suggested that assimilation with settled community 'norms' is the ultimate aim of such controlling measures. The

reason for this aim may be linked to 'cost' of this alternative lifestyle; and this is discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

Legislation, policy and practice are specific discursive tools that are used in the circuitous framework of control, outlined in chapter seven. Discourse has been discussed widely, so far in this thesis, and this chapter has sought to examine specific examples of discourse, used to control Gypsies and Travellers, within the theoretical framework discussed in the previous chapter.

The transition of the discourse, from words into action, is at the heart of this thesis. In order to demonstrate this, three areas of primary research were outlined in the methodology chapter: media analysis, attendance at a planning meeting and focus groups with Gypsies and Travellers. The findings from this research are examined in the next chapter and the aim is to analyse this transition from words into action, within discourse.

Chapter Nine – Talking about Gypsies

Introduction

A theoretical framework, for the study of discourse as control, has been developed. In this chapter, the framework is used to analyse findings from the primary research. The analysis is provided in discursive themes (see figure ten, below) and these build upon existing research themes. These themes were outlined in chapters two and five and they included issues such as ‘dirty’, ‘cost’ and ‘fake’. Chapter two included a literature review of published work on Gypsies and Travellers and a number of key ideas were identified. Shuinear (1997) and Stewart (1997) discussed ‘real’ versus ‘fake’ Gypsies, and Hawes and Perez (1996) highlighted the political prejudice against this group. A need for more, and better, sites was mooted by Niner (2003), and Crawley (2004) and the ODPM select committee (2004) agreed. Morris (2003) discussed the invisibility of Gypsies, on a policy level, and Morris and Clements (2002) questioned the discourse around the ‘cost’ of Gypsies and Travellers and linked its use to the need to distance them from the mainstream. Finally, the notion of proximity was outlined in neighbours’ views to Travellers’ sites in Scottish research by Duncan (1996).

Shuinear (1997) was further discussed in chapter five, but a variety of other research was also included, which can be examined according to principle themes. Indeed, Turner’s (2002) work was summarised into themes, in Figure six. Erjavec (2001) discussed the ‘normalisation’ of discriminatory discourse, and this can be linked to Berger and Luckmann’s (1966) objective and subjective reality and the circular route of definition and redefinition examined earlier, in the theoretical framework. Erjavec

(2001) also hit upon the theme of newsworthiness of Gypsies and Travellers, which links with the motive behind the media using controlling discourse to 'other' them. Leudar and Nekvapil (2000) examined Czech television debates, and the key theme of most of the statements used was criminality. This theme was not found to be as prominent in the empirical research for this thesis. Finally, Clark and Campbell (2000) examined particular terms used in the media, such as 'invasion'. This links with one of the key themes examined later in the chapter.

This chapter builds upon all of this existing research. It analyses the findings from the primary research and focuses on the way that people talk about Gypsies and Travellers, and how this forms part of a controlling discourse. The key themes from the empirical research for this thesis include:

Summary of Main themes

- Mess
- Cost
- Misrepresentation
- Site provision
- Location and size of sites
- Labelling – Gypsies or Travellers?
- Discrimination in service provision
- Folk Devils
- Influx, invasion and other negative terms
- Surveillance
- Who is talking about Gypsies and Travellers?

Fig. 10: Summary of Main Themes

It is important to remember that these discursive themes are not merely describing the views of the media and the public. Instead, they construct new social 'truths' about Gypsies and Travellers (see Clapham, 2002). Additionally, the language used is implemented in further action. This can be physical action (Lodge, 2004),

implementation of legislation (Morris, 1998), or increased visibility and surveillance that dominates the travelling community (Foucault, 1969).

Therefore, the examination of the key themes, in the findings from the primary research, are analysed in the context of the theoretical discussion that has formed a large part of this thesis, and the framework that was developed in chapter seven. Each of the main findings will be examined in turn, further on. Also, other empirical research, examined in chapter five, will be used to help explain the themes. This includes work from Helleiner and Szuchewycz (1997), Turner (2000 and 2002), Erjavec (2001), Leudar and Nekvapil (2000), Clark and Campbell (2000), Morris (2000 and 2002), and Duncan (1996). Additional research (outlined in chapter three) is also referred to; such as the survey at a Cornwall Travellers' site and discussions with Gypsy/Travellers and liaison officers.

Methodology and Findings

The methodology was analysed in detail in chapter three. However, a brief summary of the approach is included in figure eleven, below. This is followed by a commentary on the findings, for example the number of reports examined in the media analysis, before moving on to a thematic review of the discourse.

Approach	Methodology
Media Analysis	Search of English and Welsh national and local newspapers for the month of October 2003, using Lexis Nexis database. Analysis of the articles was conducted using NVIVO software.
Planning Consultation in	Effectively this part of the research analysed 100% of

Colchester	the sample frame as Colchester was the only local authority debating new site provision at the time (December 2003). The meeting allowed for the researcher to be observer, without any direct involvement in the discussion. Ongoing communication with the Planning Officer also facilitated access to previous consultation information.
Gypsy/Traveller Focus Groups	A series of four focus groups was held from November to early December 2003. Meetings were held at Bosworth Community College, Desford with a range of Gypsies and Travellers.

Fig. 11: Summary of Methodological Approach

Media Analysis

From the analysis of the media, fifty-four articles were found in the national and local press, during the monitoring period, which mentioned Gypsies and Travellers. Of these, seven were discounted; five articles referred to football and horse racing - a horse called 'Gypsy' and a football team with the word 'Gypsy' in it. The other two referred to theatre productions. Of the remaining forty-seven articles, only thirteen were analysed to be generally positive about Gypsies and Travellers. The broad categorisation (Figure Twelve) helps to provide context for all of the articles; but it is recognised that this process must be subjective as the researcher is translating messages into positive or negative.

<u>Broad categorisation of all articles</u>		
Article	Number	Percentage (%)
Discounted	7	13
Positive	13	24
Negative	34	63
Total	54	100

Fig. 12: Broad categorisation of all media articles

Eight of the thirteen positive articles contained quotations from members of the public, and officials from the Commission for Racial Equality, damning the actions of the Firle bonfire party:

Police are investigating claims of racism in an East Sussex village after residents attending a bonfire party burned a caravan with pictures of Gypsies painted on it. The vehicle, bearing the number plate P1KEY, was set on fire during Guy Fawkes celebrations in Firle, which was at the centre of a dispute over travellers earlier this year.

Local MP Norman Baker said residents were upset after “itinerant criminals” caused damage to land and property, and a degree of anger was understandable. He backed the organisers of Firle Bonfire Society, who denied any racism, and pointed out that other figures such as the local police chief, President George Bush and Osama bin Laden had been given the same treatment at previous Guy Fawkes’ celebrations. They claimed they were following a bonfire night tradition of burning effigies of things that had troubled the local community over the past 12 months.

But several parents who attended the event with children expressed concern at the tone of the event last Saturday, and the Commission for Racial Equality has called for those involved to be punished. The CRE chairman, Trevor Phillips, said the burning was a clear example of incitement to racial hatred, a crime which carries a maximum sentence of seven years. “You couldn’t get more provocative than this,” he said.
(Ellinor, 2003: 7)

The Firle bonfire article is an example of one of the more positive articles relating to Gypsies and Travellers. Despite it containing negative comments from the local MP, the general theme of the article is positive in that it seems to be damning the bonfire. An example of conflicting discourse (both positive and negative) was examined by Helleiner and Szuchewycz in their analysis of a Connacht Tribune article of 1967; this was discussed in chapter five. The situation in Firle demonstrated an extreme form of prejudice against Gypsies and Travellers. Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) Chairman, Trevor Phillips, in the above article, noted how provocative the actions of the

Firle bonfire party were. Indeed in another article in the Western Daily Press, Phillips said that the “UK for Gypsies is still like the US Deep South for black people in the 1950’s” (Western Daily Press, 2003: 6). Certainly the burning of effigies is reminiscent of Klu Klux Klan activity in Southern America at that time.

Condemnation of the Firle bonfire did not stop with the CRE, a West Gypsy Rights spokeswoman, Maggie Smith-Bendall was quoted as saying:

There is still an enormous amount of prejudice. In fact, we are treated like the Red Indians of America. *People want us to keep to reservations.* There has always been an inbred fear of the Romany. If Romanies move into a village and people find out, many will start saying that the gypsies will be stealing diesel and so on. When I put in for planning permission in the same village where my parents had lived for 30 years, I faced a huge amount of prejudice and people collected money to try to buy me out.

(*Western Daily Press*, 2003a: 6) [*Emphasis added*]

Of the thirteen ‘positive’ reports on Gypsies and Travellers in October 2003, eight were regarding the Firle bonfire party. Two articles looked at the traditions of the Stow Gypsy fair and wrote in a romantic style about the craft stalls and the horse trading. One article reported that Trevor Phillips wanted to see Gypsy/Traveller representation on the CRE board; and another report detailed the support that a local authority had given to Travellers, to stay on a site. The final report was written by a Traveller for a local paper. It was an open letter inviting local residents to visit the site and to meet the Travellers, to gather a true picture of their way of life. This letter also refuted some allegations made about the site. The Traveller wrote:

1. We did not force any padlock or gate to enter the site; we merely lifted off the chain and opened the gate which is left unlocked...
2. We do not drive untaxed vehicles
3. We have not caused any damage to the land (or gate) and intend only to enhance the site

(*The Cornishman*, 2003b: 35)

The Traveller defends some of the issues which are themes that come out of the analysis of the October 2003 reports, and more widely across all media reports and public debate that have been used in this research. The Traveller goes on to defend another assumption about Travellers' sites:

This is not rural pastureland but a "brownfield site" -- and a highways dump and local fly-tipping spot which has been cleaned up, cared for and enhanced by a community of people who have appreciated living here and becoming part of the community and have felt, on the whole, very welcome.
(*The Cornishman*, 2003b: 35)

The positive articles draw heavily on comments from 'insiders', for instance Gypsies/Travellers themselves or representatives from the Commission for Racial Equality. Positive comments are to be expected from these groups of people. However, in some instances there were also comments from local residents at the bonfire party, who were not connected to the travelling community, but who condemned the actions at Firle.

The remaining 34 articles were largely negative in tone, and these were coded according to broad categories of focus, as can be seen from figure thirteen below. The main focus of the negative articles was mess, which is discussed next.

Negative Articles	
Mess	11
Influx & Invasion	6
Surveillance	1
Gypsies v Travellers	2
General	14
<i>Total</i>	<i>34</i>

