

‘Site Under Construction’

*The role of discourse in the social construction of
Local Authority Traveller accommodation*

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A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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June 2013

Revised with the correction of minor errors, May 2014

ABSTRACT

Key traditional foci in Traveller-related academic work have tended to be 'socio-economics' and 'culture'/'ethnicity'. Diverting from these, this thesis takes a sociological Housing Studies starting-point in considering 'Travelling people' in the context of 'housing' as 'home', and 'residence' as an aspect of the human '*way of life*'. From the epistemological perspective of 'weak' social constructionism (Berger and Luckmann, 1966), and accepting a 'universalistic' understanding of 'ethnicity' (Malešević, 2004), I problematize the concept 'way of life' in its popular sense of *socio-cultural* 'lifestyle', identifying, and suggesting the term 'lifeway' to denote, a dichotomous (nomadic-sedentary) *socio-ecological* subsense within its English-language construction. Similarly problematised, the construct 'Traveller' and its commonly-accepted counterpart 'settled' appear as a pair of diversely *multi-ethnic* human *lifeway* collectives, differentiated not primarily by degree of mobility, but by contrasting 'nomadic' and 'sedentary' versions of 'residence', 'dwelling', 'home', etc. Using a reflexive, broadly 'Foucauldian' (Carabine, 2001), discourse analysis methodology (Potter, 1996; Wetherell et al. 2001), I consider *Traveller/nomadic* 'residence' empirically through a case study (Yin, 2003) of the 'Local Authority Traveller Site' as a discursive 'text' central to dominant representations of *Traveller/nomadic* 'dwelling'/'home'. From *Sedentarist* and *Nomadist* socio-discursive accounts of social construction and contestation, I develop *bi- and tri-modal* understandings of seemingly incomprehensible and/or irreducible intra- and inter-paradigmatic tensions. In this initial attempt at a *nomadism-sensitive* critique, I argue that academic consideration of Traveller and other socio-ecologically non-hegemonic lifeways, within Housing and beyond, has been limited by a universally 'Sedentarist' discursive 'bottom line'. I propose amelioration of this through reformulation of the concept of *lifeway*, a discrete, essential dimension of human identity cross-cutting (rather than reducible to) *ethnicity*, *class* or *gender*, from a dichotomy to a *continuum* of socio-ecological practice; and related expansion of Kemeny's (1992) concept of 'residence'. The now considerable theoretical and critical capability of Housing Studies and related fields, combined with the 'lifeway' perspectives offered by Romani Studies and related fields, could produce potentially very fruitful and far-reaching 'integrative' (Kemeny, 1992; also Acton, 1997) 'trans-disciplinary' (Clapham et al., 2012) and 'theory-making' (King, 2009) collaboration. This could enable more visible, comprehensible mainstream academic representation of Traveller and other non-hegemonic residence modes, and enhanced *mobilities* (Urry, 2007) accounts of hegemonic residence, housing, dwelling and home.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks and appreciation to:

CPLAN: for providing the opportunity and funding to conduct this research;

My Supervisors: David Clapham and Huw Thomas, for both their academic and personal support, but most of all for their incredible patience;

My Panel Members: Craig Gurney, Alan Hooper and Jon Anderson, whose various alternative perspectives, friendly advice and moral support have been invaluable;

John Flint, for his positive, practical comments and criticism;

All those people and families who supported my preparation and submission of the initial proposal for, actively participated in, or contributed in other ways to this research, especially members of the Gypsy and Traveller community: Many of you deserve to be named here, but are not in order to preserve your anonymity;

My immediate and extended family, but in particular: my tolerant, patient, and ever-supportive husband Nicholas Bates; my wonderful parents, Christopher and Susan Whiting, without whose considerable practical and financial support this project would never have reached completion; my beautiful daughter, Emily Anwen (“Millie”), whose somewhat dramatic arrival prolonged, but also ultimately enriched, my PhD experience; my sister Sharon Whiting Rauwald, and my lovely parents-in-law, Michael and Joan Bates, for their understanding (and free babysitting), the Cardiff Steiner Early Years Centre, for their support and much-needed flexibility, my son, James Michael David (“Jamie”), whose impending arrival catalyzed completion and submission of this thesis;

And

All of my friends, both academic and non-academic, who have each offered much-needed support, insight, discussion and encouragement throughout the PhD process. Although too many to name here, I am grateful individually to you all.

Dedicated to the memory of the inspirational, and eternally open-minded

Vera May Shaw-Ralph

Née Deaves, and Formerly, Duncan

1914 – 2010

My Grandmother
and Friend

In interaction with whom I Socially Constructed my current Reality

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Spune Nu doar acela
care-l știe pe Da.
Însă el, care știe totul,
la Nu și la Da are foile rupte.

**Says “No”, only the one
Who knows “Yes”.
But he who knows everything,
At “No” and “Yes” has the pages torn out.**

-Nichita Stănescu

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION. ‘Travellers’, ‘Housing’, researcher motivation, and epistemological decisions

1.1 General introduction and researcher motivation

Although variously described, the presence in British and other societies of a range of minority groups, contrasted as uniquely distinct ‘*travelling* people’ in relation to hegemonic ‘*settled*’ majority populations, has been documented in a diverse range of published material. Throughout various historical constructions and reconstructions, whether represented as ‘Egyptians’, ‘Gypsies’, ‘Vagabonds’, ‘Wanderers’, ‘Travellers’, or in some other way, explicit reference to the distinctive, non-hegemonic ‘travelling’ *way of life* of such people has remained constant. Fundamental to this has been the notion of a ‘nomadic’ *mode of residence*, in *mobile homes* in the sense of inherently movable/mobile physical shelter structures – as has discussion of their (*residential*) *accommodation* (or otherwise). The following series of citations are intended to offer a brief illustrative ‘tour’ of the ways in which these phenomena have recurrently appeared, and been represented, across an eclectic range of texts and in relation to a variety of contexts over the past several centuries:

“[...] every officer and subject [...] do allow to Thomas Polgar, leader of twenty-five tents of wandering Gipseys, free residence everywhere and on no account to molest either him or his people [...]”

(King Uladislaus II of Hungary, 1496 (cited in Grellmann, 1783 (Raper’s translation, 1807:39))

“Forasmuch as before this tyme divers and many owtlandisshe¹ people calling themselves Egypsions [...] have comen in to thys realme and goon from Shyre to Shyre and place to place in grete companye[...] from henceforth noo suche persons be suffred to come within this the Kinges realme”

(King Henry VIII, 1530 (National Archives: Act concerning ‘Egyptians’); footnote added)

¹ Meaning literally ‘people from outside this land’ (Mayall, 2004:67)

“A lad lately in the University of Oxford [...] was by his poverty forced to leave his studies there and joyn himself to a company of vagabond gypsies [...].”

(Glanville, 1661, cited in Starkie’s new introduction to Borrow (1857) 1948:vii)

“They continue the whole winter in their hut, but at the first croaking of the frogs they pull down their house and decamp [...] being no-where, or rather every-where, at home. [...]

[...] The travelling Gipsy wanders from place to place [...].”

(Grellmann, 1783 (Raper’s translation, 1807:36, 195))

“At a quarter past two we went out [...]. We met the same two gypsies [...] They are encamped on the Portsmouth Road now, where we walk every day.”

(Queen Victoria, 1836 (Diary, Vol. 3:98)

“During the past decade, there have been from 60 to 80 travelling families using Hull as either a permanent or a temporary base. [...] This group of local families is quite distinct from the smaller element of long-distance [...] travellers, who stay for a few weeks at a time [...].”

(Sibley, 1981:121)

“[...]Caravan sites in England owned by local authorities, [...] constitute a specialist form of accommodation provision developed since 1960 [...]

An unknown number of Gypsies and other Travellers [...] live in houses. At the other end of the scale, some live in caravans and travel all year round with no settled base, moving between unauthorised encampments. ‘Gypsy sites’ are caravan sites provided explicitly for Gypsies and other Travellers. [...] Very few publicly provided sites cater for transit needs, and most are designed for residential use, with hardstanding, water, electricity and standard amenities provided on an individual family basis.”

(Niner, 2003:15, 41)

“WE ARE ALL BRITISH. WE ARE ONE NATION [...]

[...] BUT IF YOU ARE A TRAVELLER YOU CAN BEND PLANNING LAW, BUILDING WHERE YOU LIKE THANKS TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS ACT.

IT’S NOT FAIR THAT THERE’S ONE RULE FOR TRAVELLERS AND ANOTHER FOR EVERYONE ELSE.”

(Howard/The Conservative Party, 2005)

“We live in a modern Britain. We are proud to be part of a diverse and multicultural nation. We are proud to be Gypsies and Travellers. [...]”

90 per cent of our planning applications fail as opposed to 20 per cent from the settled community. [...]

It’s not fair that so many Gypsies and Travellers are homeless. It’s not fair that many official sites are next to rubbish dumps and sewer works. [...].

But it’s not fair either that some people in the settled community are inconvenienced by unauthorised encampments.

We want solutions that are fair for everyone. We need more choice, more legal sites, more dialogue and more understanding.”

(Gypsy and Traveller Law Reform Coalition, 2005 (Response to Howard/The Conservative Party, 2005), cited in Clark and Greenfields, 2006:2).

Within the dichotomous identity context described and illustrated above, as a non-‘Traveller’ I fall firmly into the category of ‘settled person’. However, within a more general context, I have been far from ‘settled’. From early 1991, on the basis of vocational qualifications, for two 2-3 year periods both before and after completing an undergraduate degree in East European Language², Literature and Regional Studies, I lived, travelled, and worked in various Eastern European locations. This was initially as a missionary/humanitarian aid worker and then as a professional³ volunteer, and included working at times directly with (‘settled’) European Roma (‘Gypsy’) individuals and families, later moving on to paid work as a translator and interpreter, vocational trainer and teacher. In late 1999, after also spending several short periods living and working in the USA, I returned to the UK and, between completion of a Masters degree in Applied Social Studies incorporating a Diploma in Social Work, and commencing my PhD work, I spent several more years working as a ‘Gypsy and Traveller’ education, community development and support practitioner.

During this period I took on various roles in a number of UK locations, with a diverse

² Romanian, with Russian

³ Childcare, Health and Education

range of individuals and groups self-identifying as 'Gypsy' and/or 'Traveller', and '(European) Roma'. It was in the context of this broader-than-average (for a 'settled' person, at least) personal experience of such people, their *ways of life*, and the range of '*accommodation*' in which they lived; and with a reading of reports by Niner (2003) and Van Cleemput et al. (2004), that the initial ideas that eventually culminated in the research described in this thesis began to germinate. At the time I was working professionally in a third-sector setting⁴, and there, amongst other activities⁵, I became directly involved in attempts to assess the quality and suitability, and encourage the refurbishment and maintenance, of Local Authority-managed, residential 'Traveller sites'.

In her government-funded Housing research and report *Local Authority Gypsy/Traveller Sites in England*, Niner (2003:213-230) concluded that English policy had failed to deliver *accommodation* to Gypsies and Travellers *that met their cultural needs*. In the context of publication of this 'Niner Report'; various consultations; and complex political liaisons, the 2004 Housing Act was passed, placing a duty upon Local Authorities in England to make 'Gypsies and Travellers' explicitly visible in relation to local *Housing Needs Assessments* for the first time, through the *Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Assessment* (Greenfields, 2008a; for examples see Greenfields, Powell et al., 2008; Brown et al., 2008), generally (and hereafter) abbreviated as 'GTAA'. Although no explicit duty was placed to *provide* for any needs identified, this was a policy change directly relevant to the consultancy work in which I was involved at the time.