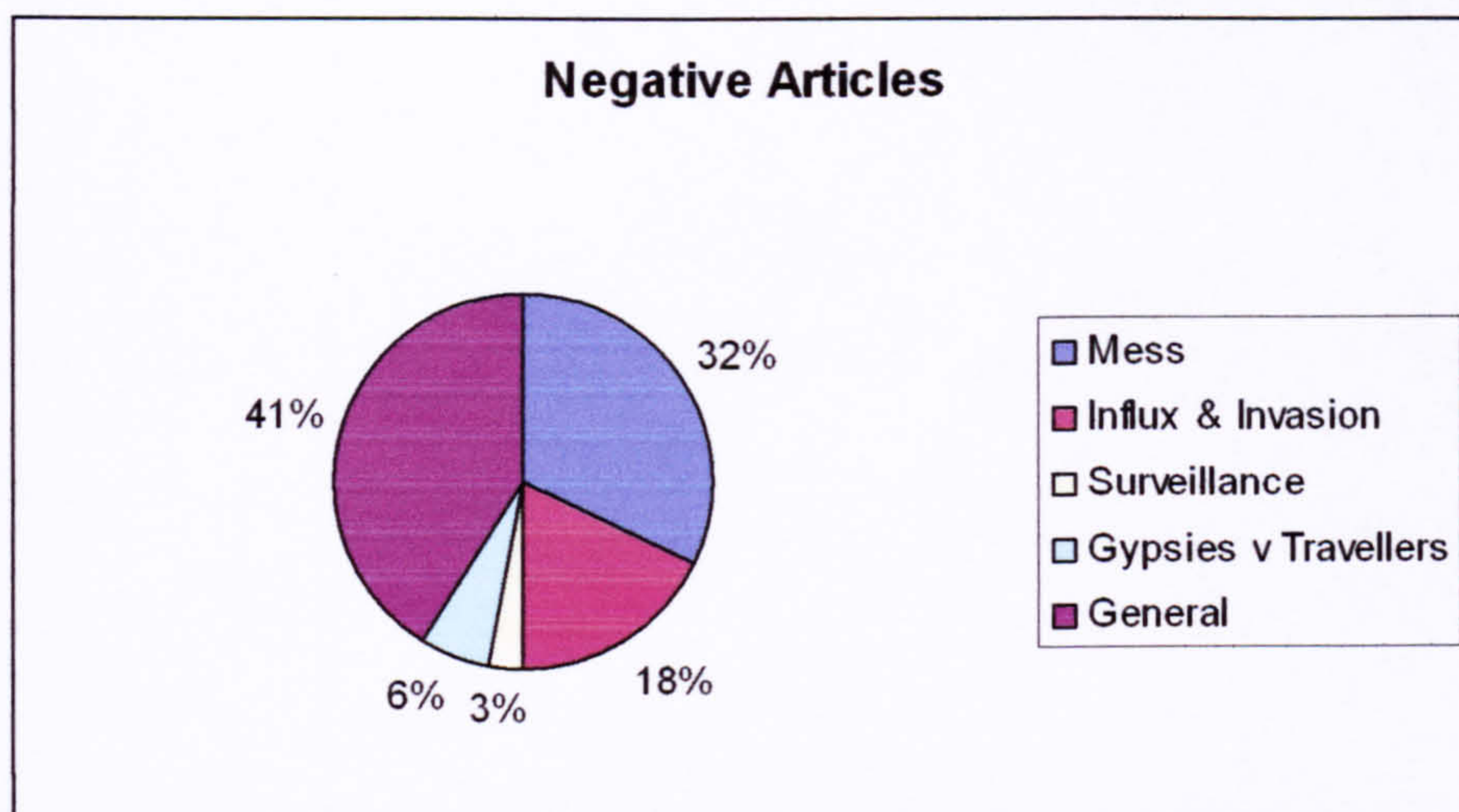


Fig 13: Categorisation of negative articles

The main findings of the media analysis relate to themes of discourse within the newspaper articles. Each of these themes is examined in detail, further on.

Figure thirteen shows that there is a large section of negative articles labelled as ‘general’. There was a mixture of articles that did not fit into any one particular category, but they still had a negative focus. A couple of articles discussed unauthorised encampments in the locality but they did not discuss mess or cost; some of the terms included ‘ride roughshod’ when the planning system was discussed. The articles presumed that Gypsies and Travellers got a better deal than the settled community. Another article looked at a hedge that had been ‘destroyed’ as a result of a caravan moving into a field. A further article was in a national paper (The Daily Mail) and it was analysing the work of Lady Brittan the Lottery Chief Executive. The title was *Axed, Queen of the Loony Lotto Grants*, and one of the grants it focused on was £190,000 to the Rural Media Company for a “magazine about gipsy and traveller issues” (this is referring to *Travellers’ Times* which is an important publication for the Travelling community) (Doughty, 2003: 15). Another article was in reference to a

murder trial, where it was alleged that one Gypsy had murdered his relative. There was not a significant number of negative terms but there was a reliance on the fact that the case involved Gypsies when this was not the focus of the story; the murder should have been the focus. One final example of these 'general' articles was about damage to a bridge in Middlesbrough. It did not discuss cost or mess but instead referred to a piece of architectural heritage being destroyed. These articles could not each be coded individually, otherwise there would have been too many nodes; consequently, a large proportion of the articles had to be coded as 'general'. The individual themes shown in figure thirteen are included in the thematic analysis, later.

Public Consultation in Colchester

Public consultation in Colchester, analysed for this research, consisted of a meeting on 16th December, 2003; plus discussions with the Planning Officer on previous consultation exercises. The December meeting aimed to discuss a set of criteria, with which to select potential future Travellers' sites, drawn up by consultants.

Approximately eighty people of mixed age and gender (with no reflection of ethnic diversity) attended the meeting. However, only four members of the public spoke. This could be attributed to the fact that there had been the opportunity for previous consultation, and 598 people had written to the Council. Also, the Council required that people registered their intention to speak before the meeting formally opened.

The consultant's report created a three-tier process, using criteria, to select the best sites. The first tier of criteria was location, and it included issues such as proximity to designated shopping, regeneration or commercial areas. Proximity to a preferred site

identified by Travellers was another issue, as was proximity to a local school. In some issues proximity was awarded minus points – for instance proximity to a commercial or shopping area was given minus four points. This was because those industries did not want a Travellers' site near them. However, in another issue, proximity to a school was given plus one point (5km to 10km distance) or two points for less than 5km distance to school. Therefore, according to the criteria it seemed more important that a potential site was a long way away from the settled commercial community, than it did for a potential site to be near essential services such as the local school.

The second tier of criteria was in relation to access and infrastructure. Only if a site had passed the first tier of assessment criteria, would it be examined under tier two. The issues discussed here included safe and acceptable access to the site, presence of utilities, site capacity and ground conditions. For instance, if a potential site was only accessible through a residential area it would receive one minus point, the same would happen if it were only accessible through a commercial area.

The third and final tier of criteria looked at deliverability, design and management; including issues such as ease of acquisition, notional cost of delivery, satisfaction of identified need, impact on residential amenity and level of obtrusiveness. The report did not give the issues in tier three points; instead a variety of topics for exploration were raised in each instance. It seemed that this tier had been the least thought-through of the three. Issues such as impact on a residential area are extremely subjective and it is suggested that a ratings system might not have been agreed by the public meeting, and so topics for exploration were included instead.

Findings from the public consultation mirrored the themes found in the media analysis. Mess and cost was a particular theme, which will be discussed shortly. Location was another issue in the discussion, this is analysed further on, particularly in relation to Bauman's (1989) theory of proximity.

Gypsy/Traveller Focus Groups

The findings from the focus groups consisted of the responses of Gypsies and Travellers in a range of participant-led discussions. The discussions were wide, but some of the findings endorse the media coding and the Colchester research. Each group convened for an hour during a Tuesday evening class at Bosworth Community College, Desford.

The findings from the focus groups with Gypsies and Travellers shared some of the themes with the media analysis and public consultation; but they also highlighted separate themes, such as: discriminatory services, site provision, and misrepresentation. These themes are all included, later in the chapter.

Having included a brief reminder of the methodology, and a summary of the findings, it is now necessary to turn to an analysis of the findings, on a thematic basis. Some of the themes relate to the discourse from one particular methodological element, for instance media analysis, but others are shared across the approaches. Mess is an example of a theme which is common to the media, the public and Gypsy/Traveller discourse; it is examined next.

Mess

One of the most significant themes to come out in the findings of the media coding and analysis, was that of mess. There is an assumption that Travellers settle on green fields and then leave a mess. It is further suggested that any rubbish left on a Travellers' site was left there by Travellers; however, this is not always the case.

Before analysing the findings on this theme, from the primary research, it is worth providing some contextual background on the importance of mess and rubbish to the general discourse around Gypsies and Travellers. During the pilot survey for this research, the Gypsy Liaison Officer for Leicester described such a situation. One caravan had pulled up on an unauthorised site – a patch of grass next to a lay-by. During the second night that the caravan was there a huge amount of trade rubbish was dumped next to the lay-by. The local press printed a number of stories blaming the Traveller for the rubbish. The Gypsy Liaison Officer looked into the problem and found paperwork in the rubbish that included invoices addressed to a local builder, who had tipped the rubbish there. The local press did not print a correction to say that it had not been the Traveller; and the scrutiny that he faced, following the press articles, forced him to move on.

This anecdotal account is backed up by other research. A report by the Institute of Public Policy Research said that "...this actual and perceived link between Traveller and Gypsy communities and illegal waste dumping activities both gives rise to and exacerbates prejudice and discrimination, and undermines the ability of local authorities to challenge the prejudice that exists towards travellers" (Crawley, 2004: 35). However,

not all organisations can distinguish between the real and perceived link between Travellers and fly-tipping. The London Borough of Newham (2003) wrote a report on unauthorised encampments and associated illegal activity, and it stated that the Council spent £700,000 per year on fly-tipping and unauthorised encampments. In saying this, the two problems of unauthorised encampments and fly-tipping seem to be inextricably linked. The report does concede that not all incidences of fly-tipping are associated with Travellers, but the central theme of the report is the link between unauthorised encampments and the cost to the environment (and of course the taxpayer) of fly-tipping.

The National Farmers' Union (2003) takes a more extreme approach than Newham.

The report, called *Britain's Rural Outlaws* says:

Well equipped, extremely organised and above the law – the problem of illegal travellers is now so bad that the majority of farmers have been affected in some way.

Rural Britain now faces a daily barrage of physical threats, attacks on livestock and crops, dumping of rubbish and illegal encampments that the police are unable or unwilling to act against.

Nearly 80% of farmers questioned by the NFU have suffered at the hands of these “rural outlaws” over the past five years with the estimated cost to the industry a massive £100 million per year.

(NFU, 2003: 1)

In the findings from the media analysis, there were a substantial number of ‘negative’ articles which discussed mess. Eleven articles had the theme of mess as their focus.

This is a common theme across all three elements of the primary research. The public consultation linked mess with Gypsies and Travellers; but this is discussed in relation to mess and cost in the next theme. During the focus groups with Gypsies and Travellers,

they too knew that they were linked with mess and rubbish but they felt unable to defend themselves and change this perception; this is discussed further on in the theme of misrepresentation.

The theme of mess, in the primary research findings, echoes examples cited earlier in the thesis. For instance, Turner (2002) included 'dirty' as a discursive theme in his work on Gypsies and Travellers. A summary of themes from Turner's research was included in figure six, chapter five. There are also links with some of the national media articles (Sawer, 2000), discussed in the latter part of chapter five, where the themes of mess, and cost, were also apparent. The theoretical framework, discussed in chapter seven, includes the explanation of the 'motive' phase in the circular route of control. In describing Gypsies and Travellers as messy or dirty, it serves to 'other' them and to heighten their presence in order that surveillance is made easier. The surveillant control is achieved through discourse which continues to define and redefine Gypsies and Travellers as messy and dirty.

Although it is interesting to note the prevalence of mess and rubbish as a theme across the three areas, there is more information available; mess is linked with other areas in the findings. For instance, in the media analysis, articles were coded into different nodes (themes) and this enabled an element of cross referencing. The most substantial correlation was between the nodes of mess and cost. This is where the use of 'tree' nodes in NVIVO helped the analysis process. The next theme looks closely at the link between mess and cost. However, although the majority of 'mess' articles looked at the cost issue; two articles focused on mess and health. This link between mess and health

links back to the discussion of Foucault's (1984b) examination of health control measures.

Cost and Mess

The cost of clearing up unauthorised encampments was the strongest theme to come out of the thirty-four 'negative' reports, in the media analysis exercise. Of these negative articles, eleven focused on the mess of Gypsy/Traveller sites. These articles were given the 'tree node' of 'mess'. A 'tree node' allows for branches of nodes to be devised, in this case 'mess' had two child nodes – one was cost of clear-up and the other was health issues (see figure two in chapter three). Two articles were coded under the main node of 'mess' as they spoke in general terms of mess and rubbish; two articles were coded under 'health issues' as they were concerned with refuse on unauthorised encampments being prejudicial to the health of nearby settled communities. The majority though, seven articles, examined the cost of clearing up mess.