My initial academic interest, borne out of this combination of personal and professional

⁴ at the London Gypsy and Traveller Unit (LGTU)

⁵ Including: involvement in specialist consultancy on a range of issues including fuel poverty, domestic energy efficiency and health; fundraising; interpreting for and liaison with Traveller Education services; professional supervision of youth workers, and last but by no means least, transporting around the city, supervising and entertaining minibus-loads of Irish Traveller children and young people.

experience, reading, and many discussions with both 'travelling people' and 'settled' colleagues, was in the possibility of addressing one or more of the many remaining 'gaps', as perceived by a ('settled') support practitioner, within the existing state-sponsored, policy-led housing research (including, most recently at the time, Niner's (2003, 2004) groundbreaking, but inevitably limited, work) in relation to the *general* and *cultural* suitability of existing Local Authority-provided 'Gypsy and Traveller' Accommodation.

This interest developed, eventually leading to a search for and identification of suitable research opportunities; my submission of a proposal to the (then) Cardiff University School of City and Regional Planning (CPLAN) for PhD work with a focus not directly upon 'Gypsies and Travellers', but upon the distinctive residential 'accommodation' provided for 'travelling people' ('Gypsy' or otherwise) with the assessment and provision of which I had been professionally involved; and finally, my acceptance into the (then) CPLAN 'Housing Research Group' and commencement of the research project of which this thesis is the product.

With 'Housing Studies' my primary location within the department, I began my PhD with a general review of the Housing literature, aiming to first achieve a sound understanding of the field in order to make topical refinements, initial epistemological decisions, and 'place' my proposed work clearly within it. The following two chapter sections represent a 'key definitions'-focused summary and discussion of my exploration of both Housing Studies and further bodies of topic-relevant academic work.

1.2 'Shelter', Housing Studies, 'home', 'residence'... and 'Travellers'

"... In the United Kingdom, as in most developed economies, housing is a major and often the largest item of personal expenditure. It is also an important determinant of people's life chances and, next to agriculture, housing normally constitutes the largest single land use. **Clearly, apart from nourishment, shelter is humankind's most essential material need.**"

(Balchin and Rhoden, 1998:xvii, emphasis added).

'Humankind' is generally constructed as, most essentially a

biological *adj.* relating to biology or living organisms [...].

- **biology** *n.* the study of living organisms, divided into many specialist fields [...].
- **ORIGIN** early 19th Cent.; [...] from Greek *bios* 'life' + **-LOGY**

(definition adapted from the OED, 2005)⁶

category:

humankind *n.* human beings considered collectively [...].

- **human being** *n.* a man, woman or child of the species *Homo sapiens*, distinguished from other animals by superior mental development, power of articulate speech and upright stance [...]
 - **animal** *n.* a living organism [...] generally distinguished from plants [...] typically able to move about [...].
 - **plant** *n.* a living organism [...] typically growing in a permanent site [...]. Plants differ from animals in [...] having no capacity for voluntary movement [...].

⁶ In this Introduction, in order to demonstrate how I 'built' and justified the initial understanding and constructions upon which I will be relying in the rest of the thesis, I will offer, in addition to referencing a wide range of academic and other literature, a series of detailed 'deconstructive' representations of definitions of lay English words. The publication of the 2005 print edition of the Oxford English Dictionary coincided most closely with beginning this research. Although more recent editions have since been produced, I have primarily used this edition when reproduction of dictionary references are necessary to this text, since it was the edition current to the period (2005-2007) during which I produced my PhD research design, began my review of literature and commenced the related field work upon which the analysis and conclusions contained within this thesis are based. Hereafter, all dictionary-style citations in this text may be assumed to be reproduced or adapted from the 2005 edition of the Oxford Dictionary of English, unless otherwise stated.

- **move** *v.* **1** go in a specified direction or manner; change position [...];
- change the place, position or state of [...],

and

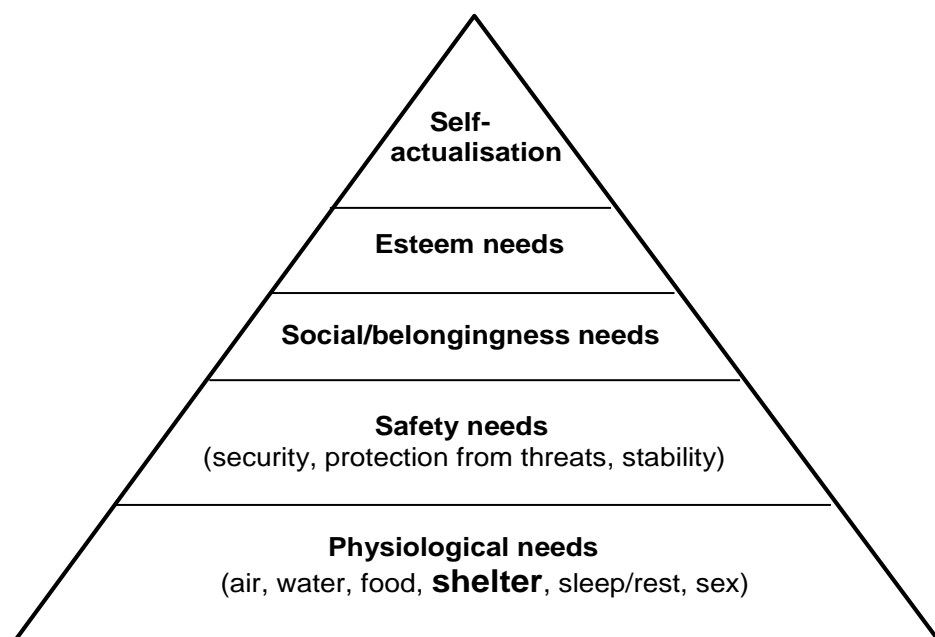
shelter *n.* **1** a place giving temporary protection from bad weather or danger [...]. **2** a shielded or safe condition; protection [...].

has long been unproblematically recognised as a common basic ‘material’/‘physical’ need of all human beings, essential for physiological survival (and thus for continued human ‘existence’). Maslow (1954) contextualised shelter as fundamental to the realisation of all other human activity and fulfilment, classing it along with other essentially biological, or I would argue, more precisely,

ecological *adj.* relating to the branch of biology that deals with the relations of organisms to one another *and to their physical surroundings* [...]

phenomena such as ‘air’, ‘water’, ‘food’ etc. within his celebrated ‘hierarchy’, which has popularly since been expressed in the following well-known ‘pyramid’ form:

Figure 1. An interpretation of Maslow’s hierarchy of human needs, expressed as a pyramid with most basic needs forming its base. (Adapted by the author from Maslow, 1954).



1.2.1 What is 'Housing Studies'?

The 'specialist' academic field for the general study of 'shelter' in the form of

housing *n.* **1** houses and flats considered collectively [...]; **■** the provision of accommodation [...].

- **house** *n.* a building for human habitation, especially one that consists of a ground floor and one or more upper storeys [...].
 - **building** *n.* a structure with a roof and walls, such as a house [...].
 - **habitation** *n.* the fact of living in a particular place [...]; **■** a house or home [...] – **ORIGIN** late Middle English: via old French from latin *habitatio(n-)*, from *habitare* 'inhabit'.
 - **inhabit** *v.* (of a person, animal or group) live in or occupy (a place or area) [...].
- **flat**² *n.* [...] a set of rooms forming an individual residence, typically on one floor and within a larger building containing a number of such residences [...].
- **accommodation** *n.* **1** a room, group of rooms or building in which someone may live or stay [...]; **■** lodgings [...]; **■** the available space for occupants in a building, vehicle or ship [...]; **■** the provision of a room or lodgings [...]. **3** the process of adapting or adjusting to someone or something [...].
 - **stay** *v.* **1** remain in the same place [...]; **■** delay leaving [...]. **3** (of a person) live somewhere temporarily [...],

or, the study of 'houses'/'homes'/'dwellings'/'habitations'/'residences' in the overlapping popular 'common' sense of these as physical, static ('placed') *shelter structures*, and their collective production, provision and consumption, is 'Housing Studies' (see Balchin and Rhoden, 1998; Clapham et al., 2012). Although this field initially developed from Victorian-era 'welfarist' work (e.g. Booth, 1902; Rowntree, 1901) which in relation to housing was primarily concerned with the provision for the masses of adequate, sanitary, material/physical shelter from the elements and other environmental threats, these have since been identified as only the first and most basic of many functions and aspects of 'housing' (e.g. see; Kemeny, 1981,1992; Watson, 1986; Gurney, 1997, 1999a, 1999b; Jacobs et al, 2004; Allen, 1999, 2004, 2008a; Clapham, 1997, 2002,

2005, 2010; Clapham et al., 2012; King, 2004a, 2005, 2008, 2009, 2011; Markkanen and Harrison, 2013).

a) What is 'home'?

Since its beginnings, authors working within Housing Studies have produced an increasingly broad range of work recognising the direct personal and/or social relevance of 'housing' in relation to every level of the above-reproduced 'hierarchy' of human need (see Watson and Austerberry, 1986; Elliott and Wadley, 2013). This moves on from the relatively simple, primarily physical-spatial notion of the 'house' as a

dwelling *n.* (also **dwelling place**) a house, flat or other place of residence,

(see Kemeny, 1992) towards a focus upon the primarily socio-spatial concept of the

household *n.* a house and its occupants regarded as a unit [...],

(see Clapham, 2002, 2005) and on still further to the more broadly contextualised physical, socio-spatial and, to an extent, geographical notion of

home *n.* **1** the place where one lives permanently, especially as a member of a family or household [...]; ■ the family or social unit occupying a permanent residence [...] ■ a house or flat considered as a commercial property [...]; ■ the district or country where one was born or where one has settled on a permanent basis [...] ■ a place where something flourishes, is most typically found, or from which it originates [...]; ■ a place where an object is kept [...]. **2** an institution for people needing professional care or supervision [...]; **3** the finishing point in a race [...]; ■ (in games) the place where one is free from attack [...].

➤ **residence** *n.* a person's home [...]; ■ the fact of living in a particular place [...]

(see Gurney, 1997, 1999a, 1999b). More recently, the concept of 'residence', not in its

sense as a practical synonym for 'house' or 'home', but as a 'socio-spatial' concept (i.e., in its lay English 'subsense', above), has commanded attention within the field (e.g. see Kemeny, 1992; Allen, 1999, 2004; Allen et al., 2002; Clapham, 2002, 2005; Jacobs et al, 2004; King (generally formulated as 'dwelling'), 2004a, 2005, 2008; Clapham et al., 2012).

b) What is 'residence'?

The concept of

residence *n.* [...]; ■ the fact of living in a particular place [...]