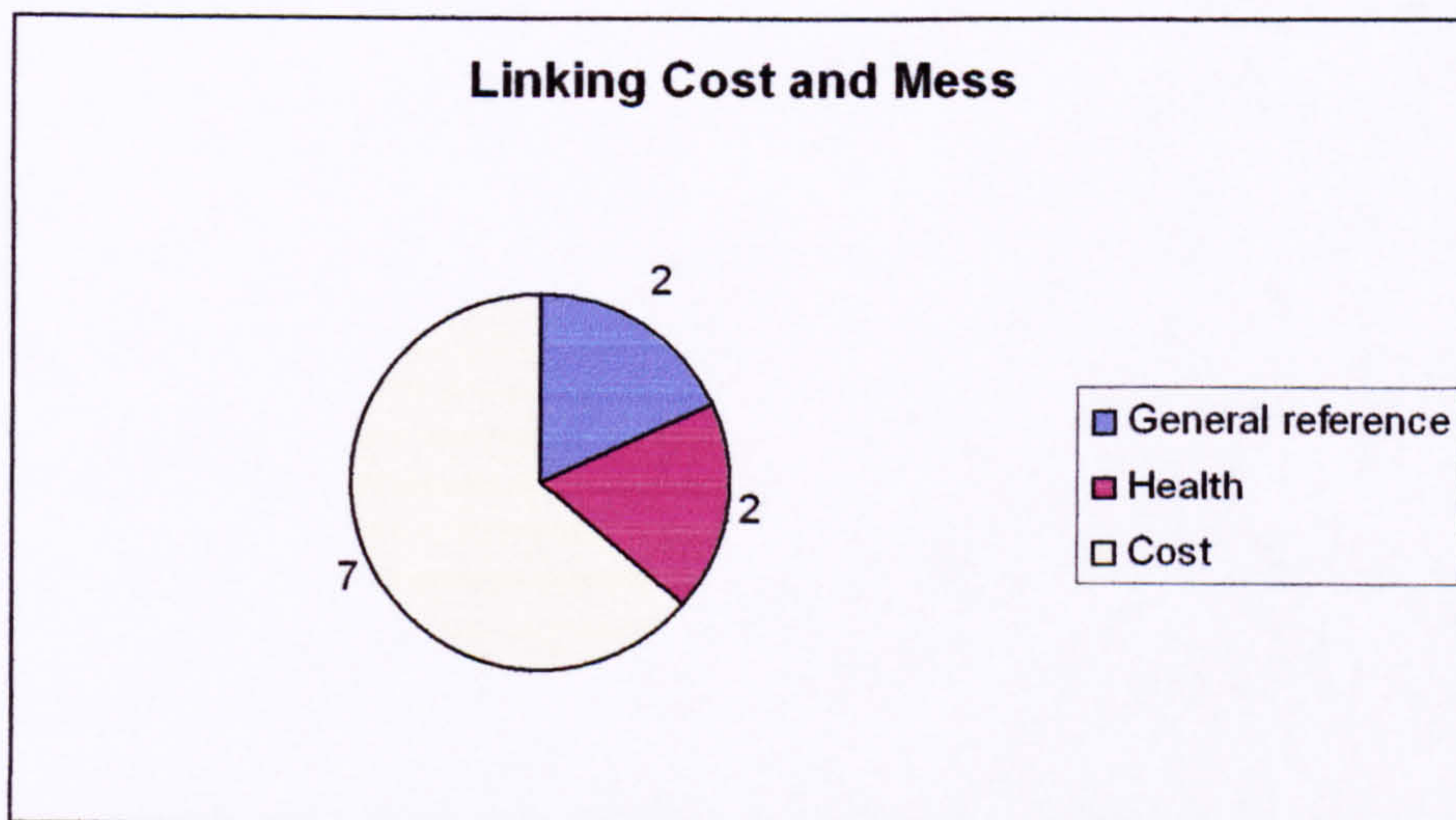


Fig. 14: Number of articles linking Cost and Mess

The issue of cost and mess was couched in a way to tell the reader – ‘you are paying for all this through your council tax’. Examples of this include: “Mess left by travellers over the last two years has cost Redditch taxpayers £50,000 to clean up” (*This is Worcestershire*, 2003: 9). “Birmingham taxpayers have forked out tens of thousands of pounds to evict [Travellers] and clear up their mess and litter” (*Birmingham Evening Mail*, 2003: 5). A headline in one local newspaper said *£60,000 to keep them out* and it went on to describe the years of work and the amount of money spent in clearing a greenfield site, and then making it ‘traveller-proof’ for the future (*This is Wiltshire*, 2003: 1). Another newspaper carried a similar article in which it stated that “On Wednesday Camarthenshire County Council completed a two-day clean-up of the site, removing rubbish – including nappies and tyres – in an operation reputedly costing more than £6,000.” (*South Wales Evening Post*, 2003: 2). These examples are representative of many local newspaper articles, this theme is also demonstrated in national articles, some of which were discussed in the media discourse section of chapter five (Sawer, 2000). However, media analysts and groups such as the Gypsy/Traveller Media Advisory Group (GT MAG) see local newspaper representations of Gypsies and Travellers as some of the most negative in all the media.

The issue of cost, linked closely with mess, is a heated and emotional issue. The cost theme is also reflected in reporting on asylum seekers – especially in the local press where there are claims that asylum seekers are given houses and benefits, whilst those local people in need, those who have often paid taxes, do not secure help from the government. The issue with Gypsies and Travellers is similar, the public is left feeling that they are paying taxes for public services, but that those public services are being

exhausted clearing up after Gypsies and Travellers. This theme of cost makes the issue personal to all those who read the newspaper article (and those who are influenced by the reader); they feel they are personally paying for something they don't benefit from and which instead benefits others with 'anti-social' lifestyles. The cost of Gypsies and Travellers raises their profile in the local vicinity, and not only are the associated costs monitored and reported on (London Borough of Newham, 2003) but the sites and the Gypsies and Travellers themselves come under wider scrutiny, because the local public feels that it must monitor the condition of the sites, particularly unauthorised sites, so that they can report to the police or the council and that swift action can be taken to control the amount of expenditure. The discourse of the cost of Gypsies and Travellers is a powerful tool to control them. This 'costing' of the lives of Gypsies and Travellers was examined earlier in the thesis. Morris and Clements (2002) looked at the cost of not providing sites, rather than focusing on the cost of provision. They also made the point that a lifestyle could not really have a numerical value placed upon it and indeed, by trying to cost a lifestyle, this heightened the 'otherness' (costliness) of that lifestyle.

The links between cost and mess were also analysed following the public consultation exercise in Colchester. One of the speakers at the meeting criticised the Council's report, outlining the selection criteria for Travellers sites. He said that the criteria took no heed of ratepayers' concerns and that he also objected to the Council suggesting that anyone opposing the sites was a racist. He then did not address the criteria directly but spoke of the 'massive disruption and incredible damage' caused by Gypsies and Travellers. He stated that the public was left unprotected because the police refused to

act. The Chair of the meeting halted the speech because it was not directly addressing the criteria, but the rest of the public in the meeting applauded the themes discussed.

Information from the previous consultation exercise also reflected the importance placed on cost and mess. Although, in Colchester, the issue of cost did not just relate to the cost of clearing up mess; it also seemed to relate to the perceived cost of reduced value in property prices. Examples of some of the quotes from previous written objections, provided by the Planning Officer, included:

Objections from the Colchester Public

“What would you think if you bought a £150K house from Barratts to find your neighbours were Gypsies?”

“The value of my property which I work hard to pay for would drop in value overnight. Perhaps the Council would be prepared to compensate people living close to this site”

“...put them back in Haven Road with a site warden to keep them and the site clean and hygienically tidy”

“These Travellers contribute nothing, only filth”

“MESS, THIEVING AND POLLUTION”

“The Police admit they have no control as to when or where they turn up, or any control of Travellers what-so-ever”

“Surely cost should be one of the most important factors? After all, it’s someone else’s money you are spending”

“Looking at the last location near the Hythe river, the mess they left, the horses wandering around and the general squalor of the site appals me and we DO NOT want it here”

**“I have first hand experience of Travellers and the carnage they leave behind”.
(Colchester Borough Council, Relocation of Gypsy/Travellers Site Report to Council, 30th September 2002, Appendix One).**

Fig. 15: Objections from the Colchester Public

This list of objections from the Colchester public are comparable to the discourse of Czech television debates, outlined by Leudar and Nekvapil (2000). Although the comments from Colchester are linked more heavily to cost, the extreme undertone to the discourse is similar. The empirical research from Leudar and Nekvapil (2000) helps to endorse the findings in this thesis.

Cost is the most important theme to come out of this research, it links with findings from other empirical research (Morris and Clements 2002) and it is also explained by two of the stages in the theoretical framework outlined in chapter seven. 'Cost' is both a theme of discourse that is used as a tool of control and a motive for exercising control. In this regard, it is unique amongst the discursive themes in this research. The other themes tend to be discursive trends that can be linked to the motive to 'other', perhaps in order to save costs. Cost is the only theme that is discursive tool and motive to control, according to the framework.

Misrepresentation

The Gypsies and Travellers generally felt misunderstood and they were aware that this was partly due to media representation. Many women consulted could not read and write but the volunteers at the Widening Participation Project read to them from the paper, and also younger members of their families tended to be more literate. National newspaper stories did not seem to have a significant impact on the Gypsies and Travellers. It appeared to be that the local newspaper stories had more resonance, partly because of the immediacy of the effect of the report on their settled neighbours. One particular local article, which had angered the Travellers, was about a funeral of a popular young Traveller man. Instead of some discussion of the qualities of the deceased, as is often the format of a local newspaper article covering a death; the article instead focused on cars outside the church. The main theme was the disruption that had been caused by many cars being parked outside of the church, and it referred to a mess being left behind. The Travellers were furious about this article; they asked what possible mess could be left behind from them parking outside a church for a funeral?

There were a lot of cars, but then there can be the same if it were for a young member of the settled community. They felt that mess was associated with Gypsies and Travellers even when most Travellers were clean and tidy. They were aware that articles in the local newspapers, and speeches by local politicians, referred to sites being a mess. However, it was felt that the behaviour of a small minority was used as an excuse to misrepresent all Gypsies and Travellers. This knowledge of the perceived link between mess and the travelling community was also present in another theme of discussion from the focus group: site provision and facilities.

Site Provision and Facilities

Gypsies and Travellers wanted to talk about the benefit of new site provision; a theme not found in the media analysis or public consultation. The current lack of site provision is a further manifestation of public discourse. Chapter eight examined the different ways in which legislative discourse is interpreted, in order to avoid providing new sites. The Travellers in the focus groups felt they were being controlled by lack of site provision and lack of services. Some of the women in one of the groups said that their privately run site, owned by Travellers, did not have washing facilities and that the nearest public shower facility was eight miles away. One of the women said that each of her four children was charged £2 every time they had a shower and she was charged a little bit more. She felt cheated by the cost of the shower but said she was a clean person and was aware of the public perception of Gypsies and Travellers as dirty and messy. By charging so much, the owner of the facility was almost challenging this woman's family not to wash every day. They felt that what was needed was more council site provision with toilet and washing facilities. All of the Travellers in the

focus group agreed that increased site provision would reduce unauthorised encampments and would perhaps reduce the tensions between the settled and travelling communities. Other methods to create a better understanding were discussed, such as meetings between the two communities and the media toning down their approach; but all of the Travellers kept saying that the key to the two communities having a better relationship was if there would be more site provision. However, if there was more site provision, there would be less of a need to control this 'alternative' travelling lifestyle. If more sites were provided there would be less need to coerce homeless Gypsies and Travellers to take traditional houses by way of discharging homeless duties. There would also be less control through raising the profile of Gypsies and Travellers through discourse; but perhaps there would be more control through the regulation of site licences or tenancies, and maybe more overt control over the lives of Gypsies and Travellers. However, the development of new site provision is difficult because of the extreme opposition of the local settled community in planning consultation, as was seen in the Colchester public consultation.

Location and Size of Sites

Linked to the theme of site provision, is that of location and size of sites. In the public consultation at Colchester, the first member of the public to speak stated that they felt the Council should be looking at two six-pitch sites, rather than one twelve-pitch site. He reminded the Council that there had been problems on the Hythe site, which had since closed down, and that by having smaller sites the problems could be contained. The same member of the public also said that if the site was located near an industrial site, the industrial area may go into decline; but equally he said that Travellers shouldn't

drive through residential areas to reach the site either. He also stated that if a large piece of land was used it may be difficult to contain the amount of Travellers on the site. He finished his speech to the Council by saying that he had been celebrating last year when a particular site near his home was ruled out, but now he was concerned that it may be reconsidered.

Another person addressed the floor on the problem of balancing the weighting of selection criteria for new site development; they felt that there was an issue of the effect of the site on residential areas, but also on agricultural and commercial areas too. A third representative agreed and said that they felt that the concerns of businesses had not been given enough weighting and that proximity to a business park could cause problems.

Bauman's theory of proximity (1989) is important in explaining the concern over the location and size of Travellers' sites. Sites need to be physically distant from the settled population – this allows Gypsies and Travellers to be seen as 'other' and prevents them from being known as 'real'. This means the 'truth' about them can be socially constructed and reinterpreted through discourse. The issue of distancing and the theory of proximity is an important component in explaining how discursive control is exercised, according to the theoretical framework.