- **live** *v.* **1** remain alive [...]; ■ be alive at a specified time [...]; ■ spend one's life in a particular way or under particular circumstances [...]; ■ **(live in or out)** [...] reside at or away from the place where one works or studies. ■ supply oneself with the means of subsistence [...] ■ [...] survive [...] **2** make one's home in a particular place or with a particular person [...].
 - **place** *n.* **1** a particular position, point or area in space; a location [...]; ■ a particular area on a larger surface [...]; ■ a building or area used for a particular purpose or activity [...]; ■ a person's home [...]. **2** a portion of space designated or available for or being used by someone [...]; ■ a vacancy or available position [...]; ■ the regular or proper position of something [...]. **3** a position in a sequence or series [...]
 - **space** *n.* a continuous area or expanse which is free, available, or unoccupied [...]; ■ an area of land that is not occupied by buildings [...]. **2** the dimensions of height, depth and width within which all things exist and move [...]. **5** the freedom to live, think, and develop in a way that suits one [...],

was explicitly proposed by Kemeny (1992), as an important and complex

sociological *n.* relating to the study of the development, structure and functioning of human society

- **society** *n.* **1** the aggregate of people living together in a more or less ordered community [...]

concept, meriting direct and rigorous study in its own right. In his assessment of

'Housing' as a field of academic study, Kemeny noted on the one hand, in an echo and

extensive development in this respect of the observations of Maslow (1954) and others who have followed him, the central, deeply embedded position of 'shelter', in the shape of 'housing', both in the everyday life of household members and within the social structures of society. He argued that this deep 'embeddedness' (Granovetter, 1985, cited in Kemeny, 1992:154) caused houses and other dwellings as *objects* to become, in a kind of perceptual illusion, 'invisible' except in their physical manifestation as material possessions (and thus, to be perceived as of low sociological relevance, and fall victim to academic under-socialisation). On the other hand, he observed a fundamental and seemingly irreconcilable tension between the two main concepts within Housing Studies, the (primarily physical/spatial) 'dwelling' and the (primarily social) 'household', which created ambivalence and uncertainty within the field (ibid. pp. 154-163).

Kemeny concluded that attempts within Housing Studies to overcome the isolation of a 'housing' dimension by associating it with another, for example, health, employment or education, had simply had the effect of highlighting "the non-embeddedness of housing in social structure" (ibid. p. 155). He called instead for a broader *in-field* academic analysis, since

"...if there is any one dimension of social structure that is central to the way it is organised, it is housing. Housing comprises [...] a major aspect of the organisation of daily existence [...]"

(Kemeny 1992:9)

Kemeny identified, at his time of writing, a basic failure within academic research to holistically integrate the 'physical/spatial' and 'social' aspects of housing, noting a tendency instead to either elevate Housing to an abstract field, reduce it to purely physical 'bricks-and-mortar', or even more commonly to

“[...]swing unthinkingly- and sometimes with breathtaking speed- between physical and social dimensions as different aspects of the tensions inherent in the household-dwelling relationship intrude upon the awareness of the researcher at different points in the research.”

(Kemeny, 1992: 156).

In arguing that, in order to transcend this tension, a new, more explicitly theoretical approach was needed, he proposed ‘residence’, in its socio-spatial sense, as a “higher level integrating concept” (Kemeny, 1992:153) with the potential to produce the ‘internal housing rationality’ (ibid. p. 154) needed for more effective problem solving within Housing research. He maintained that allowing the natural development of a conception of ‘housing’ that incorporated its relationship to social structure would in turn

“...result in a substantive focus [...] more in tune with a theoretically explicated housing studies well-anchored in the social sciences.’

(Kemeny, 1992:153),

and thus allow Housing Studies itself, which he assessed at the time as being isolated in relation and comparison to other academic fields and disciplines, to become more fully integrated within the academic world (see also King, 2009, 2011).

In refining for academic purposes the definition of ‘residence’ as follows:

residence *n.* “the socio-spatial relationships centring on housing”,

(Adapted from Kemeny, 1992:56)

Finally, Kemeny argued for a primary focus upon 'space' as the salient characteristic of the physical dimension of housing in relation to social factors. He theorised that there are two sub-dimensions to this:

- the internal spatial organisation of dwellings/their social use
- the spatial organisation of dwellings in the locality.

In analysing the first of these, Kemeny produced the following further refined academic definition of

home *n.* a 'dwelling' in its capacity of arena for the playing out of social interactions, both inside the household unit and between the members of the household and the outside world.

(Adapted from Kemeny, 1992:158).

However, he went on to warn that 'home' cannot be considered in isolation from the social organisation of the household in relation to the dwelling as a *spatial* reflection of that organisation, or 'dwelling'/'space' issues such as location and access to resources, without the danger of the 'dwelling' becoming so embedded in the relationship between 'household' and 'home' that it loses its significance as 'housing'.

Kemeny further argued that while the *local setting* of the dwelling as a socio-spatial 'housing' structure determines the interactions and activities of daily life in which household members will have the opportunity to engage, and is thus a key element in the social integration of individuals into society, 'housing' is also enmeshed more broadly in the *institutional structure of a society*, which handles the production and provision of 'dwellings' on the societal scale through organisations and other institutional arrangements, including, most centrally, the State. In his view, then, in the wider perspective of 'residence', 'housing' was just one aspect, and

“Residence is embedded in social structure in much more complex and strategic ways, profoundly influencing the social organisation of localities and strongly affecting planning by both state agencies and other interests.”

(Kemeny 1992: 160)

Thus, to paraphrase his earlier statement⁷, Kemeny’s argument was that **residence**, with *housing* as just one aspect of this, comprises a major aspect of the organisation of daily ‘**existence**’, or in other words, ‘**life**’ (See also King’s (2008) concept of ‘dwelling’).

c) Jim Kemeny’s ‘sociology of residence’

Highlighting an absence of Housing research taking this wider focus on ‘residence’, Kemeny called for more work using perspectives sensitive to the ‘embeddedness’ of ‘housing’ in its broadest sense, and thus capable of analysing the social, economic and political ramifications of housing for social structure, as well as paying attention to the socio-spatial role of housing in the organisation of social life and basic societal institutions, such as the family. He suggested that broader comparative and historical explanatory frameworks would be important, especially in developing an understanding of the dynamics underlying the structure of specific configurations of residence in particular societies, and ultimately what decides which forms of residence become dominant. He also speculated that residential dimensions of the phenomenon of the ‘ideological cleavage’ in society could be also identified and analysed along with those already commonly considered (for example, in relation to the ‘privatism’ versus ‘collectivism’ dichotomy).

⁷ Kemeny, 1992:9 (See page 11 of this thesis)

In conclusion, Kemeny called for development of a more theoretically explicit and rigorous '**sociology of residence**' (1992:163) with the potential to transcend what had been, until then, the largely (superficially) atheoretical 'Housing Studies', resolve longstanding conceptual disjoints within the field, and increase the field's relevance to and integration within the rest of the academic world⁸. He concluded his 1992 book by explaining, diagrammatically, how he imagined that research taking a 'residence' rather than a 'housing' focus could embrace equally the four key dimensions: 'household', 'dwelling', 'locality' and 'social structure'; and how analysis of these dimensions could potentially move, in an integrative, flexible way, from the social to the spatial and from the individual to the collective level, and vice versa (1992:163-164). Kemeny's work proved to be seminal, and a range of Housing Studies authors responded, and continue to respond, to his challenges (e.g. Jacobs and Manzi, 1996, 2000; Clapham, 1997, 2002, 2005, 2009a, 2009b, 2010; Gurney, 1997, 1999a, 1999b; Saugères, 1999, 2009; Hastings, 2000; Somerville and Bengtsson, 2002; Marston, 2002; Allen, 1999, 2004, 2008a, 2008b, 2009; Jacobs et al., 2004; King, 2004a, 2004b, 2005, 2009, 2011; Clapham et al, 2012), resulting in the steady development of sociological Housing Studies as a more broadly-focused and theoretically engaged research field; to further discussion of which I will return in Chapter 2.

1.2.2 'Travellers' in 'Housing Studies'

In its most essential linguistic sense,

traveller [...] *n.* a person who is travelling or who often travels.

➤ **person** *n.* [...] **1** a human being regarded as an individual.

⁸ Comparison can be made with Richard Hoggart's synthesis of literary studies with sociological theory and analysis (e.g. Hoggart, 1969) and development of the field of *Cultural Studies* from the 1960s onwards.

is constructed as a category of 'human being', and thus, again, as an individual *biological* entity that must 'reside', somehow, within an *ecologically*-appropriate (i.e., appropriately-resourced) spatial setting, in order, in the first instance, to survive physiologically. As illustrated earlier, an individual 'human', in his or her inherent capacity to 'move about', is produced an 'essentially mobile' category of 'being', having the inherent capacity (and indeed survival need) for intermittent personal states of both 'stillness' and 'motion'.

The concept of 'residence' as it has been produced thus far within Housing Studies implicitly suggests **static 'life' in a 'place'**, i.e., in the latter's primary sense⁹: in a permanently static bricks and mortar dwelling at a particular (socio-geographical) *position or point*'). However, the popular definitions of both 'human being' and 'place' suggest an alternative, *binary* construction of human residence, containing a further, counterpart sense **of mobile 'life' in a 'place'** (in the latter's first *subsense*¹⁰: in a dwelling with permanent potential for *mobility* within an '*area*'. Whilst neither a

caravan *n.* **1** a vehicle equipped for living in, typically towed by a car and used for holidays [...]; **■** a covered horse-drawn wasgon: *a gypsy caravan.* **2** historical a group of people, especially traders or pilgrims, travelling together across a desert in Asia or Africa. **■** any large group of people, typically with vehicles or animals, travelling together in single file [...].

nor a

tent¹ *n.* a portable shelter made of cloth [...].

is a 'house', both have the capability, within the context of the first sense of the lay English language definition reproduced above, and those reproduced earlier in this

⁹ See the lay dictionary definition of 'place' (reproduced within my deconstruction of the lay definition of 'residence'), page 10

¹⁰ See Footnote 9, above

section, to

house *v.* **1** provide with shelter or accommodation [...]. **2** provide space for; contain or accommodate [...]

human beings, and thus can arguably be represented as an *inherently movable/mobile/portable* variant of 'dwelling', 'household' and/or 'home'; and therefore, as a form of '**housing**', in both the 'ecological' (physical/spatial) and the 'sociological' sense, associable with *place* as 'area' rather than *place* as 'fixed position/point'¹¹.

The various 'housing' concepts considered in this section were constructed both within the lay dictionary and general academic Housing Studies material as inherently and universally associated with 'housing' in its physical 'dwelling' sense as *fixed/static*. Since I found no explicit discussion of such a characteristic, this appeared as a taken-for-granted essential 'bottom line' of the field. After broad review of the general Housing literature I found little work focused directly on 'travelling people', and nothing explicitly, directly exploring any concept of a *Traveller/nomadic* (i.e. mobile) mode of 'residence' and/or formulation of 'dwelling', 'household' or 'home' as these appear within the citations reproduced at the beginning of this introduction, and the popular definitions reproduced on the previous page. Within the 'Housing Studies' work that I did find in which Travellers were included as the sole or a main topic of study, apart from work on Travellers residing in conventional housing (e.g. Greenfields and Smith, 2010) the invariable primary preoccupation was instead with the 'Traveller'

site *n.* an area of ground on which a town, building or monument is constructed [...]; ■ short for **BUILDING SITE** ■ short for **CAMPSITE** or **CARAVAN SITE**
v. fix or build something (in a particular place) [...],

¹¹ Again, see lay dictionary definition of 'place', pg. 10

(e.g. Maginn, Paris and Gray, 1999; Niner, 2004; Richardson, 2004, 2006) as a *place* (in the sense of a *particular position or point*) in which a caravan or other mobile shelter structure can be 'stationed' or 'parked' (i.e become static/fixed, whether temporarily or permanently). When the concept of the 'dwelling', 'home' and/or 'place of residence' of the Traveller 'household' appeared in the Housing literature, it appeared as *either* a conventional house, or the fixed point/position of a 'pitch' on a 'site', comprising a hardstanding with a brick-built utility block, coupled with a *stationary* (static) caravan (Niner, 2003, 2004; Netto, 2006), equivalent to the coupling of a 'site', in its core 'common' sense¹² as a foundation for building upon, with a 'bricks and mortar' house.