Labelling - Gypsies or Travellers?

Two newspaper articles, in the media analysis, focused on the distinction between Gypsies and Travellers. Both of these were in fact letters from local people in the settled community and they were negative in their portrayal. In both cases it is not a journalistic article which was analysed, but instead letters printed in local newspapers.

The first letter said:

With reference to 'Travellers' I feel that Penwith has to take a serious firm stand here and not encourage this unlawful residency. As a landowner of Cornish soil and an environmentalist who has worked for 30 years to nurture and protect Cornwall, the idea of Penwith being a safe haven for these people is very saddening.

The title 'Traveller' is a romantic title for a band of people who have not earned the use or warrant of this title.

So why are they called 'Travellers', they don't actually travel anywhere! They hang around on roadsides and waste land...

Some of these people are threatening in their behaviour, aggressive. There may be the odd family group who are genuine but in my experience they don't often 'park up' with larger groups.

Penwith please be realistic, stop calling this group 'travellers' – they're hardly of the Benedict Allen variety of 'Romany Ryes' – gypsies never camp with 'travellers'. Save Penwith from becoming an easy place to doss.
(*The Cornishman*, 2003a: 35)

As well as marking out a distinction between Travellers and Gypsies – fake and genuine – the author of the article also heightens the Travelling community as 'other'. Terms such as 'these people' followed with negative associated characteristics, again serve to heighten the presence of the Gypsy or Traveller in the local population and to mark them out for surveillance and control. Terms like 'these people' also link in with the theory of proximity (Bauman, 1989) which was discussed in chapter six. 'These

people', Gypsies and Travellers, are not like 'us' and therefore don't need to be treated with the respect that 'ordinary people' would expect.

The second letter is also negative; and is in response to a previous article.

Sir, I write regarding the recent article, *The End of the Road for Travellers in Town*. As a resident of Eldene, Swindon, I was very pleased to see you have given our cause some publicity. However, having used the word "travellers" throughout the first 10 paragraphs, paragraph 11 starts with the words "the gypsies".

The people featured in the article are not gypsies. They are travellers.

Gypsies are members of the Romany tribe. They are extremely honest, hard-working and clean. Unlike gypsies, travellers are thieves, liars, lazy and dirty – as we have learned to our cost here in Eldene.

(Western Daily Press, 2003c: 12)

The strength with which some of the alleged characteristics of Travellers have been written makes this a particularly poignant letter. It is virtually impossible to imagine a published piece of writing about any other ethnic group, describing them as 'thieves, liars, lazy and dirty', being allowed past the editorial control of the newspaper. Why then, does it seem to be acceptable to talk about Gypsies and Travellers in this way?

Partly, this can be explained by the success of 'othering' Gypsies and Travellers.

Because they are seen as so distant from the settled norm, it is easier to continue to use discriminatory discourse. The writer of the letter also assumes to be blessed with the knowledge that allows them to distinguish between 'real' and 'fake' Gypsies, just by looking at them (Acton, 1994). In providing a distinction, the writer of the letter is making the job of the surveillant society even easier. 'Do not worry about the good traditional Gypsies: concentrate on the dirty, thieving Travellers – they are the ones who need controlling', is what this distinction is saying.

There are additional issues surrounding the labelling of the Travelling community. For instance, there is the colloquialism of the term 'Gypsies'. 'Gypo' is a slang term used for all Travelling people and it is extremely insulting; it is the equivalent to using the word 'Nigger' for Black people. Although there have been some examples of reclaiming negative labels for use within the community they are describing (Kennedy, 2002), this has certainly not happened with the term 'Gypo'; indeed it has had an effect on the word Gypsy.

From the literature review on the Gypsy/Traveller material, and the distinction between 'Gypsy' and 'Traveller' in the mind of the media and the public; it seemed that 'Gypsy' would be the preferred 'label' for Gypsies and Travellers. For many of the people in the focus groups the term 'Gypsy' was an insult and they objected to being called Gypsies. They felt that they were definitely Travellers. This was partly due to the fact that the majority of attendees at the focus groups were Irish Travellers, and by calling them Gypsies they were being muddled up with Romany Gypsies. This links in with a discussion the author had with Gordon Boswell, a Romany Gypsy in Lincolnshire who certainly preferred the label 'Gypsy' as it denoted that he was a 'true' Gypsy and not a Traveller. Even during the focus group sessions a group of three young males were laughing at one of their friends and teasing him for not being from a 'proper' Traveller family. It would appear that the distinctions made between Gypsies and Travellers - 'true' Gypsies and 'New-Age' Travellers - in the settled community are equally reflected in the Travelling community. However, the preference of the term 'Traveller' may also be connected with the colloquialism of the term Gypsy, which has in turn

made the actual word 'Gypsy' an insult. Several of the women at the focus groups stated that the word Gypsy had been shouted at them in a taunt during disagreements with the settled community. Perhaps the term 'Traveller' sanitises the negative connotations associated with the term 'Gypsy' and that is why it appears to be favoured by some.

During one of the sessions, a younger woman spoke about her hatred of the word 'Gypsy'. She said that even though she was a Gypsy she preferred the term Traveller. She recounted one experience on a site in London, it was an unauthorised site surrounded by housing. One night about thirty youths started throwing bricks at the caravans. One came through the window and narrowly missed her head. Her family ran to find the nearest phone box to call the police, but they saw that an elderly couple had seen the attack and had already started to contact the police from the phone box. The youths then attacked the elderly couple and pushed them to the ground, but the young woman telling the experience thought that they must have eventually communicated with the police because they arrived at the site; but there were no arrests for the attack. During the ordeal the youths kept shouting 'Gypsy' at her family, and that is one of the explanations for her hating the term so much.

The labelling of Gypsies and Travellers has been demonstrated to manifest in physical violence, from the evidence of the focus groups. This is an example of discourse beyond text and talk; it extends into action that hurts and that can control. The controlling action of discourse can be seen, briefly, in the next theme of discrimination in service provision.

The issue of labelling Gypsies and Travellers is not just limited to the local printed media. It seems that negative labelling is acceptable in public speeches to professional audiences too. In a speech to the National Housing Federation conference in Birmingham, in September 2003, the designer Wayne Hemingway was explaining architecture and the use of space. During the speech he referred to a campaign to stop waste of space. He referred to a Travellers' site with rubbish on it. However, instead of using the term Gypsy or Traveller he said 'Gypo'. He then said "Sorry, I'm not allowed to say that now, I mean 'Pikey'". He added insult to injury by using two derogatory words to describe the Travelling community and he did not apologise, nor was there a complaint about his use of language. Hemingway has been a regular columnist for the professional journal *Housing Today*. In this respect he could be viewed as a spokesman for the housing profession; and yet he still felt comfortable enough to use offensive language to delegates at the conference. The use of labels such as 'Gypo' or 'Pikey' by well-known people, especially housing professionals, further enforces the stereotype. The lack of objection to this language and labelling demonstrates the public acquiescence that was discussed in the media section at the end of chapter five (Zelizer, 1993). Negative labelling of Gypsies and Travellers in the two letters, and in public speech, does not meet resistance from readers or listeners because they are agreeing to the social construction of the 'truth' about Gypsies and Travellers through the discriminatory discourse.

Discrimination in Service Provision

In addition to the example of discourse manifesting in physical violence, as exemplified in the previous theme, there were examples of discrimination from both public and private service providers. One of the themes was the treatment of Travellers by health care professionals, particularly doctors. Several of the women, in the focus groups, spoke of doctors who were reluctant to book appointments with them and who were then rude to them once an appointment was made.

The focus group discussions highlighted other examples where women had tried to access public and voluntary services, when they were at their most vulnerable; but they had been let down by the discrimination of other clients and the service providers. Parts of this discussion were highly sensitive and, for ethical reasons, details of the examples should not be published in this research. Nevertheless, these conversations demonstrate the occurrence of discourse into action. In the instance of public service provision, the discourse served a gatekeeping role (Lipsky, 1980), it prevented Gypsies and Travellers from accessing and utilising public services.

Folk Devils

This theme follows on from the issue of labelling and the ensuing action of discourse. It also links with the theoretical discussion in chapter six (Cohen, 1980) and exemplifies part of the motivation to control, in chapter seven's framework. In an interview with the Planning Officer at Colchester Borough Council, the image of Gypsies and Travellers as 'other', as folk devils, was discussed. From historical information on site provision, it became apparent that there had been an issue with one particular site.

Originally this was populated and managed by Romany Gypsies, but the Gypsy manager then left and Irish Travellers started to move in. The Romanies and Irish were not at ease with each other and the Romany Gypsies left. At the same time, the previously unpopulated surrounding area started to build up both commercially and residentially:

As a result the two communities were thrown together. Interestingly, if you talk to people today there are a lot of urban myths of how bad the Travellers were, from murders to eating people's pets. At the time however, very few complaints were raised. Without a doubt the criticism of Travellers has grown over the intervening years.

Local populations have difficulty in distinguishing between unauthorised camping and staying on an authorised site. They assume that Travellers are all dirty and trouble. Quite clearly the majority of residents have a prejudice related to Travellers which is now being fuelled by stories that have either no evidence or no way of determining who could have been responsible.
(Planning Officer, Colchester Borough Council, 2004)

This negative discourse, which is not backed up by evidence, is similar to the experience of the Radio 4 debater (this is examined further on), in his examination of people's views on asylum seekers in Folkestone. The socially constructed truth through discourse replaces any evidence in reality.

The history of people's views of Travellers in Colchester helped to contextualise the objections raised by the public in the consultation exercise, and the views of local people seemed to categorise Gypsies and Travellers as folk devils. It is interesting to see that the views have become more extreme in the years since the site was closed.

This links again with Bauman's theory of proximity (1989) which discusses the 'othering' of a group of people in order that the perpetrator of discrimination feels less guilty as they are 'not like us'. There are also links with Morris' research (2000 and

2002) into categorisation and stereotyping. It seems that the more extreme the characteristic – murdering, eating pets – the less like ‘normal’ settled members of the community Gypsies and Travellers are. This makes it easier for the settled community to deny them decent homes, access to schools or welcoming neighbours. The myth of local discourse, as with the socially constructed ‘truth’ of the media, is so strong that they cannot remember the reality. For instance, the local people of Colchester did not make many complaints when Travellers were actually living on the site, but with hindsight and distance in time there is a new truth that they murdered people and ate people’s pets.

There has been some research conducted in Scotland which looks at views of Travellers sites, which may back up this theory of proximity. Duncan (1996) examined neighbour’s views of three proposed sites for Travellers. He examined public opposition to the planning permission, and then revisited some of the complainants to ask their views after the site had been up and running for a while:

We have to conclude that the three sites which were the subject of this study have had far less impact on their ‘neighbours’ than these people anticipated before the sites were set up. The picture we obtained is that the sites have generally fitted into their chosen surroundings better than people living in the neighbourhood anticipated....

It would be fair to say that our study backs up the view that official sites do settle down to a large extent after they are developed. In none of the sites examined were the number and intensity of objections an appropriate response in retrospect.

(Duncan, 1996: 14)

This helps to endorse Bauman’s (1989) theory of proximity: the Gypsies and Travellers that the Scottish neighbours were objecting to were the mythical messy, costly, troublesome Travellers that are the subject of local discourse and media social

construction. However, the Gypsies and Travellers who actually populated the three sites were, not like the people the neighbours had been imagining. The reality was not as bad as the myth. Once the Gypsies and Travellers were seen to be human and were accepted as neighbours, the complaints were not as regular or as rigorous as had been expected. The 'otherness' of the Gypsies and Travellers was less marked.

There is some merit in replicating Duncan's (1996) methodology in Colchester. It would be interesting to see the outcome of the Colchester decision; and finding out the views of the neighbours to the new site in a few years may show similarities to the Scottish example.

The stereotyping of Gypsies and Travellers as folk devils was discussed, in the theoretical framework, as part of the motive behind the media's negative discourse. Erjavec (2001) also found this in her empirical work, of their representation in the Slovenian media. She found that unless they were stereotyped, they were not newsworthy. The Gypsy as costly and messy sells more newspapers than the Gypsy who is represented as 'normal'. This motive is reiterated by the research of Clark and Campbell (2000).

Influx, Invasion and other negative terms

A further theme examined a variety of negative terms. In the media analysis, there were six examples of articles using the terms 'influx' and/or 'invasion'. One example is from the *Western Daily Press* article 'The End of the Road for Travellers in Town'. The

article quotes a local councillor as saying “Hopefully, after all these years, we’ll finally see an end to the illegal invasions which have caused so much misery and anger in this area.” (*Western Daily Press*, 2003b: 25). Taken out of context of the article, this quote from a local councillor could be referring to a war zone – ‘illegal invasions’ is strong terminology to describe unauthorised encampments.

The *Grimsby Evening Telegraph* used similar terminology in its article ‘Preparing for an influx of travellers’.

...at Christmas, there was just such an occurrence down the coast on land owned by East Lindsey District Council at Skegness. The authorities were caught unprepared and the disturbances that ensued resulted in pubs, restaurants, shops and leisure attractions remaining closed for the entire festive season.

Although there has never been an influx on such a scale in Cleethorpes, the possibility remains – with the latest gathering on Grimsby’s Freshney Parkway an indication that travellers can set up home where and when they want to. (Wright, 2003: 8)

In addition to the articles using the term ‘influx’ or ‘invasion’ there were more who used other terminology, but which still served the purpose of antagonising the settled community into thinking that Gypsies and Travellers were not just invading spaces but going unpunished for a variety of different anti-social activities. One such example says:

However, would he not admit the people he appears to represent flout the law persistently in a way that *we ordinary citizens* would never could and that they have obtained planning permission where we would not. Can he not appreciate this rankles with the *ordinary* taxpayer?
(*Bristol Evening Post*, 2003: 10) [*Emphasis added*]

As well as a reference to ‘flouting the law’ this article clearly marks the Gypsies and Travellers out as ‘other’. Referring to the settled community as ‘ordinary’ and

'taxpayers', immediately labels Gypsies and Travellers as extraordinary – as 'other'.

This debate of otherness was discussed in detail in chapter six, but it has relevance here in understanding some of the terms and words, such as 'we ordinary citizens', which have an impact on Gypsies and Travellers.

Many of the negative press articles on Gypsies and Travellers used a variety of words to describe Travellers on unauthorised encampments. Examples of the words which came to light in the coding process were: 'blight, eyesore, battle, theft, intimidation, aggression, stand-guard, control and pilfering'. These words and phrases indicate negative characteristics and are offensive; but are the newspaper editors wrong to include them? In an article quoted earlier in this section Wright (2003) includes advice from the Commission for Racial Equality:

"Words like "tinker", "itinerant" or "gypo" are all highly offensive to those about whom they are used and should be avoided.

Terms such as "scroungers", "dole dodgers" and "bogus asylum seeker" should only be used when they are accurate descriptions of particular individuals." (Wright, 2003: 8).

The use of words and themes used in the media about Gypsies and Travellers was debated in the Radio Four programme *The Message* on 6th February 2004. It is the issue of which words are used to negate characteristics of Gypsies and Travellers which is of interest here. The debate in the programme was in response to the 'campaign' by the Express newspaper to stop Gypsies and Travellers 'flooding-in' from the EU accession countries. The guests on the show included Jeremy Dear: the General Secretary of the National Union of Journalists, Dan Tench: a media lawyer, Julian Baggini: Editor of *The Philosopher* magazine and Dr Mark Thompson: freelance consultant and writer.

They were discussing the question of when free speech crosses the line and when it may cause incitement to racial hatred. The guests referred to the Public Order Act (This is the Public Order Act 1986, of which Section 17 deals with racial hatred). It was explained that the Public Order Act set a high test on the incitement to racial hatred and it was extremely difficult to prove; indeed there has never been a test of a newspaper under this piece of legislation. The other safeguard mentioned was the Press Complaints Commission (PCC) Code. The Code does not contain a specific provision on the incitement to racial hatred, but it does include the issue of discrimination. Additionally, it focuses on the accuracy of reports, as a safeguard measure, similar to the CRE advice in the Wright (2003) article, above. The issue of accuracy was discussed in relation to the Express campaign. One guest on the programme used the example of the Express suggesting that 1.6 million Gypsies and Travellers would come to Britain. It was argued that there were 1.6 million Gypsies and Travellers in the EU accession countries, but that it was extremely unlikely (and the Express knew it) that every single Gypsy and Traveller would move to Britain. This could be considered as an inaccurate figure, making the Express report inaccurate and therefore contravening the PCC code.

The Radio 4 programme guests also spent time talking about one specific word used in the Express articles – that of “leech” or “leeching”. The debaters did agree that the term was offensive but they could not agree that it necessarily gave rise to incitement to racial hatred. One of the guests said that repeated use of racist language does have an effect and that it can actually cause bad consequences for the subjects of the racist language. This is the key point made in chapters five and eight, that systems of

discourse result in actions which can control particular minority groups, in this case Gypsies and Travellers. Another of the guests agreed and said that in their local area – Dover – police were warning local newspapers that the repeated use of racist and offensive language could incite racial hatred. The debaters also talked about the label ‘Gypsy’ being used as a derogatory term in itself – this is interesting in light of the debate in this section and in relation to the responses from Gypsies and Travellers in the focus groups.

The host of the debate (Jenni Murray) wondered whether it was worrying that the reporting in the Express on Gypsies and Travellers hadn’t caused more of a scandal either in the rest of the media or amongst the public. One of the guests felt that it was worrying, but that it was because people don’t recognise the reporting for what it is – racist. The guest who lived near Dover agreed that the public didn’t recognise this language as racist (and this links in again with Zelizer’s (1993) public acquiescence). He said that the Folkestone local press had used inflammatory and racist language about asylum seekers and that this had become part of the local discourse. When interviewing members of the public they used some of the racist newspaper language and themes – such as ‘flooding in’ and ‘invasion’ but when asked for examples to back these claims up, they couldn’t provide any. Not only does this link with Zelizer (1993) but also with Bauman (1989). The example of local people in Folkestone shows their public acquiescence in the social construction of asylum seekers, in order that there is less guilt in them being treated differently. It is interesting that the social construction of truth takes precedence in the minds of people, even when examples of what happens in everyday practice do not back up this social construction.

The debate then turned to the motive behind such reporting and the agenda of the newspapers was discussed. The anti-Gypsy/Traveller agenda of the Express was demonstrated with the focus of the article being firmly weighted on one side – the views of Gypsies and Travellers were not represented fairly and their views were far outweighed by the negative images portrayed in the newspaper. The agenda was demonstrated, but another guest asked ‘what of the motive?’ A reply came from a man who had heard from journalists that, in a meeting, Richard Desmond (proprietor of the Express newspaper), had said that in nine days of consecutive anti-asylum seeker headlines sales had increased by 20,000. The issue of motives behind both discourse (as discussed at the end of chapter five) and control (chapter four) has been examined. This increased sale of newspapers goes some way to explaining the motive in this particular case, but it cannot explain all motives behind other surveillance and discourse measures.

Before the debate finished, the concept of ‘free-speech’ was discussed. Jenni Murray suggested that free speech could be jeopardised if newspapers were not allowed to print such stories. Guests responded by saying that free-speech was really the freedom of an individual to free speech and that concept was to protect individuals who may be coerced into not expressing themselves. In the case of newspapers and powerful organisations it is not about free speech, but the power to control views (*BBC Radio 4, The Message, 2004*).

The last viewpoint, on the concept of free speech, is central to the debate in this thesis. The media cannot be seen as simply a 'truthful' reporting mechanism, or a way of reflecting the views of society. Instead it can be seen to construct social truths, and an acquiescent public accept these new truths (Zelizer, 1993); their views can be controlled by the media. The impact of the media on the control and surveillance of Gypsies and Travellers cannot, therefore, be underestimated. This can be seen from the practical findings in this chapter and also the examination of discourse in the media, in chapter five. It is important to recognise how the media shapes and controls views and how those views in turn shape and control the lives of Black and Minority Ethnic groups, such as Gypsies and Travellers.

Surveillance

Whilst this research has argued that surveillance, as a tool of control, comes as a result of the heightened presence of Gypsies and Travellers through media and public discourse; the researcher wanted to see whether there were any explicit references to surveillance of Gypsies and Travellers in the printed press. There was no discussion of overt surveillance in the public consultation, or in the Gypsy/Traveller focus groups. During the coding process of the October 2003 articles, one reference was found. An article in the *Northern Echo* was looking at the problems caused by 'horse flashing' at a Gypsy Fair. Horse flashing refers to the parading of horses to show them off, largely for sale. It was reported that in the previous year the horses and riders had been out of control and that there had been a ban on the fair. However, the ban was lifted and the horses were allowed, although unfortunately not many Gypsies went to the fair because

the decision to lift the ban had been made so late that there had not been enough time to inform them. The article did note that for the Gypsies who did attend the fair “A police spotter plane filmed the [horse] flashing from the air.” (Brayshay, 2003: 23). This surveillance from the police does not appear to be a typical measure taken to monitor local fairs. It would seem that the surveillance measure was taken because of the fact that the visitors to the fair were Gypsies and Travellers, rather than because there was a fair with horses being paraded.

Surveillance is a key issue for this research, but it was still surprising to see explicit mention of surveillance of Gypsies and Travellers at a local fair. Alan Lodge, a Traveller, has researched the overt surveillance of Gypsies and Travellers for some time. His project *All about my 'BIG BROTHER'* is published on his website. He says:

In recent years, surveillance techniques have been developed, they say, for the catching of criminals in criminal acts... Now, however, these same surveillance techniques are being much used to inform those trying to control ‘dissent’ in this country. It should be pointed out that dissent and protest are not crimes here, yet!
(Lodge, undated)

Alan Lodge’s research is interesting, not just because it gives a Traveller’s perspective of being under overt surveillance but because, like the Gypsy Traveller Media Advisory Group example, it shows Foucault’s fluidity of power. Hundreds of photographs of police taking photographs and films of Travellers, from helicopters, are displayed on the website. It appears to have turned the tables and demonstrates how quickly those conducting surveillance can themselves be put under surveillance.

Whilst the example from the newspaper coding, and the links with Alan Lodge's research are noteworthy, they exemplify an overt type of surveillance. The discourse and surveillance discussed in this thesis, has been more covert. However, this is a further example of discourse manifesting in physical action.

Although only one of the articles in the media analysis dealt with issues of surveillance, it is still quite remarkable that explicit surveillance is discussed in relation to this group – they are not rioters, prisoners or any other 'risk' group in the penal system, yet they are still subject to overt techniques of surveillance by the police. Nevertheless, there is perhaps more overt surveillance being carried out than is realised. During a consultancy project for Cornwall County Council (March 2004), the researcher interviewed a Gypsy Traveller Liaison Officer about the needs of Gypsies/Travellers within the Government's Supporting People regime. In the course of the conversation, and in a visit to one of the sites to meet Travellers, the officer pointed to a building on the private owner-occupier's land and said that a police surveillance camera had been hidden in there and secret filming had been taken of the next door site. Although the interview was part of a separate consultancy project and is not linked directly with this thesis, it is interesting to note this anecdotal finding here as it demonstrates that overt surveillance is in operation on some Gypsy and Traveller sites.

Conversations with other Travellers and liaison officers, during the preliminary stages of this research, also uncovered views that Gypsies and Travellers were watched more than many other groups in society. It was suggested that the surveillance was never

really benign, but that it led to action: either legislative action by the police or vigilante action by local settled residents.

Who is talking about Gypsies and Travellers?

This is the last theme examined in the primary research, but, like surveillance, it was only evident in the media analysis. As part of the coding of the newspaper reports on Gypsies and Travellers, the origins of direct quotes were examined. Speech was put into 'ownership' nodes, for example: Travellers, local people, and politicians (councillors and Members of Parliament). The 'negative' comments in the articles were then analysed according to who had said them. In fourteen instances it was a local person quoted with a negative comment, but in nine instances it was a local councillor or MP. Of the negative comments 26% were from political representatives of local constituencies – people who had been voted in by local members of the public to best represent their needs. Therefore, they could be seen to be speaking on behalf of local constituents.