Although, within the small amount of Traveller-focused Housing work I was able to locate, suggestions (e.g. in Netto, 2006) of an alternative 'Traveller world view' (in which 'dwellings' and 'homes' travel from place to place with their occupants and 'residence' is thus equally mobile; see also Powell's (2013) work in Urban Studies), such notions remained abstract, unexplored and undeveloped. Previous Traveller-related work in Housing thus did not enlighten me in any great detail as to the *mobility* of Travellers' 'residence', or how the *static/fixed* entity, of the 'site', serves as a Traveller 'home'. The absence of Housing Studies material taking a '*mobile residence*'-sensitive perspective on the '**Traveller site**' represented, to me, a 'lacuna'.

I was well aware from my previous professional work that in areas of academia outside Housing Studies, much has been written, both more generally about 'Travelling' minorities, and specifically about Traveller 'accommodation'. Before proceeding any further with planning my research project I consequently turned to an exploration of this literature. My purpose in doing so was to identify *its* central concerns, and any areas of key conceptual overlap with Housing Studies, seeking in particular further insight into key 'Housing' concepts from a 'Traveller' perspective.

¹² See lay dictionary definition of 'site' (previous page)

1.3 'Travellers', 'ethnicity', 'way of life'... and 'housing'

1.3.1 The academic study of 'travelling people'

a) 'Gypsyology' and 'Gypsy Lore': early representations and academic study of 'travelling people'

A broad range of literature spanning several centuries, with a range of distinct but often overlapping perspectives, has mentioned or considered 'travelling people'. In the European/British context initially and for a considerable period this was exclusively focused on a range of social groups labelled 'Gypsies'. As illustrated by the first two citations in this thesis¹³, in very early records these were constructed *either* as an accepted collective of 'foreign' nomads and/or pilgrims, of presumed Egyptian origin¹⁴, whose appearance in some areas was welcomed, *or* as having the 'authenticity' of their

identity *n.* **1** the fact of being [or characteristics determining] who or what a person or thing is [...]

as such questioned. Gradually, 'host population' hostility towards travelling groups, however constructed, appears to have increased, with laws being enacted widely throughout Europe against them, threatening severe penalties (including death), simply for being present in a country or region (Hancock, 2002).

'Gypsies' were later re-produced academically (based primarily on linguistic evidence) as, in the popular terminology of the day, a 'racially' distinct people, originating not from Egypt but India (e.g. as in Grellmann, 1783). In this work, which was eventually collectively labelled 'Gypsyology', amongst other key characteristics (including a Sanskrit-derived language known as 'Romani', and a particular physical appearance),

¹³ Uladislaus II of Hungary (1496) and Henry VIII, (1530) (See pg. 1)

¹⁴ "**gypsy** *n.*[...] - **ORIGIN** originally *gipcyan*, short for **EGYPTIAN** (because Gypsies were popularly supposed to come from Egypt)." (OED, 2005:776)

'**nomadism**', or a '**travelling way of life**' was presented as intrinsic to the 'Gypsies' collective 'racial' identity. However, simultaneously with such Romany/Indian, racialised formulations, travelling groups continued to be constructed and rejected as " 'alien heathens', 'spies [...]' and 'pseudo-Jews' " (Willems, 1997:296), and/or as members of an

indigenous *adj.* originating or occurring naturally in a place; native [...], transient,

vagabond *n.* a person who wanders from place to place without a home or job . ■ a dishonest or unprincipled person. *adj.* having no settled home [...],

population, popularly accused of being at best 'half-breeds' *masquerading* as 'true (i.e. 'racially pure') Gypsies'. This 'duality' was later reinforced by 'Gypsyologists'/'Gypsy Lorists' (e.g. Borrow, 1857) who, upon struggling to find amongst travelling groups people who convincingly fit the 'racial' descriptions contained in earlier academic work, concluded that few '*true* Romany Gypsies' remained. Broader scepticism as to the 'true' identities of travelling people remained common, and even after the most severe 'anti-Gypsy' laws were repealed, travelling people and groups were frequently accused of using a 'Gypsy' identity and way of life as a cover for activities produced as socially deviant, such as crime and begging.

'Gypsy' thus developed two distinct, conflicting senses, coming to represent *both*

- a member of a distinct, India-associated 'racial' group with an authentic 'non-Western' collective identity, including their own language and an inherited tradition of 'nomadism' (the '**True Romany Gypsy**' (generally capitalised)),

and, more simply,

- a person who, whilst 'racially'/linguistically/territorially indistinct from a 'settled'/'non-travelling' Western majority population, habitually follows a contextually unconventional itinerant 'travelling lifestyle', often produced as

illegitimate or deviant (the '**vagabond gypsy**' (generally uncapitalised)).

i) What is 'race'?

The original 'scientific' theories of

race² *n.* each of the major divisions of humankind, having distinct physical characteristics [...],

(e.g. Blumenbach, 1779, discussed in Bernasconi and Lott, 2000), had simply proposed the biological sub-classification of human beings. However, this early 'race science' rapidly evolved into 'scientific racism', or the notion of a hierarchy of human biological superiority, used eventually to justify 'white supremacist' ideologies and related 'eugenics' policies and practices. After the Second World War, widespread revulsion at the well-documented extreme consequences of these, combined with developments in natural science research, led to the abandonment of the concept of biological race. Natural scientists came to agree that human population groups exist on a biological continuum, with genetic variations between individuals who appear 'racially' similar frequently being as great as between those who do not.

A notion of 'race' was retained within social science, but as an ideological construct, with 'racial difference' understood as those inherited human physical variations *produced socially as significant*, and 'race' as a set of social relationships allowing identification and classification of human individuals and groups on the basis of *social emphasis* upon certain biological features. Whilst biologically-grounded differences in physical appearance between humans clearly exist, the supposed 'racial' distinctions, and the related 'racialisation' and 'racism' contributing to societal patterns of power and inequality, are viewed sociologically as entirely socially produced (Giddens, 2006).

The concept of 'race' was largely superseded in popular and academic thought by the broadly parallel concept of

ethnicity *n.* the fact or state of belonging to a social group that has a common national or cultural tradition[...],

as humanity subdivided by

culture *n.* [...] 2 the ideas, customs, and social behaviour of a particular people or society [...]; ■ the attitudes and behaviour characteristic of a particular social group [...],

or, *socially* inherited traits that “create a common identity among a group of people” (Giddens, 2006:534).

ii) What is ethnicity?

In the view of some sociologists, culture is to ethnicity as biology is to race (Brym and Lie, 2007:235). However, the term 'race' has not been universally retired, but has acquired a new 'cultural' subsense closely synonymous with 'ethnicity':

race² *n.* [...]; ■ a group of people sharing the same culture, history, language, etc. an ethnic group [...].

The concept of 'old racism', or prejudice based on the (social) association of inherited physical traits with *biological* inferiority, was largely replaced by what has been termed 'new racism' (Barker, 1981, in Malešević, 2004), or prejudice against particular groups justified by perceived *cultural* differences.

After its emergence to prominence within social science from the 1950s onwards, 'ethnicity' quickly became a complex, contested concept (Malešević, 2004; Giddens,

2006). Academically, ethnicity is defined as a dimension of human identity based on a specific set of socially inherited 'cultural' features. However, differences exist between academic texts regarding the perceived sub-components of 'culture' (i.e. the range of individual characteristics that, in combination, produce a person's 'ethnic identity'). Influenced by the seminal work of Cohen (1978), more recent authors suggest "language, history or ancestry (real or imagined), religion, and styles of dress or adornment" as key, also mentioning 'cuisine', 'music', and 'neighbourhoods' (Giddens, 2006:487), and additionally 'physical appearance', 'nationality' and 'geographical origin' (Malešević, 2004). However, ethnicity is also often produced as incorporating a range of inherited *cultural* aspects, with a continuing acceptance of 'race' as *biologically* inherited, in a formulation best expressed as 'ethnicity = culture (social identity) + race (biological identity)':

"Popular discourses, in both Europe and North America, have 'racialised' the concept of ethnicity, that is, 'race' was largely preserved (in its quasi-biological sense)."

(Malešević, 2004:1)

A further 'cleavage' identified by Malešević (2004) is between 'particularist' and 'universalist' constructions of ethnicity. The former contrasts '(minority) ethnic' categories with a 'non-ethnic' (majority) norm; whilst the latter constructs ethnicity as intrinsic to *all* human beings, regardless of social majority or minority group membership. Barth (1969) held the universalist view that ethnic difference is not produced and maintained by the cultural 'contents' of ethnicity, but by social interaction between ethnic groups, in which their respective collective identities "are defined in relation to that which they are *not*" (Eriksen, 1993:10, cited in Malešević, 2004:3). Minority ethnic groups are thus, in Barth's view, only effectively understood within the majority ethnic context.

Malešević (2004) further observed that while ‘European’ usage of ‘ethnicity’ tends to be ‘universalist’, as a synonym for ‘nationhood’ (defined by descent or territory), a ‘particularist’ perspective has remained dominant in the UK and America; a view confirmed by Giddens (2006):

“In Britain [...] ethnicity is commonly used to refer to cultural practices and traditions that differ from ‘indigenous’ British practices. The term ‘ethnic’ is applied [...] to designate practices that are ‘non-British’ [...], where certain parts of the population are seen as ‘ethnic’ and others are not. In fact, ethnicity is an attribute possessed by all members of a population [...]. Yet [...] in practice ethnicity is most often associated with minority groups within a population.”

(Giddens, 2006:487-488).

The discrediting of biological theories of race, and the development of the concept of ethnicity in mainstream academia, contributed to a new climate of ‘Gypsy’ ethno-political activism from the 1960s onwards, in which much of the earlier ‘Gypsyology’ and ‘Gypsy Lore’ work was dismissed by the rising academic generation of the time as ‘racist’ misrepresentation. However, while the ‘racial’ definition of ‘Gypsy’ was adjusted to one based on the more flexible and internally-determined concept of ‘ethnicity’, the word retained its ‘double signifier’ (Matras, 2004) status both in academic and lay use:

“GYPSY 1 denotes the social phenomenon of communities of peripatetics or commercial nomads, irrespective of origin or language [...]. GYPSY 2 is [...] a popular English translation for a set of ethnonyms used by those groups whose language is a form of Romani [...]”

(Matras, 2004:53)

gypsy (also **gipsy**) *n.* (pl. **gypsies**) **1** (usu. **Gypsy**) a member of a travelling people with dark skin and hair, traditionally living by itinerant trade and fortune telling. Gypsies speak a language (Romany) that is related to Hindi and are believed to have originated in the Indian subcontinent. **2** [informal] a nomadic or free-spirited person.

- **travelling people** *pl. n.* people whose lifestyle is nomadic, for example Gypsies (a term typically used by such people of themselves).
 - **nomadic** *adj.* living the life of a nomad; wandering: *nomadic herdsmen of Central Asia*.
- **itinerant** *adj.* travelling from place to place [...].
- **Romany** *n.* **1** the language of the Gypsies, which is an Indo-European language related to Hindi. It is spoken by a dispersed group of about 1 million people, and has many dialects. **2** a Gypsy. *adj.* relating to Gypsies or their language. - **ORIGIN** early 19th cent.: from *Romany Romani*, feminine and plural of the adjective *Romano*, from *Rom*, 'man, husband'.
- **free spirit** *n.* an independent or uninhibited person.

In both (academic and 'everyday'/lay) post-'racial' domains, in addition to the key theme of 'culture'/'ethnicity', a further overarching theme, 'way of life'/'lifestyle' (often used interchangeably) frequently recurred. Unlike 'ethnicity', I could not locate a literature exploring either of these concepts more generally, and thus made a further first-hand deconstructive investigation of the generally accepted lay meaning of these terms, using their 'common' sense English-language definition as a starting-point.

iii) What are 'way of life' and 'lifestyle'?

way *n.* **1** a method, style or manner of doing something; an optional or alternative form of action [...]; ■ one's characteristic or habitual manner of behaviour or expression; ■ the customary behaviour or practices of a group [...]; ■ the typical manner in which someone or something behaves [...]. PHRASES **way of life** the typical pattern of behaviour of a person or group [...].

- **life** *n.* **1** the condition that distinguishes animals and plants from inorganic matter, including the capacity for growth, reproduction, functional activity, and continual change preceding death [...]; ■ living things and their activity. **2** the existence of an individual human being or animal [...]; ■ a particular type or aspect of human existence [...].
- **typical** *adj.* **1** having the distinctive qualities of a particular type of person or thing [...]; ■ characteristic of a particular person or thing [...].
- **live** *v.* **1** remain alive [...]; ■ be alive at a specified time [...]; ■ spend one's life in a particular way or under particular circumstances [...]; ■ (**live in** or **out**) [...] reside at (or away from) the place where one works or studies [...]; ■ supply oneself with the means of subsistence [...]; ■ [...] survive [...]. **2** make one's home in a particular place [...]; ■ informal (of an object) be kept in a particular place [...].

- **alive** *adj.* **1** (of a person, animal or plant) living, not dead [...]. ■ continuing in existence [...]. **2** alert and active [...].
 - **existence** *n.* the fact or state of living or having objective reality [...]. ■ continued survival [...]; ■ a way of living [...].
 - **active** *adj.* **1** engaging or ready to engage in physically energetic pursuits [...]; ■ moving or tending to move about vigorously or frequently [...].

lifestyle *n.* the way in which a person lives [...].

The key linguistic difference between these two similar terms appeared to be that 'lifestyle' had a single sense of a *personal* (individual) 'pattern of behaviour', whereas 'way of life' was explicitly afforded, in addition to this personal/individual 'lifestyle' sense, a *group/collective* sense. In popular use, both appeared as 'shorthand' for a set of general **social/cultural** practices (e.g. related to customary domestic arrangements, religion or leisure). In this there was clear overlap with well-known social theory, most notably, Bourdieu's (1977) *Theory of Practice*, in which he proposed a sociological conceptualisation aimed, in the context of ongoing debates in social theory regarding the relative importance of 'structure' and 'agency', at

“explaining the institutional realities of modern society without either obliterating individual agency or relapsing into subjective individualism”

(Harrington, 2005:221).

Further developed in his later work (e.g. 1991, 2002), Bourdieu's formulation comprised a range of interrelated human/social/cultural phenomena reminiscent of some of the concepts found within the deconstructed lay definitions of 'way of life' and 'lifestyle' reproduced on the previous two pages. Most notably, within the present context, and influential to a vast, multi-disciplinary body of literature, was his notion of *habitus*, or the human

“[...] system of *dispositions*, that is of permanent manners of being, seeing, acting and thinking, or [...] of *long-lasting* (rather than permanent) schemes or schemata or structures of perception, conception and action”

(Bourdieu, 2002:27, emphasis in original).

Bourdieu produced the above in relation to the further key concepts (with the following definitions particularised to his work) of:

- ***doxa*** (in his formulation, representing sets of socially acquired, taken-for-granted ideas and beliefs underpinning *habitus*, or social practice),
- ***field*** (representing social settings in which the *habitus* is expressed), and
- **(*cultural*) capital** (representing attributes, achievements, experience, roles etc. with positive social/cultural significance).

However, in linguistic deconstruction, in addition to the primary *social* and/or *cultural* senses with which the above ideas overlapped, ‘way of life’ had a further, clear, more essential (socio)-***ecological*** subsense, of the “typical pattern of behaviour by which any given person *or* group ‘lives’ ”, or more precisely, ‘survives, physiologically’ or ‘ensures their continued existence’, representing a significant departure from the primarily *socio-cultural* preoccupations of Bourdieu’s work.

My deconstruction further suggested a set of central sub-concepts: For a ‘way of life’, in this essential sense of a ‘physiological survival-linked pattern of human behaviour’ to be effective in the longer term, it must support the (socio-)biological phenomena of ‘growth’ and ‘reproduction’ by means of (everyday, and in this case, *not* most essentially social) ‘functional activity’, twin key sub-sub-components of which appeared as the apparently symbiotic binary of ‘residence’ and ‘subsistence’. This construction

broadly corresponded with the 'physiological' level of Maslow's (1954) 'hierarchy' as well as Kemeny's construction of housing as 'fundamental to everyday existence', and produced a specific, explicit overlap between a sub-element of the key socio-ecological concept of 'way of life' within academic work on Travellers, and Kemeny's (1992) proposed 'substantive focus' for Housing Studies: the fundamental, integrative, socio-spatial formulation of 'residence' and the related multi-dimensional concept of 'home' (again, see also King's conceptualisation of 'dwelling' (2005, 2008)).

'Way of life' and/or 'lifestyle' in the broader social/cultural sense described earlier appeared widely, and generally conflated in meaning, in a range of academic contexts (for example in general anthropological and sociological work), as the practical expression of 'culture'/'ethnicity', incorporating 'residence' and 'subsistence'-related phenomena ('home' and 'work') as aspects, amongst many others, of 'culture' and/or 'ethnicity'. This was equally the case within the Traveller-related literature, and again I did not find any explicit more general consideration of either term in such work. However, in directly Traveller-related work, 'way of life'/'lifestyle' was additionally very strongly represented in terms of an internal socio-ecological binary beyond the *symbiotic* pairing of '**residence**' and '**subsistence**': the *dichotomous* binary of '**travelling**' vs. '**settled**'.

In both 'Gypsy'-focused and other Traveller-related literature that I reviewed, explicit definition or discussion of the core meaning of either 'travelling' or 'settled' as *general* descriptive concepts was either sparse or absent. Due to this I again turned to the generally accepted 'common sense' English dictionary definitions for clarification.

iv) What is a 'Traveller'?

Analysis of the lay definition of 'traveller' produced its core sense as based on the

concept of 'travel', a simple action of movement from one place to another that may be performed *temporarily* and/or *occasionally* by any 'person' in their basic capacity as an 'essentially mobile' human being, *without further association with any particular social sub-group*:

traveller *n.* a person who is travelling or who often travels [...].

- **travel** *v.* **1** make a journey, typically of some length. ■ journey along (a road) or through (a region)[...]. **2** [...] move typically in a constant or predictable way [...]; ■ [usu. as adj. **travelling**] go or be moved from place to place [...].

However, a further pair of subsenses offered a close overlap with the twin senses of 'gypsy':

traveller *n.* [...]; ■ [Brit.] a Gypsy or other nomadic person. ■ [Brit.] (also **New Age traveller**) a person who holds New Age values and leads an itinerant and unconventional lifestyle.

In the above context, the difference between 'nomadic' and 'itinerant' is blurred. Further deconstructive analysis of these two concepts,

nomadic *adj.* living the life of a nomad; wandering: *nomadic herdsmen of Central Asia*.

- **nomad** *n.* a member of a people that travels from place to place to find fresh pasture for its animals and has no permanent home. ■ a person who does not stay long in the same place [...]" - DERIVATIVES **nomadism** *n.* - **ORIGIN** late 16th cent.: from French *nomade*, via Latin from Greek *nomas, nomad-* 'roaming in search of pasture' [...]

and

itinerant *adj.* travelling from place to place: *itinerant traders*. [...]. *n.* a person who travels from place to place. - **ORIGIN** late 16th cent. (used to describe a judge travelling on a circuit): from late Latin *itinerant-* 'travelling', from the verb *itinerari*, from Latin *iter, itiner-* 'journey, road',

showed that, considered in their own right, these were differentiated in four key ways:

Figure 2. Key linguistic differentiations between the English language dictionary definitions (OED 2005) of 'nomadic' and 'itinerant'

nomadic	↔	itinerant
explicitly, primarily group-associated identity characteristic ('a member of a people who [...])	↔	explicitly, primarily personal identity characteristic (a person who [...])
Implied Non-'Western' socio-geographical identity ('Central Asia')	↔	no explicit mention of socio-geographical identity (implying the 'Western' linguistic context of the dictionary)
work-purposeful movement from place to place (subsistence) ([...] herdsman [...] finding fresh pasture for [...] animals [...].)	↔	work-purposeful movement from place to place (trade or paid work) ([...] traders [...]; a judge [...].)
explicitly stated absence of a 'permanent home'	↔	no explicit mention of 'home' (implying presence of the type of 'permanent home' conventional within the linguistic context of the dictionary)

Whilst the first three of the differences outlined above were produced in positive terms, in the fourth, 'nomadic' was defined explicitly by the *absence* of what was termed a '*permanent home*'. Further analysed, this suggested a '*permanent[ly static] home*' *built/fixed in one place*, implying, in reference to the 'nomad', not 'homelessness', but the *presence* of an alternative, '*permanent[ly mobile/movable form of] home*', capable of *travelling from place to place* with its *nomadic* occupants. While the primary dictionary entry for 'itinerant' included no explicit reference to 'home' at all, the occupational examples offered implied *conventional* economic categories, with no suggestion of 'housing' during the course of business in anything other than the static/fixed structures *conventional* for the Western settled majority population, and reference to itinerant travelling on a 'circuit' suggesting a static/fixed main 'home' (starting/finishing) place.

However, near-total definitional blurring between the core sense offered for 'itinerant' and the subsense offered for 'nomadic', and the overlapping employment of these as descriptors for 'gypsy', 'traveller' and 'travelling people', suggested a 'hybrid' variant: a person of,

- *group-associated* geo-socio-cultural identity (Western or non-Western)
- living a *travelling life by 'itinerant' (trade or paid) work*,
- *without a 'permanent home' in the 'static/fixed' sense, such as a house or flat (hereafter, for the sake of clarity and brevity, 'permanently static home'), but instead living permanently in a dynamically mobile shelter structure such as a 'caravan' or 'tent' (hereafter 'permanently mobile home').*

My deconstruction of the lay English term 'traveller' thus produced the category as having twin, equally '*nomadic-itinerant*' subcategories (rather than separate 'nomadic' and 'itinerant' subcategories differentiated in the original core senses of these). In the 'traveller/gypsy' context, the contrasted use of 'nomadic' and 'itinerant' appeared to represent a more subtle distinction than that offered between the original definitions of these two words, rooted in the (*social significance* of the) relationship between shared characteristics (working from place to place, living a permanently mobile home), and contrasting characteristics relating to the ethnic/cultural group of primary association and particularly the geo-socio-ecological 'way of life' norms of its majority.