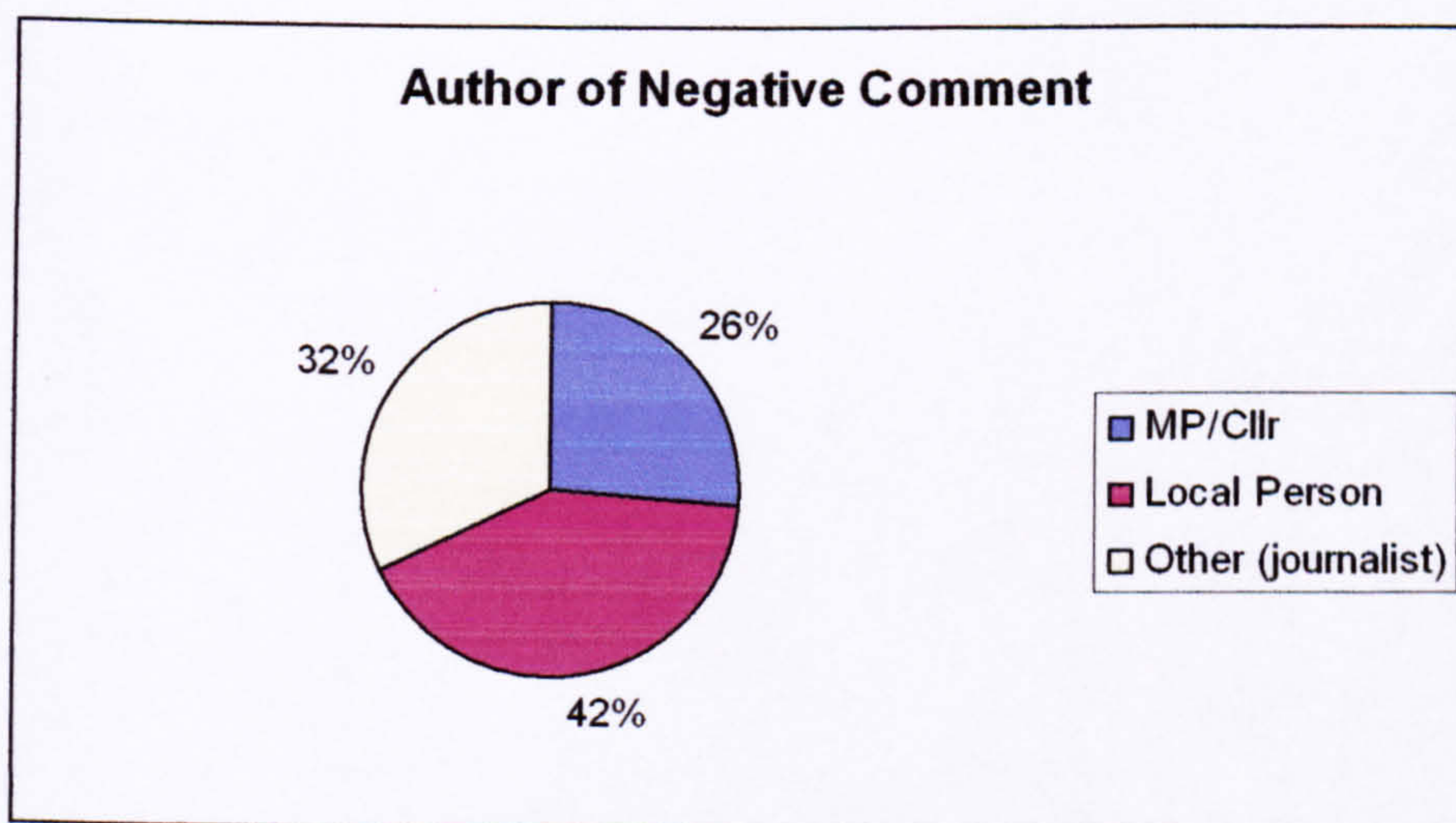


Fig 16: Author of Negative Comment

It seems that the very people who should carefully consider what they say are the ones expounding negative images about Gypsies and Travellers. One such comment was analysed under the discursive theme of 'influx and invasion', a Swindon Councillor said "Hopefully, after all these years, we'll finally see an end to the illegal invasions which have caused so much misery and anger in this area" (*Western Daily Press*, 2003b: 25). In the same article, the South Swindon MP was quoted to be actively pursuing tougher laws to evict Travellers more efficiently.

Another Councillor in Grimsby talked about the costs associated with Travellers, and said "...increased costs of educating extra children and the potential tension caused by possibly hundreds of travellers moving into the area" (Turner, 2003: 10). The Chair of Stowe Town Council talked about abusive Gypsy youths and how female shopkeepers had to be protected from their intimidation during the Stowe fair (*Gloucestershire Echo*, 2003: 5). Two Birmingham Councillors showed their impatience in an article about moving Travellers on. They claimed that evictions were delayed because Traveller women claimed they were pregnant and one of the Councillors referred to an example where a Traveller family was not moved on because one of their children was in hospital (Bell, 2003: 5).

Because of their status in the local community, what local Councillors and MPs say bears significance on the public discourse on Gypsies and Travellers. When elected officials use discriminatory language about Gypsies and Travellers it has the appearance of sanctioning the discriminatory discourse. This may be partly due to the fact that, as a group, Gypsies and Travellers are not vote winners and as such politicians are

disinterested to an extent. Crawley suggests as much: “What was lacking was the political will to ensure that the accommodation needs of Travellers and Gypsies were addressed” (Crawley, 2004: 19).

Indeed, one could go further than a lack of political will. In some instances senior politicians have been as acquiescent as the public in allowing discriminatory discourse to unfairly label Gypsies and Travellers and mark them out for surveillance by society. In one extreme example of discriminatory discourse used in the House of Commons in 2002, the Conservative MP for Bracknell, Mr Andrew MacKay said:

The cost to the college of further education, which is already hard pressed, is huge. The cost to council tax payers, where there are natural budgetary restraints, is great. Ordinary, innocent people – hard-working, normal, straightforward people who live around Bracknell – want to get on with their lives in peace, but they want protection under the law when they are invaded by this scum. They are scum, and I use the word advisedly. People who do what these people have done do not deserve the same human rights as my decent constituents going about their everyday lives.
(MacKay, 2002)

This speech in the House of Commons was about a case where Travellers had set up an unauthorised encampment on a local college car park and the principal of the college felt that the police had taken too long to deal with the matter. MacKay’s use of inflammatory and discriminatory language was not picked up by other members of parliament. Indeed, Angela Eagle (Under-secretary of State for the Home Office at the time) spoke of her gratitude to the Right Honourable Member for raising this. Eagle did state that Travellers should be seen as part of society, but she did not comment on the use of language by MacKay (Eagle, 2002). It could be suggested that, rather than just being acquiescent in a wider public discourse, politicians are motivated to ‘other’ particular groups in order to raise fear, so that political shifts are enabled (Cohen, 1980).

This was analysed in the framework in chapter seven. Additionally, they may be motivated to keep costs of service provision down and therefore want to use discourse to force Gypsies and Travellers to assimilate into mainstream norms. This was also discussed in the framework, and earlier in this chapter in relation to the theme of cost.

It should not be surprising therefore, that the language of local politicians and officials, as exemplified in the October 2003 news reports, is unfair towards Gypsies and Travellers. The example from the House of Commons is that it is acceptable to talk about Gypsies and Travellers in discriminatory language. This public discourse about Gypsies and Travellers contains so many socially constructed 'truths' that it does not seem to be noticed or commented upon. Unfortunately, this discourse does not seem to be improving its representations of Gypsies and Travellers. For instance, the Anti-social Behaviour Act (2003) contains new police powers to deal with Gypsies and Travellers under Part Seven. This sends out a distinct message that Gypsies and Travellers are anti-social; it further embeds the negative discourse surrounding Gypsies and Travellers.

Therefore, whilst at first the fact that 26% of the negative comments quoted in the October 2003 press were from local councillors and MPs may seem proportionately high, an examination of national political and public discourse goes some way to explaining this.

Conclusion

The discussion in this chapter has built upon existing research and provided key themes of discursive control over Gypsies and Travellers. The association of 'mess' with Gypsies and Travellers, and then the cost of that mess (and as such the cost of the travelling community), is an illustrative example of a discursive theme, that is evident in all three of the main primary research methods, which can contribute towards the control over them. Those who spoke of mess in the media or the public meeting, could not provide evidence of the link between Gypsies/Travellers and 'mess' in any systematic way. Instead it demonstrates a socially constructed 'truth' both in the media and the local population in Colchester. This theme was carried through to the responses from Gypsies and Travellers; they were aware of their perceived link with 'mess' but could not understand what physical evidence this was based on. However, the most important theme was cost, as this demonstrated two components of the theoretical framework – (1) how control is exercised and (2) why it is exercised. The theme of cost also linked strongly with a variety of other empirical research discussed throughout the thesis, such as Turner (2000 and 2002) and Morris (2000).

It was discussed, earlier in the chapter, how 'mess' and 'cost' seemed to be emotive language that made the settled community more prejudiced over the travelling community. Those using the words and terms seemed to do so purposefully to get a reaction. The media makes the links between 'mess' and 'cost' and Gypsies and Travellers, as does the settled community; this was exemplified in the Colchester debate. The former did so because, as Richard Desmond (proprietor of the Express

newspaper) said, it sells newspapers. The latter seemed to do it in order to win their objections against neighbouring planning proposals for Travellers' sites.

Whatever the individual motive of the speaker of the negative terms and phrases, there seems to be an overall desire to mark the Gypsy or Traveller out as 'other'; as different to the people in the settled community. Whether they are creators of mess and rubbish (media analysis) or whether they are eating people's pets (Colchester folk devils), the aim of the discourse is to highlight their 'otherness' and to increase their visibility in society. This heightened presence, and subsequent surveillance, may cause the Gypsies and Travellers to move on, or to accept bricks and mortar accommodation because they have nowhere else to go. If this is the case then there has been an exercise in control – either by forcing them to leave or forcing them to live in a conventional house. If neither of these two things occur; there is still control being exercised through surveillance of their heightened presence. As was discussed in detail in chapters four and five, surveillance is a method of control – being watched can affect the behaviour of those under surveillance (Foucault, 1969).

This chapter has examined the discourse around Gypsies and Travellers in the media and by the public, according to the theoretical framework summarised in chapter seven. The analysis of the primary research is vital in demonstrating the link between discriminatory discourse and control over the travelling community. Gypsy and Traveller responses have also been examined. The theories of control, surveillance and discourse have been analysed throughout the thesis and this has been brought into the main themes. Across the three parts of the primary research, the themes have examined

the discursive and physical systems of discourse. Particularly, the evidence from the Gypsy/Traveller focus groups demonstrated that the discourse surrounding them is not just in text and talk but it is manifested in action; sometimes physical violence, but more often in discriminatory service provision and the lack of suitable accommodation. The notion of discourse as control has been mooted in the research and the evidence in this chapter supports that notion. It has shown explicit examples of discourse and the affect this has on the Gypsies and Travellers in the focus groups.

The next, and final, chapter synthesises all of these issues and it will reiterate how insights from the theoretical framework aided the interpretation of the research data. The methodology of the thesis will be critiqued and recommendations for future pieces of research will be examined.

Chapter Ten – Conclusions

Introduction

This research set out to examine the notion of discourse as control, particularly over Gypsies and Travellers. However, in order to tackle the aim sensibly and systematically, it was necessary to ‘unpack’ the notion into smaller research questions.

Firstly, a background on the subject group – Gypsies and Travellers – was given in chapter two. This included a literature review of relevant research, in order to demonstrate how this thesis provided an original contribution to the debate. Following an examination of the methodology in chapter three, the second research question, on the meaning of control was analysed in chapter four. Both Kemeny (1992) and Clapham (2002) raised the issue of reflexivity of concepts in housing research. Clapham (2002) particularly raised the problem of assumptions on notions of power. In order to respond to this criticism, this research analysed theories of power and control.

A third research problem was reviewed in chapter five. This examined theories and methods of discourse. The notion of discourse as a tool of power and control had been raised in chapter four, however it was dealt with specifically at the beginning of chapter five (Foucault, 1969, 1977 & 1999). Methods of discourse analysis were also examined at this point in the thesis.

Fourthly, it was important to investigate what was meant by the term ‘society’. This included an examination of who was considered to be outside of society, because they

did not adhere to macro-norms. To illustrate the discussion, theorists including Cohen (1980) were discussed: particularly in relation to 'folk devils' and moral panics. This debate, in chapter six, demonstrated that Gypsies and Travellers were perceived as outside of society, because they did not adhere to societal norms – indeed they could be described as folk devils. This helped to provide a motive for the use of discourse to control them.

A theoretical framework was developed in chapter seven, which synthesised the theories in chapters four to six, and which enabled discussion of the policy and legislative issues in chapter eight, and the research findings in chapter nine.

Although discourse was examined as part of the third research question, in chapter five, it focused on discourse that was largely text and talk. Chapter eight included analysis of different discursive tools; the debate centred upon legislation and policy and practice. It was the implementation (the translation of language into action – discourse into control) that was at the heart of the analysis.

Chapters one to eight of the thesis answered a range of smaller research questions that made up the hypothesis. Control (chapter four), discourse (chapters five and eight) and Gypsies and Travellers (chapter two) were debated. The motive behind the need to control was examined by looking at societal norms and folk devils in chapter six (a summary of research aims and methodological approaches was shown in figure three, chapter three). This set the theoretical context for a framework to be set out in chapter seven, and an analysis of the findings from the primary research in the previous chapter.

Concepts from the theoretical discussions provided a contextual framework, within which to analyse the findings and to provide themes of discourse. These themes of discourse were shown to translate into actions, not just words, particularly in the evidence from the Gypsy/Traveller focus groups. The themes provided support to the notion that discourse can be used as a tool to control Gypsies and Travellers.

Use of the Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework took the key points from chapters four, five and six and examined the conclusions from the analysis of control theories, discourse theories and methods, and ideas on society and folk devils. This section aims to draw from the framework and examine its use in analysing legislation, policy and practice; and in examining the primary research data in the previous chapter.

The main insights from the framework focused on the three-phased circular route of control. This started with explaining what type of control was being examined – surveillance. It then proposed that discourse was a method through which surveillant control could be achieved; and thirdly it suggested a motive for control that was linked to political shifts and cost. All of the concepts which made up the framework were discussed in detail in their respective chapters. Power and control was explained according to a wide range of theorists in chapter four; discourse was analysed in chapter five, and social norms and the motivation to ‘other’ was included in chapter six. However, the framework drew all of these points together into a single explanatory concept, within which to discuss policy, legislation and the research findings.

The framework was a useful aid to interpret the various data. Taken as a whole it explained the circuitous route of discourse as control and it served as an example of how the motive to 'other' reinforces the stereotype and that this reinforced stereotype causes a moral panic and a need for further surveillance, which then produces more discriminatory discourse that reinterprets the stereotype; and on it goes.

In chapter eight, the interpretation of legislation (Criminal Justice and Public Order Act, 1994) and policy was demonstrated to translate into action taken by local agencies (such as the police or housing authorities) which could result in Travellers being moved on from unauthorised encampments. Indeed a review of the courts' interpretation of homelessness legislation and precedent showed that the discourse contained within the law and accompanying circulars is not benign; it can actively be translated to decide whether a Traveller family can have permission to put caravans on their own land, or whether the offer of a house is suitable in a homelessness situation. This interpretation, within the insights offered by the framework (particularly the discourse theory and the link with power and control theories expounded by Foucault), showed the legislative and policy discourse as productive, rather than reactive, and the framework demonstrated motives for this – particularly, for government, the motive to heighten people's fears to allow for political shifts.

The findings in chapter nine also benefited from the insights of the framework. Each of the main themes was discussed within the main theoretical concepts, but the key theme to draw upon here is cost. Cost was demonstrated as an example of two of the phases of the framework – an example of a tool of discursive control, and an example of the

motive behind discursive control measures. Cost is a reason for governments, the media and the public to use discriminatory discourse, in order that the 'otherness' of the travelling community is seen and that they can be kept under surveillance. It also allows for adverse treatment to be used, without complaint from wider society, according to the theory of proximity by Bauman (1989) and the concept of public acquiescence by Zelizer (1993). Adverse treatment could include alleged violent intimidation by the police (Lodge, 2004), coercion to take bricks and mortar accommodation under homelessness legislation (Codona case, 2004), or action by the police under the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (1994) to move Travellers on from unauthorised sites. Cost of an alternative lifestyle could be a motive behind any of these adverse treatments, as the government does then not have to provide support and suitable accommodation for the travelling lifestyle.

Many of the themes, outlined in chapter nine, could fit into the discursive tools element of the theoretical framework and be applied to a different social group. The framework explained that the 'who' question was peripheral to the central theoretical concept and that the 'what', 'how' and 'why' elements were key. The issue of cost, labelling (true versus fake) and misrepresentation could equally be applied to asylum seekers, young single mothers, social housing tenants and so on. An examination of the discourse surrounding any of these groups could be analysed within the central theoretical framework mooted in chapter seven. However, in this research the discussion in chapters eight and nine applied the framework to Gypsies and Travellers and it provided a suggestion that there was evidence of discursive control of this group.

Critique of Methodological Approach

The methodology is discussed in detail in chapter three. A critique is included here, having examined the findings in the previous chapter, to highlight where the research could have been improved.

The approach to the secondary research strategy was discussed in detail in chapter three, and a summary of resources utilised was included in figure one. The use of databases to search for relevant literature, and the consequential snowballing effect, are common to many studies. An element of cross referencing was also used and key texts became apparent. Another researcher may start by examining a different database, or a different key text, but it is likely that the end result on the literature reviews would be similar, because of the cross referencing between texts and databases.

In respect of the primary research strategy, it was fortunate that the methodology included a pilot study, so that lessons were learnt in the process. They were then incorporated and the methodological approach was improved. The pilot study particularly dealt with ethical problems in the original plan. A survey of neighbours to Gypsy/Traveller sites was reconsidered because it was feared that this may raise tensions between the settled and travelling communities. Duncan (1996) did speak to neighbours of proposed sites in Scotland and there were some informative research outcomes; but it is not known whether ethical issues were considered by Duncan, or whether the questions did leave tensions after the researcher had left. The attendance at a planning consultation meeting in Colchester allowed this researcher to hear the views of the public, without actively being involved and asking questions. However, the

people at the meeting were effectively self-selected, and they may not have been representative of the wider population. If a survey of neighbours to the sites had been adopted then the researcher would have selected a random sample to question and this may have allowed for a more representative approach. Another researcher may find an answer to the ethical considerations, or indeed not consider ethical issues, and conduct just such a survey. It is possible that the random selection of neighbour participants would result in different findings in that part of the primary research and this may have affected the themes.

The researcher was aware of the validity problems that the ethical considerations raised, and this was one of the reasons why a triangulation of methods was used. Rather than rely on the views of a self selecting Colchester public, the language in the media was analysed and the thoughts of Gypsies and Travellers were sought. The themes from the findings, analysed in the previous chapter, show some commonalities across these three research areas. For instance, the theme of 'mess' was discussed in the media, by the public, and by Gypsies and Travellers. If the views of the public in the Colchester meeting had not been representative then there would have been less likelihood of a correlation of findings with the media and with Gypsies and Travellers.

The techniques of analysis, in the primary research, were discussed in the methodology. However, it is important to include the use of the Lexis Nexis database and the NVIVO software in this critique. Techniques of data collection and analysis can affect the final results. However, it is felt that by using Lexis Nexis and NVIVO, a robust approach has

been demonstrated and that it is reasonable to state that these tools improved the accuracy of the primary research.

A final area for discussion, in this critique, is the issue of subjectivity. This type of qualitative research is open to criticism on this issue. Although findings from the primary research have been presented as neutral, for instance eleven media reports focused on mess; the analysis of the finding and the interpretation of the theme in relation to other findings could be subjective. This is a criticism that could be applied to any interpretive study, the stance of the researcher is all important in the act of interpretation. There is little to be suggested on how this can be tackled, the researcher can not step out of the world they are researching, they are part of it.

Contribution of the Thesis

This research has built upon relevant existing knowledge, predominantly Niner (2003), Turner (2000 & 2002), Kemeny (1992) and Clapham (2002). Both Kemeny and Clapham highlighted the need for implicit assumptions to be examined and this research follows that advice. It particularly analyses concepts of power, control, discourse and society, in relation to Gypsies and Travellers. The extensive literature review showed that this had not been done previously in other studies. There are examples of research into discourse analysis and Gypsies and Travellers (Turner 2000 & 2002), however in his study the concepts at the heart of the debate (discourse) are not analysed in a theoretical manner. Additionally, there are examples of extensive research into the needs of Gypsies and Travellers (Niner, 2003 and Crawley, 2004) where the views of the group are included. However, this research is aimed at a policy audience and there

are practical recommendations on how to improve accommodation provision. There is no intention of a theoretical debate on notions of control in these studies. This thesis fills the gap in the current knowledge in this specific area. It links notions of discourse and control and examines the theories thoroughly. Then it raises the notion that discourse is translated into action that is used to control Gypsies and Travellers. There is an implicit assumption that some discursive and legislative measures do control Gypsies and Travellers, indeed the travelling community seem to be aware of the implicit notion of control. However, this thesis makes the links explicit through the use of secondary and primary research, and it discusses theoretical concepts which are normally subject to the issue of reflexivity in this area. In this regard, the thesis is an original contribution to the research on Gypsies and Travellers, and indeed on discourse and control.

Further Research

This research could be furthered in a number of ways. Firstly, the methodology could be used to examine the notion of discourse as control over other groups; for instance asylum seekers, teenage mothers, anti-social council tenants and so on. Indeed any group that is marginalised by societal norms, or is perceived to be socially excluded, by the government, could be researched according to a similar methodology.

Another area could include deeper investigation into the views of Gypsies and Travellers, based on the themes and conclusions from this research. During the focus groups Gypsies and Travellers were asked their views on the way they were perceived by the press and the public. This led to discussion on other areas, such as

discriminatory service provision which exemplified the translation of discourse into controlling action. However, there is room for more explicit questions to be asked in this area. Decisions in planning cases, or homelessness cases involving Gypsies and Travellers could be examined. Those who made the decisions could be surveyed on their views of Gypsies and Travellers. The travelling community could also be asked how the decision manifested itself – did they accept the offer of a house, or were they moved off land? This type of study would need to be small-scale and its success would be dependent on good record-keeping of decisions by the local authority. Nevertheless, there could be some valuable insights that would move the outcomes from this research forward.

On the issue of planning, it would be interesting to follow up the case in Colchester. The methodology could draw upon that of Duncan (1996) and questions could be asked of those who objected to the site proposal at the meeting in December 2003. Duncan (1996) found that the impact of the Gypsy/Travellers' sites on the residents was much lower than the perceived fears, it would be interesting to see if the same would happen in Colchester. The discussions with the Planning Officer showed that there were not many complaints when the old site was actually open, it was with the distance of time that the travelling community had been othered and made into folk devils by the Colchester settled community. There are still ethical issues to be addressed if this research is to be done. Would the questioning of objectors raise tensions more than they needed to be? Ethical considerations differ between researchers and it may be seen as a valid research methodology, despite the possible problems, in the future.

Another area that could be examined is the impact of the Gypsy Traveller Media Advisory Group (GT MAG). This is a newly established organisation that only drew up its constitution in May 2004. The aim of the group is to advise the media on the discriminatory discourse and the effect on the travelling community. In say, five years time, it will be important to assess the impact that GT MAG has on media discourse. A broader approach to the newspaper search in this research may need to be taken. GT MAG aims to impact not just on the news but on all media both print and electronic. A similar coding mechanism could be used though, to put media discourse into nodes, or themes, on which to judge the effectiveness of GT MAG. If the media representation improves, it could then be assessed whether this has an effect on the wider discourse. If there is less discrimination in the media then this may result in fewer controlling actions. The socially constructed 'truth' about Gypsies and Travellers may change.

Political discourse could also be examined further. This has been discussed in the thesis but there has not been a systematic methodology for analysing political discourse. This subject area has been reviewed before (see Turner 2000), it did not follow a system, but instead seemed to rely on selective sampling of texts. Future research could examine national political debate and local political debate. Lexis Nexis could be used to search texts in Hansard, and then observation could be used in a local setting, for instance a planning hearing, to examine the discourse used by local councillors and MPs. This would add more depth to the discussion in this thesis, which mooted the notion that the discourse of politicians serves to sanction the discriminatory discourse of the public and the media.

Finally, the issue of discourse into controlling action could be taken one step further. Gypsies and Travellers provided evidence, in the focus groups, of discourse resulting in physical violence, or discrimination in service provision. However, this was not directly observed by the researcher. In the future a study could use an ethnomethodological approach. A researcher could pose as a Gypsy or Traveller and attempt to access public and private services, to examine how they were treated. There are ethical considerations with all ethnomethodological studies, and this would be no exception. Nevertheless, this would allow a researcher to directly observe the discrimination in service provision.