Within the British/Western socio-territorial context of the lay English dictionary, 'nomadic' as used within the definition of 'traveller' thus appeared to denote a 'minority identity' sub-variant, produced as an individual *member of a minority group* to whose collective internal ethnic and/or cultural majority identity a 'travelling' (nomadic-itinerant) way of life is accepted as 'traditional' or *conventional* and *normative*. In representing this as 'nomadism', the residential and economic practices of the primary social group

were produced as holistically interrelated and intrinsic to the individual identity of group members. By contrast, 'itinerant', similarly contextualized, represented a 'majority identity' sub-variant of (equally nomadic-itinerant) 'traveller', produced as a person with other identity characteristics indistinguishable from those of the socio-territorial majority population (foregrounding economic 'itinerancy', elements of which, for example their occupation, can be produced as 'conventional', but constructing their use of a permanently mobile or *nomadic* home discretely as *individual, unconventional* behaviour). Within the Traveller-related literature the contrasting collective socio-ecological 'way of life' conventional for the majority population (to which the 'itinerant' sub-type of traveller is implicitly produced as belonging, despite their unconventional use of a nomadic home), is described as '**settled**'.

v) What is a 'settled person'?

By contrast to 'traveller'/'travelling', and the separately defined 'travelling people', the dictionary offered no separate entry, or 'derivative'/'phrase' status, for 'settled' or 'settled person'. However, the explicit definition for the parent verb

settle¹ v. [...] **3** adopt a more steady or secure style of life, especially in a permanent job and home [...] ■ [with adverbial of place] make one's permanent home somewhere [...], ■ establish a colony in [...]. **4** [...] sit or come to rest in a comfortable position [...]; ■ make someone comfortable in a particular place or position [...],

neatly associated 'settle(d)' with a 'permanent[ly static] home' (and compatible 'job'), confirming the conclusions I had drawn from my cross-analysis of the lay definitions and academic use of 'Traveller' and 'settled'. In addition, 'settledness (in 'permanently static homes')' was clearly constructed in both lay and academic sources as the normative group/collective (and thus personal) habitual socio-ecological way of life within Western society generally, inclusive of all of its internal sub-groups and

communities. In parallel with the simpler notion of 'travel' as temporary /occasional 'movement from place to place', the contrasting idea of 'settle' as 'stillness in a place' accessible by any human being, regardless of group identification, was also offered.

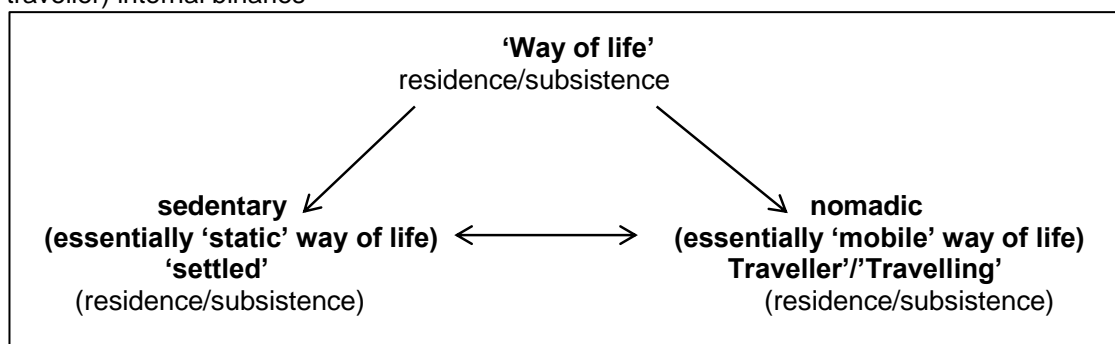
In the Traveller-related literature, 'settled' was further very generally conflated and used interchangeably with the anthropological subsense of

sedentary *adj.* (of a person) tending to spend much time seated: somewhat inactive. ■ (of work or a way of life) characterised by much sitting and little physical exercise. ■ (of a position) sitting; seated. ■ Zoology & Anthropology inhabiting the same location throughout life; not migratory or nomadic.

➤ **inhabit** *v.* (of a person, animal or group) live in or occupy (a place or environment.

The conceptual content of the dictionary definitions for 'settle' and 'sedentary' closely and clearly overlapped, in parallel with the relationship between those offered for 'traveller', 'nomadic' and 'itinerant'. This double contrast between the lay definitions of 'nomadic'/'traveller' and 'sedentary'/'settled', paralleled the conflated construction within the Traveller-related literature of the socio-ecological human 'way of life' as essentially 'dichotomous':

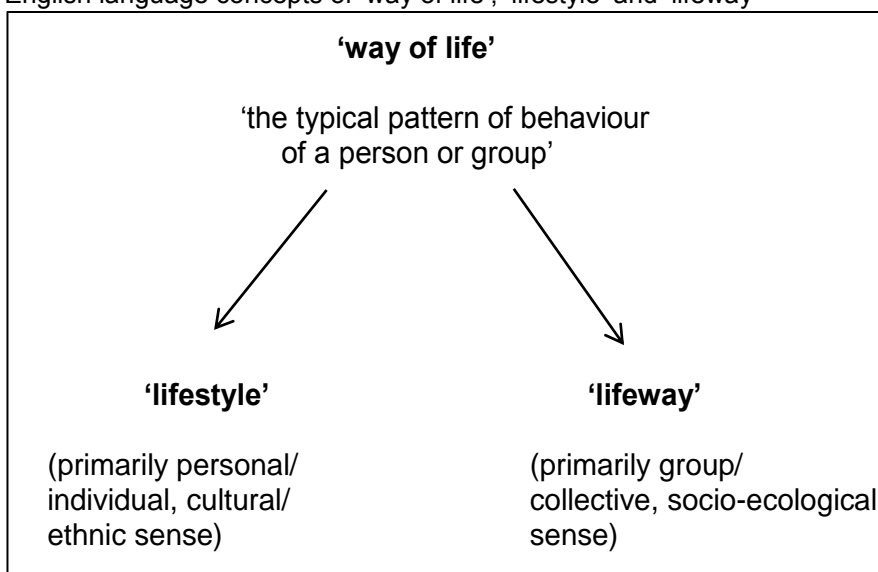
Figure 3. Illustration of the English language (OED, 2005) construction of 'way of life', showing both symbiotic (residence/subsistence) and dichotomous (sedentary/settled vs. nomadic/traveller) internal binaries



vi) What is a 'lifeway'?

While the popular lay and mainstream academic use of 'sedentary' overwhelmingly corresponded with the 'personal' core and sub senses offered in the dictionary, and was generally contrasted with 'active' or some other related term rather than 'mobile' or 'nomadic', and while the cultural/ethnic construction of 'way of life'/'lifestyle' was dominant over the dichotomous socio-ecological construction, in academic work this was not in either case universal. I was able to locate the above-reproduced socio-ecological group/collective subsense, explicitly contrasted with 'nomadic', not only in some mainstream anthropological but also archaeological work (e.g. Emerson et al., 2009). On exploring these I found the term 'lifestyle' appeared less often, with 'way of life' being alternatively produced as conflated or synonymous with an alternative word, 'lifeway'. The word 'lifeway' did not appear in the edition of the OED used for this research, and was not generally explicitly defined in the literature that I reviewed in which it appeared. However, from its use, I was able to ascertain that, although some conflation and overlap between all three variants remained, by contrast to 'lifestyle', 'lifeway' represented primarily the essential socio-ecological group/collective sense of 'way of life':

Figure 4. Illustration of relationship and contrast between construction of the English language concepts of 'way of life', 'lifestyle' and 'lifeway'



This confirmed, and produced explicit counterpart descriptors corresponding with, the sense I had been developing of 'way of life' as representing two separate concepts: the first a more superficial aspect or expression ('performance'- Butler, 1990, 1993a, 1993b) of 'culture'/'ethnicity', but the second a more essential, discrete dimension of human identity, distinct from but nevertheless 'cross-cutting' ethnicity/culture and thus more akin to the equally popularly (although of course this construction is academically contested, for example as in Butler, 1990) *dichotomous* identity dimension of 'gender'.

b) What are 'Gypsy Studies', Romani Studies, 'Traveller Studies', and 'Gypsy and Traveller Studies'?

Matras (2004) argued that in correspondence with the two linguistic senses of 'gypsy', two conflicting research perspectives emerged within 'post-racial' academia. Although there was considerable initial overlap and blurring, '**Gypsy Studies**' came to broadly denote work that remained (and still remains) grounded in a range of mainstream disciplinary perspectives (especially anthropology, sociology and history) and took a primarily *socio-economic* approach to the study of groups with a non-hegemonic, 'travelling way of life'. This perspective relied implicitly upon a particularist, racialised conception of ethnicity, but rejected its direct significance to the identity of 'travelling people', constructing travelling groups as 'indigenous' or 'mixed' rather than 'minority ethnic'. Whilst stressing the heterogeneity of travelling families and groups in economic and broader (non-ethnic/racialised) 'cultural' terms (e.g. Lucassen, Willems and Cottaar, 1998), this work homogenised itinerant travelling people in relation to the dichotomous conception of 'way of life' primarily in terms of their comparative economic mobility.

In this work I found 'residence'-related concepts, including 'dwelling' 'household' and 'home', to be present but considered only superficially, peripherally or in the position of an 'afterthought' in the context of the main focus of the work, which was

(and remains) the potentially majority-normative *socio-economic* aspect of their 'way of life', represented as 'itinerant' rather than 'nomadic'.

The other academic perspective identified by Matras (2004), increasingly represented from the 1970s as **Romani Studies**, was initially again grounded in mainstream academia, primarily in linguistics, history, anthropology and sociology but also influenced by political science, race relations, ethnic/cultural studies and other fields. This work took an 'ethnic' (particularistic) focus, and in earlier UK-centric work of this type (e.g. Acton, 1974), the travelling or nomadic 'way of life', in similar socio-economic focus to that taken in Gypsy Studies work, was initially produced as central to Gypsy ethnicity. However, the mainstream academia-grounded work that proved foundational to Romani Studies was produced simultaneously from several geographical perspectives, particularly those of the UK, India, the USA, and Romania as well as various other European countries, and by the late 1990s it had developed into a formalised, 'pan-European'/'transnationally'/'globally'-focused academic field in its own right. Romani Studies authors (an increasing number of them identifying as of Romani origin) with research foci other than UK-based 'travelling people', broadly rejected the label 'Gypsy', and with this the practice of 'nomadism' *as essential to Romani identity* (e.g. Hancock, 2002). In the 'Romani Studies' perspective, Romani people were (and are) thus produced as having the capacity for *either* a settled/sedentary', *or* a nomadic/travelling' *way of life* without this affecting their Romani *ethnic* identity (e.g. Zachos, 2011). Linguistic, cultural and historical arguments have been offered in the representation of *travelling* Romani groups as, while accepted, a small minority within the 'transnational' Romani collective; their 'itinerant nomadism' produced as a later product of persecution preventing re-settlement, rather than as an essential part of their collective identity pre-dating their ancestors' migration to Europe. The argument was (and remains) that the majority of Romani people, who reside in conventional (static) housing, are no different, in *this* respect, to their settled'/'sedentary' 'non-Romani'

neighbours and host populations. These latter categories were generally described with a Romani language word, variously, transliterated as, gaujo, gaje (Acton, 1974, 2004), 'Gorgio' (Okley, 1983) 'gadže' (Hancock, 2002, 2010) (etc.- hereafter, in this work, 'gadže'), which appeared to be constructed, superficially, in much the same way as 'settled' is to 'Traveller'. However, 'Romani' and 'gadže' are ultimately left untranslated, defined tautologically as 'not gadže', and 'not Romani', respectively (Hancock, 2002). Although it was not produced as significant to Romani identity, in this work, the same dichotomous, socio-ecological representation of 'way of life' continued to be at least implicitly accepted.