Conclusion

This final chapter has aimed to synthesise the key points in the previous three chapters, and to reflect on the methodological approach, draw conclusions on the findings, demonstrate the contribution of the thesis to the body of research, and to moot directions for future study.

The conclusions on the findings from the secondary and primary research have examined the notion of discourse as a method of control; in this instance in relation to Gypsies and Travellers.

This thesis has tested the notion that discourse can be used to control Gypsies and Travellers. The evidence provided, particularly from the primary research, within the theoretical context from the literature reviews, has given support to that notion.

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Appendices

Appendix One

Lexis Nexis Database

This appendix shows a list of the newspapers captured in the search of the Lexis Nexis database in October 2003. It also includes an excerpt from the findings of the search; page one of the newspaper articles is reproduced to exemplify what the findings from the database look like.

National and Local Newspapers Captured in the October 2003 Lexis Nexis Search.

In the search of the Lexis Nexis database, in October 2003, for articles containing the words 'Gypsy' or 'Traveller', there were a total of 54 articles in the month. Some newspapers occurred quite regularly in the search and others were found just once. In total 30 different newspapers were displayed on the Lexis Nexis database in October 2003:

- Birmingham Evening Mail
- Bristol Evening Post
- Coventry Evening Telegraph
- Daily Mail
- Evening Gazette
- Gloucestershire Echo
- Grimsby Evening Telegraph
- Herald Express (Torquay)
- Leicester Mercury
- Llanelli Star
- South Wales Evening Post
- Sunday Mirror
- Sunday Times
- The Cornishman
- The Daily Telegraph
- The Guardian
- The Northern Echo
- The Times
- This is Brighton and Hove
- This is Eastbourne
- This is Hampshire
- This is Hertfordshire
- This is Lancashire
- This is the Cotswolds
- This is the North East
- This is Wiltshire
- This is Worcestershire
- Western Daily Press
- Western Morning News (Plymouth)
- Yorkshire Evening Post

1 of 54 DOCUMENTS

Copyright 2003 Guardian Newspapers Limited
The Guardian (London)

October 31, 2003

SECTION: Guardian Home Pages, Pg. 7

LENGTH: 310 words

HEADLINE: Gypsy caravan burned in village bonfire

BYLINE: Rebecca Ellnor

BODY:

Police are investigating claims of racism in an East Sussex village after residents attending a bonfire party burned a caravan with pictures of **Gypsies** painted on it.

The vehicle, bearing the number plate P1KEY, was set on fire during Guy Fawkes celebrations in Firle, which was at the centre of a dispute over **travellers** earlier this year.

Local MP Norman Baker said residents were upset after "itinerant criminals" caused damage to land and property, and a degree of anger was understandable.

He backed the organisers Firle Bonfire Society, who denied any racism, and pointed out that other figures such as the local police chief, President George Bush and Osama bin Laden had been given the same treatment at previous Guy Fawkes' celebrations. They claimed they were following a bonfire night tradition of burning effigies of things that had troubled the local community over the past 12 months.

But several parents who attended the event with children expressed concern at the tone of the event last Saturday, and the Commission for Racial Equality has called for those involved to be punished.

The CRE chairman, Trevor Phillips, said the burning was a clear example of incitement to racial hatred, a crime which carries a maximum sentence of seven years. "You couldn't get more provocative than this," he added.

In response to the criticisms, the Firle Bonfire Society chairman, Richard Gravett, published a statement on the group's website. He said their intentions had been "misunderstood and misrepresented".

"It was primarily intended to criticise the local authorities whose lack of action had caused so much frustration locally," he said.

Chief Superintendent Paul Pearce said: "Recent events in the police service have highlighted the continual need for a positive anti-racist and anti-discrimination stance."

LOAD-DATE: October 30, 2003

2 of 54 DOCUMENTS

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Appendix Two

NVIVO Analysis

Two examples are included in this appendix. Firstly, 'free node' excerpts from the newspaper articles which demonstrate examples where the coded text relates to a politician (local MP or Councillor). The second excerpt is showing the 'tree node' of mess and cost.

The findings from the NVIVO analysis are explained in chapter seven, however these examples are shown in the appendix in relation to the primary research strategy in the methodology at chapter three, in order to demonstrate how the coded text can be displayed to the researcher.

The first example shows pieces of newspaper text when one search field (or free node) was used. In this case, the search field was where the author or subject of the text was a local politician. The second example shows findings from a search where two related fields (or a tree node) was input, in this instance 'mess' and 'cost'. Although the two examples in this appendix look the same, the findings are different, because the first one shows a 'free node' (or single research field); and the second shows examples where two related search fields have been used (mess and cost), and the latter is called a tree node.

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Example showing NVIVO 'free node' excerpts from newspaper articles. The text was either about an official (local MP or Councillor) or more often was directly quoted from an official.

Document 'Lexus Oct03 Gypsy articles ~54~ Nviv', 9 passages, 1982 characters.

Section 0, Paragraph 33, 153 characters.

Local MP Norman Baker said residents were upset after "itinerant criminals" caused damage to land and property, and a degree of anger was understandable.

Section 0, Paragraph 36, 217 characters.

The CRE chairman, Trevor Phillips, said the burning was a clear example of incitement to racial hatred, a crime which carries a maximum sentence of seven years. "You couldn't get more provocative than this," he added.

Section 0, Paragraph 200, 139 characters.

"We moved very quickly to get the injunction but these **travellers** were able to ride roughshod over that and we are very annoyed about it."

Section 0, Paragraph 223, 232 characters.

Coun John Lines, head of a scrutiny team which is investigating ways to crack down on illegal itinerant camps -of which there have been more than 160 in the city over the past 18 months -said the situation was 'bordering on farce'.

Section 0, Paragraphs 275-276, 354 characters.

The city has proved such an attraction to travelling families that council officials have investigated the provision of more official sites to cope with the demand.

Four were secretly shortlisted in the summer -Heartlands Parkway, Mainstream Way, Stratford Street North and Wheelwright Road. But all were ruled out by top officials at a private meeting.

Section 0, Paragraph 297, 193 characters.

Its chairman, Coun John Lines, said that rather than wait for seven days to repossess sites, the city council, police and other agencies could use existing laws to move them on inside 24 hours.

Section 0, Paragraphs 299-300, 301 characters.

He claimed evictions were frequently delayed because itinerant women claimed they were pregnant.

Recently five caravan families were allowed to stay for seven weeks on public open space at Bachelors Farm, Bordesley Green, when one of their children was hospitalised after a lorry accident on the site.

Section 0, Paragraph 419, 252 characters.

Councillor Brazier said: "This is justification for the people of Colney Heath the parish council and the members of the district council who have campaigned so hard to ensure that this illegal development which was a blight on the village is removed."

Section 0, Paragraph 597, 141 characters.

"Hopefully, after all these years, we'll finally see an end to the illegal invasions which have caused so much misery and anger in this area.

Example showing NVIVO 'tree node' of mess and cost.

Document 'Lexus Oct03 Gypsy articles ~54~ Nviv', 7 passages, 1906 characters.

Section 0, Paragraph 78, 162 characters.

Duncan Leslie, agent for the estate, also asked for a financial contribution from Lewes District Council to clear up the rubbish left behind, which included cars.

Section 0, Paragraphs 174-175, 246 characters.

MESS left by **travellers** over the last two years has cost Redditch taxpayers £ 50 000 to clean up.
The figure was revealed during a full council meeting when the controversial issue of bunds used to stop **travellers** entering a site was debated.

Section 0, Paragraph 218, 72 characters.

City taxpayers fork out pounds 25,000 a year to subsidise its operation.

Section 0, Paragraphs 293-294, 258 characters.

Over the past 18 months more than 160 sites in the city -many of them public parks and playing fields -have been invaded by caravan families.
Birmingham taxpayers have forked out tens of thousands of pounds to evict them and clear up their mess and litter.

Section 0, Paragraphs 659-660, 301 characters.

Former councillor Pete Brown has been campaigning to close off as much council-owned land as possible to prevent **travellers** from camping on it.
He says the money has been well spent because it stops the council having to spend thousands of pounds clearing up after **travellers** when they leave a mess.

Section 0, Paragraphs 781-783, 680 characters.

Appendix Three

Pilot Survey and Researcher's Prompt

This appendix illustrates an early stage of the primary research; a pilot study at the Meynells Gorse Travellers' site in Leicester. The pilot study provided some valuable lessons for the final research methodology; for example, the focus groups with Gypsies and Travellers were participant focused and there were no set questions from the researcher. The attached pilot survey consists of many questions, and it was realised that this inhibited response.

The answers from those who participated in the pilot study were interesting and helped to provide some understanding of key issues. However, the real benefit of the pilot study was in understanding the faults of the attached survey; this allowed for an improvement to the final methodology.

General Notes for Gypsy/Traveller Survey

Introduction

This **must** be stated in each discussion with both Gypsies/Travellers and neighbours.

- Name and post at DMU – show card
- Nature of research and state that this is a pilot (e.g. still forming questions, this exercise will be very helpful) which will help to feed into future research in September 2003.
- Collection of data – explain that all research activity of this kind is governed by the Market Research Society Code of Conduct (revised statement July 1999) and that this protects respondents. Respondents' co-operation is entirely voluntary and they can choose to terminate the discussion at any time. Anonymity will be preserved at all times (note I am not asking for names) and statements given by respondents will not be able to be attributed to them in the future. Information gathered in this exercise is for use in my research as a PhD student and will not be passed onto any other third party. I may be fortunate in obtaining funding from JRF in September and a report may be written for them on research to be conducted in September, which this pilot would feed into. In this case none of the responses will be passed onto the JRF and the report would only include 'anonymised' comments or data.
- Nature of collection of data – I would prefer to use the tape recorder (which would later be transcribed) but if respondents are not happy with this, I will take written notes.

Interviewer	Jo Richardson
Accompanied By (name of Traveller Liaison Officer)	
Site/ Neighbourhood	
Number of respondents in discussion	
Tape recorder used (Y/N)	
Any other Comments	

Gypsies and Travellers Topics

Background information

- Age
- Ethnicity (to be defined by participant)
- Current economic status – e.g. Full time education
Looking after other family members
Self – employed
Other full time employment
Part-time employment
Unemployed
Long term sick
Other

Recent Housing History

e.g. length of time on this site, previous accommodation, ever lived in a house (rented or owned) etc?

Gypsies and Travellers Topics

Preferences for Home

- What does travelling mean to you?
- What do you feel about a 'house'?
- What makes an area attractive to live in?
- How important is it to live near other Traveller families?
- What things would be important in deciding where to live?
(Examples might be the ability to run a business from site, to be close to schools or shops)
- What type of home would you prefer? (for instance would you live in a house and if so, what type?)
- *(For travellers on official sites only)* What facilities should be on an official Gypsy/ Travellers' site? Also, what do you think to the location of this official site?
- Do you prefer a local authority-run, or private-run site; or do you prefer to live on unofficial/unauthorised/tolerated sites?

Gypsies and Travellers Topics

Social Views

- What does 'society' mean to you?
- Do you feel you belong to 'society'?
- Describe what you think constitutes anti-social behaviour?
- Have you ever suffered from neighbours committing anti-social behaviour?
- Do you feel that you are watched over, by the settled community and by various authorities to monitor the way you live? If so, does it change the way you live?
- Do any children from the family go to the local school? If so, how do they get on with non-travelling children, have there been any problems?

Gypsies and Travellers Topics

Discrimination and Misunderstanding

- **What do you think is the attitude of the local community to this Gypsy/ Travellers' site?**
- **What do you think to the portrayal of Gypsies and Travellers in the media?**
- **What do you think of the settled community, what particular characteristics does the settled community have?**
- **What do you think are the characteristics of your Gypsy/Traveller group?**
- **What do you think are the characteristics of other Gypsy/Traveller groups?**
- **Have you experienced racism or harassment from any service providers (public or private, ranging from the local authority and police to local shops and pubs)?**
- **Have you experienced harassment either in or near your home? (Did you make a complaint; and to whom? How satisfactorily was it dealt with?)**



Gypsies and Travellers Topics

Suggestions for Change

- What suggestions do you have for a better understanding of Gypsies and Travellers by the settled community and the media?
- What changes would you make to the way the authorities deal with you (e.g. local authority/police etc)