Internal homogenisation of the Romani ethnic collective beyond vague notions of their common 'non-*gadže*-ness' has been increasingly discouraged (Tremlett, 2009), except in terms of their common experience of 'anti-gypsyism' (Heuss, 2000; Kenrick 2004), a growing focus within Romani Studies research from the late 1990s onwards. 'Anti-gypsyism' has been produced as a form of 'new racism' perpetrated by 'gadže' majority populations worldwide and commonly experienced, albeit in a diverse range of manifestations, by all ethnic Romani people. However, in addition to settled and travelling groups that are recognised as fitting the broad 'Romani' ethnic description, certain European minority *travelling* groups, more generally considered to be ethnically *non-Romani*, but nevertheless accepted within Romani Studies as 'Romani-like' in their ethnic/cultural similarities to recognised Romani travelling minorities, are included equally within Romani Studies in this respect.

Over the past few decades there has been periodic conflict and sometimes heated debate, particularly over the definition and construction of the category 'Gypsy' between authors taking one or other of the two academic perspectives described (e.g. see the interactions between Okley, 1979, 1983, 1997, and Acton, 1974, 1983; Willems, 1997, and Acton, 1998; Fraser, 1992, and Hancock, 2002; Barany, 2002, and

Acton, 2003; Matras, 2004; Willems and Lucassen, 2000, and Acton 2004. See also Mayall, 2004; Marsh, 2008a).

From the late 1990s, work within Romani Studies *explicitly* drawing upon the socio-ecologically dichotomous construction of the human 'lifeway' discussed earlier appears to have been increasingly left to authors focused on individual groups or collectives whose particular Romani culture/ethnicity is strongly internally associated with nomadism/travelling (most notably the collective of UK-based sub-groups known as *British Romany Gypsies*), with this dimension of identity generally included superficially, but sometimes simply ignored, in work relating to the majority (non-travelling) Romani collective, or sub-groups of it. Although Romani Studies-compatible (culture/ethnicity- or 'anti-gypsyism' –focused) work on Travelling/nomadic groups and collectives (both Romani and non-Romani) continues to be accepted for publication within the field's main academic journal, 'Romani Studies' (e.g. Kabachnik and Ryder, 2013), more recently this focus appears to have been largely passed on, to an extent collaboratively (e.g. Hayes and Acton, 2007) from Romani Studies to a newly emerging, but still largely notional field that since the early 2000s has begun to be explicitly labelled '**Traveller Studies**'. This has thus far emerged primarily from Romani Studies and Irish Cultural Studies, and has been primarily focused upon, or from the geo-cultural perspective of, a distinct group known as *Irish Travellers*¹⁵, who are constructed as 'minority ethnic' in the same way as *Romany Gypsies*¹⁶. In this work, 'Traveller' is contrasted with 'settled person', but also with 'buffer', an Irish Traveller word often translated to English as 'country person' (with 'country' intended in the 'territorial' sense, not in reference to the rural-urban binary). Both are also sometimes

¹⁵ Irish Travellers (known in their own language as the *Pavee* or *Minceir*) were recognised within Race Relations law as an ethnic minority from 1997 in Northern Ireland (Article 5(2)(a) of the Race Relations (Northern Ireland) Order 1997) and from 2000 in England (Kiely and Others v. Allied Domecq and Others, 2000). See Clark and Greenfields, 2006:19

¹⁶ Romany Gypsies were recognized as an ethnic minority in England through case law (CRE v. Dutton, on appeal, 1988). See Clark and Greenfields, 2006:19

equated with 'house-dweller'. Again the same dichotomous construction of 'way of life' and conflation of related terms is produced (e.g. as in Power, 2007). Whilst some 'Traveller Studies' authors have attempted to take a generalist 'Traveller' perspective also inclusive of other (i.e. non- Irish Traveller, non-Romani) 'travelling' sub-groups, such material appears to have taken either a somewhat less 'racialised'/more 'cultural', but equally (particularistic) 'ethnicity'-oriented focus to that found within Romani Studies, or focused more directly upon *Irish Traveller* ethnicity/culture; in both cases tending to emphasise 'anti-gypsyism' (with 'anti-nomadism' as a variant of this) and in particular, non-Traveller violation of Traveller human rights (e.g. McVeigh, 1997; Roughneen, 2010).

A final, again more recently-emerging body of Traveller-related academic work distinct from the three discussed above, has within the past few years begun to be referred to as '**Gypsy and Traveller Studies**' (Clark and Greenfields, 2006; Richardson and Ryder, 2012). Whilst grounded in mainstream academia this small but growing body of work is clearly influenced both by Romani Studies (with whom it shares a number of authors), and some older Gypsy Studies work. 'Gypsy and Traveller Studies' has appeared to be primarily preoccupied with *inclusiveness*, with the work focused on various versions of a broad collective of ethnic Romani people (both travelling and non-travelling) *and* groups associated in some way with itinerant nomadism, whether or not identified as ethnically Romani. 'Way of life' is again produced as socio-ecologically dichotomous and constructed using the same conflations discussed previously (e.g. as in Richardson and Ryder, 2012). However, this construction of 'way of life' is understood from a primary particularistic perspective of ethnicity (the extent of racialisation of which, in this case, varies, depending upon which Romani, Gypsy or Travelling sub-group or sub-collective is the main focus at any particular time). As a result, within some 'Gypsy and Traveller Studies' texts, certain UK non-'Romani' travelling groups are largely excluded from the discussion (apparently due to their UK-

contextualised mainstream construction as ‘non- (minority) ethnic’), whilst those European ‘Gypsy (Roma(ni))’ groups represented as ‘sedentary/settled’ (but strongly constructed as ‘minority ethnic’ with the mainstream UK context) have been included. In the case of the latter, the compound title term within some texts is expanded to ‘Gypsies, *Roma* and Travellers’ specifically in order to formally accommodate such groups (e.g. as in Richardson and Ryder, 2012). The particular sub-group inclusion/exclusion in the category and the discussion appeared incongruous between texts and authors (e.g. compare Clark and Greenfields, 2006, to Richardson and Ryder, 2012) without, as yet, any open, comprehensive discussion that I was able to find in this regard. Attempts to include all of the groups tended to again lead to a broader ‘anti-gypsyism’/‘anti-nomadism’/‘human rights’ focus.

By my reading, despite their differences, the above-described academic schools of thought had all

- either implicitly or explicitly accepted a typically British/American ‘particularistic’, and to varying degrees ‘racialised’, construction of ethnicity,
- generally, and often explicitly, accepted a concept of the human ‘way of life’ as, most essentially, socio-ecological and dichotomous (nomadic/sedentary) (**but** have disagreed with one another regarding whether this is a separate human identity dimension to, or a sub-aspect of, the human identity dimension of ‘ethnicity’/‘culture’)
- suffered from a lack of integration of the concepts of ‘ethnicity’ and ‘way of life’, resulting in ‘disjoints’ and/or or a ‘swinging’ of focus between these (‘cultural’ and ‘socio-ecological’) concepts and various of their sub-aspects, similar to the situation observed by Kemeny (1992) within Housing Studies (see also Powell, 2013).

c) Official (UK, English) definition of ‘Travellers’

As discussed, conceptual disjoints in the understanding of ‘traveller’ and the conflicts these clearly produced and maintained were common not only in academic, but also popular lay thought. In the context of the present work, this is also reflected in the different official definitions of ‘gypsies and travellers’ and ‘travelling [show]people’, which were adopted within English Housing and Planning legislation, and which co-existed, during the period within which I have completed this PhD work. In the case of Planning, defining criteria were, alternatively, either ‘nomadism’, defined narrowly as a ‘*person[al]* habit’, or specific *economic* activities produced as giving rise to an ‘itinerant’ way of life:

“15. [...] “gypsies and travellers” means

Persons of nomadic habit of life whatever their race or origin, including such persons who on grounds only of their own or their family’s or dependants’ educational or health needs or old age have ceased to travel temporarily or permanently, but excluding members of an organised group of travelling show people or circus people travelling together as such.

(ODPM, 2006c:6),

“15. [...] “travelling showpeople” means

Members of a group organised for the purposes of holding fairs, circuses or shows (whether or not travelling together as such). This includes such persons who on the grounds of their own or their family’s or dependants’ more localised pattern of trading, educational or health needs or old age have ceased to travel temporarily or permanently, but excludes Gypsies and Travellers as defined in ODPM Circular 1/2006.

(DCLG, /2007:7).

For Housing purposes, though, ‘nomadism’ was produced as *either* a ‘*cultural* tradition’

or a 'person[al] habit':

“2. For the purposes [...] of the Housing Act 2004 [...] “gypsies and travellers” means—

(a) persons with a cultural tradition of nomadism or of living in a caravan; and

(b) all other persons of a nomadic habit of life, whatever their race or origin, including—

(i) such persons who, on grounds only of their own or their family's or dependant's educational or health needs or old age, have ceased to travel temporarily or permanently; and

(ii) members of an organised group of travelling showpeople or circus people (whether or not travelling together as such).”

(DCLG, 2006b:1).

In these definitions can be seen a reflection of the centuries-old 'double signification' of the word 'Gypsy', and parallel sub senses of 'Traveller', discussed earlier (Matras, 2004). Both Planning definitions adopted a 'non-ethnic', socio-economic understanding of nomadic itinerancy, suggesting a 'lifestyle' rather than a 'lifeway'; whilst the Housing definition produced an explicit (particularistic) 'culture'/'ethnicity' understanding. These, like the literature reviewed, had the combined effect of 'carving up' the 'Travelling' population of the UK into a hierarchy of '*ethnicity*'/'*culture*'- *determined entitlement to 'lifeway*'- *appropriate accommodation*, or 'housing'.

The academic 'terrain' I have described in relation to work directly focused upon 'travelling people' (whether 'Gypsy', 'Romani' or otherwise) could clearly benefit, similarly to Housing Studies, from further theoretical work aimed at 'higher level' integration of key concepts. I concluded that the adoption of a more universalistic construction of ethnicity, and recognition of the dichotomous, socio-ecological 'lifeway'

formulation of 'way of life' as a discrete dimension of human identity that, rather than representing a sub-component or sub-aspect of ethnicity, 'cross-cuts' it (as for example does the multi-variant human identity dimension of 'class', or the equally popularly (but again, see for example Butler, 1990) dichotomous 'gender') across the different areas of work on 'travelling people' could be helpful in this respect. However, whilst these insights had produced a valuable wider context for the present work, it was outside my explicitly Housing-focused scope to directly explore this broader perspective any further.

In my identification, from my linguistic cross-analysis of lay and academic sources, of 'residence' as a fundamental element of the construction of 'way of life' in its 'lifeway' sense (hereafter simply 'lifeway'), and the centrality of the concept of the nomadic 'permanently mobile home' within the linguistic construction of 'Traveller', I felt that I had discovered the conceptual overlaps with Housing Studies that I had been seeking. Whilst I had not found these explicitly, comprehensively discussed or developed in any of the texts reviewed, I did however locate direct and explicit discussion of Traveller 'accommodation' ('housing') in some of the above-discussed work. It is to a summary and comparison of this with the work focused directly upon 'Travellers' that I had located within the Housing literature, that I will now turn.

1.3.2 'Housing' in 'Traveller'-related academic work? 'Travellers and Housing'? Or, 'nomadist housing analysis'?

Within the binary, dichotomous context that I had developed from my consideration of the traveller-related literature, Housing Studies as it currently stands can be clearly represented as the study of *permanently static* and thus '*settled*'/'*sedentary*' housing and residence modes. Housing was explicitly produced by Kemeny (1992) as a 'singular' category, with no binary counterpart:

“ ‘Housing’ is a substantive focus – a focus upon dwellings; it is not one pole of a dichotomous concept, as is an urban focus, and so cannot be integrated with a polar opposite in the way that urban and rural dimensions can be combined to create a socio-spatial regional dimension.”

(Kemeny, 1992:8)

Whilst discussions of ‘nomadism’ or the ‘travelling way of life’ (unrelated to ‘anti-gypsyism’ or human rights violations) have appeared periodically in some of the non-Housing Studies, traveller-focused literature, the primary focus in these cases has tended to be upon *itinerancy*, and thus upon subsistence-related or socio-economic aspects of the nomadic lifeway. In such work, residential aspects, whilst often present, appeared invariably as peripheralised, and/or only implicitly produced, either way remaining undeveloped (e.g. Kendall, 1997, in Acton, 1997; Lucassen, Willems and Cottaar, 1998; Belton, 2005). Notions of the caravan or trailer as the nomadic-itinerant ‘dwelling’ (Cottaar, 1998), and ‘the trailer (inclusive of occupants)’ as the Traveller equivalent of the ‘household’ (Okley, 1983), appeared explicitly in older work, but again as secondary to economic aspects of traveller life. ‘Accommodation’ in more recent Traveller-related academic work, and particularly in ‘Gypsy and Traveller Studies’, has been constructed in very much the same way as in Housing Studies, with a policy-grounded primary focus on the traveller ‘*site*’ as traveller ‘home’. In this work, Travellers with caravans but without a pitch on an authorized site have been explicitly represented as ‘homeless’ (Richardson and Ryder, 2012) or ‘unsited’ (Clark and Greenfields, 2006) rather than as ‘nomadic’.

In work directly focused on ‘Traveller accommodation’, I noted, in relation to the concepts of (or concepts equivalent to) ‘dwelling’, ‘household’ and ‘home’, conceptual disjoints, loss of focus upon one or other of, or focus ‘swinging’ between the ‘social’

and 'physical' dimensions of 'accommodation'¹⁷ that I could characterise as identical to those noted by Kemeny in relation to 'Housing' work. I also observed attempts to overcome 'isolation' and/or 'lack of embeddedness' through the linking of Traveller *accommodation* to other dimensions for example health, education, law and criminal justice (e.g Cemlyn, 1994, 1997; Morris and Clements, 1999, 2002; O'Hanlon and Holmes, 2002).

I concluded that whilst traveller-related work has, as fundamental to its analysis, the dichotomous concept of the lifeway that allows for the nomadic variant to be considered alongside the sedentary, it has neglected the integrative concept of 'residence'. In parallel, whilst 'residence' is now widely recognised as a fundamental integrative concept within Housing Studies, within its perspective the concept of the human lifeway is recognized only implicitly, and as exclusively, singularly sedentary; preventing the recognition and integration of the mobile residence (dwellings, homes, households etc.) of 'travelling people' within its analysis. In this thesis, I have attempted to combine the concept of the dichotomous nomadic/sedentary socio-ecological 'lifeway' with the 'socio-spatial' concept of residence, and in so doing, to challenge Kemeny's assessment of 'housing' as it is currently conceived of (summarized earlier), as having no 'opposite' category; by exploring, in a nomadism-sensitive way, (or to borrow from Watson's (1986) paper, 'Women and housing, or feminist housing analysis?'" on gender and housing, attempting a 'Nomadist' analysis of), the key area of direct convergence between these two areas of academic work: the (seemingly somewhat oxymoronic) discursive construction of the 'Traveller *site*' (rather than the trailer, caravan or some other permanently mobile shelter structure) as 'nomadic home'. I hoped through this focus to develop a better understanding of this as a

¹⁷ as a very general example, this is manifest in the common practice, within books and other publications, of placing discussion of Traveller *social structure, culture, identity, history* etc. in separate chapters or sections to discussion of Traveller *accommodation needs, sites, planning issues* etc. (even though each aspect is often clearly apparent within the other); e.g. see the way in which Clark and Greenfields (2006); and Richardson and Ryder (2012) are structured.

'housing' entity, and the nature of/relationship between constructions and discourses of 'nomadism', and 'sedentarism' current at the time of conducting the field work.

1.4 Definition of key terms for this research

'Ethnicity'- As has begun to be the case in Housing Studies work (e.g. Markkanen and Harrison, 2013), I will accept and rely upon a 'universalist' definition of ethnicity in this work. However whilst I fully acknowledge its importance in the construction of human identity and difference of, and between individual groups of, travellers, my main focus will be on 'lifeway' as a *separate* identity dimension, worthy of separate study in its own right.

'Lifeway'- In this work as an initial starting-point I accept this as a dichotomous (nomadic/sedentary), collective, socio-ecological dimension of identity containing a symbiotic residence/subsistence binary. Borrowing from Archeology and Anthropology (e.g Emerson, McElrath and Fortier, 2009) I have termed this the human 'lifeway', in order to contrast it clearly with the primarily personal, cultural/ethnic formulation of 'way of life' more generally represented as 'lifestyle'. Whilst again, I acknowledge the importance of 'subsistence' to the concept, my main focus in this work will be upon 'residence'.

'Traveller'- Borrowing from the terminology used by Malešević (2004) in her work on *ethnicity*, I will be accepting what I will term a *socio-ecologically* 'universalist' rather than 'particularist' definition of 'Traveller', i.e. producing all human beings as having a 'lifeway' (whether hegemonic or non-hegemonic, travelling/nomadic, or settled/sedentary). 'Traveller' as I will use it in this work is inclusive of all '*nomadic-itinerant*', collective- or sub-group-identified '*permanently mobile* home'-dwellers.

Although I am very aware of the political sensitivity associated with such a decision, the main, and 'title', focus of the present work has been, from the beginning, simply, and

quite deliberately, **Travellers**. This is because, as a result of my pre-PhD practice experience, the impetus behind my initial PhD proposal and the conceptual starting-point for my PhD research was the notion of *distinctive (residential) accommodation* for 'Travellers', defined *not* as in the case of 'Gypsies' or 'Roma', in *primarily* ethnic terms, but rather specifically as a (mixed, *multi-ethnic* (including 'British') minority collective of individuals and groups produced as both distinctive from 'everyone else', and similar to each other, *primarily*, and in some cases solely, in terms of their essential **nomadism**, or '**Travelling way of life**'. *Without intending to dismiss in any way the more particular ethnic identity of any individual UK group included in the category, broader ethnic similarities between some UK Travellers and non-/Travelling/non-nomadic European groups, the experiences of such European Gypsies/Roma people, or any aspect of anybody's or any group's socio-economic identity, my primary academic interest was thus in the relationship between the residence mode(s) of the Traveller minority collective (Gypsy and non-Gypsy alike, regardless of occupation) for whom the authors of the Planning and Housing legislation cited earlier (pp. 41-42) were attempting to provide accommodation.*

Until I reached my writing-up phase I had not found a published definition or discussion that clearly and explicitly foregrounded such a general construction, of 'Travellers' as a term in its own right, independent of 'Gypsies' or 'Roma and Gypsies'. However, during this final phase, the *Communities and Local Government* document "Planning Policy for Traveller Sites" (2012) published as a supplement to the 2011 Localism Act, superseded both Planning Circulars 01/2006 and 04/2007 (cited earlier in this section) in producing the following integrated, '*way of life*'- rather than *race/ethnicity/culture*-based definition of, specifically and solely, '**travellers**':

“Annex 1: Glossary

1. For the purposes of this planning policy “gypsies and travellers” means:

Persons of nomadic habit of life whatever their race or origin, including such persons who on grounds only of their own or their family’s or dependants’ educational or health needs or old age have ceased to travel temporarily or permanently, but excluding members of an organised group of travelling showpeople or circus people travelling together as such.

2. For the purposes of this planning policy, “travelling showpeople” means:

Members of a group organised for the purposes of holding fairs, circuses or shows (whether or not travelling together as such). This includes such persons who on the grounds of their own or their family’s or dependants’ more localised pattern of trading, educational or health needs or old age have ceased to travel temporarily or permanently, but excludes Gypsies and Travellers as defined above.

3. ***For the purposes of this planning policy, “travellers” means “gypsies and travellers” and “travelling showpeople” as defined above. [...]***

(DCLG, 2012:8, emphasis added)

This most recently published legislative definition corresponds the most closely yet with the alternative, inclusive ‘lifeway’ and primarily residence-derived concept which has underpinned my PhD work from the outset, and included the UK ‘travelling showmen’ group that I had identified as marginalised and/or excluded in previous academic work, social policy and practice (due, by my reading, to the strong, albeit implicit, influence of a particularistic conception of ‘ethnicity’- see Clark and Greenfields, 2006, and Richardson and Ryder, 2012).

In the remainder of this introduction I will outline how I chose the particular subject focus of my work and reached the initial epistemological decisions that gave rise to my research question and design. Finally, I will present an outline summary of the remaining chapters of this thesis.

1.5 Preliminary topical and epistemological decisions

1.5.1 What is a 'Local Authority Traveller Site'? And, why take this particular variant of Traveller accommodation as my primary research focus?

The term 'Local Authority Traveller Site' is popularly used (See Niner, 2003; Clark and Greenfields, 2006; Richardson and Ryder, 2012) to describe a residential location, bounded or contained by fencing or some other means, provided for rent, maintained and managed by a Local Authority (inclusive of County Councils) in a manner broadly similar to social housing. However (despite the provisions of the Mobile Homes Act 2013 (TSO, 2013), insofar as these now apply officially to such sites), this is still done generally by *licence* agreement; similar in style and content to a social housing *tenancy* agreement, but affording site residents fewer rights, in particular with regard to protection from eviction (see Niner, 2003:118-119).

Most such sites in England are located on or near the fringe areas of towns or villages, or in rural areas, and are located more than 1 kilometre from essential local facilities and services (e.g.the nearest supermarket, primary school and/or post office). They generally have a single main entrance accessed by a (usually concrete or tarmac) road, often with speed bumps; and a varying number¹⁸ of separate 'pitches', with hardstanding where Travellers may legally park or station caravans and mobile homes. Brick-built amenity blocks are also provided, with bathroom, toilet and kitchen facilities. Local Authority Traveller Sites may be designated variously for 'residential', 'transit' or 'mixed' use. However, mobile homes and caravans are not provided by the local authority, with licencees expected to either buy their own, or rent these, generally privately, in an entirely separate agreement with a commercial company. Very few sites have areas set aside for work purposes or animal grazing, and play areas are provided

¹⁸ Niner (2003:68) estimated the (English) national average number of pitches per site to be 15.8

on only approximately a quarter of sites. (For a more detailed description and comprehensive summary (pg. 92) of the features of 107 English Local Authority Traveller Sites, see Niner, 2003:66-92).

I chose this variant of Traveller site over the 'private' site or any other type of Traveller accommodation, since I was confident from past experience that it would provide the best arena for accessing data produced from the different (hegemonic and non-hegemonic) perspectives in which I was equally interested, and also opportunities to identify and observe interaction between these. After further broad review of 'Traveller'-related literature (to be discussed in Chapter 2) I was satisfied that this decision was appropriate.

1.5.2 Explanation of and justification for initial epistemological decisions

I had originally proposed to add to generalised quantitative knowledge (e.g. such as that produced by Niner, 2003, 2004) about the physical, spatial and geographical characteristics of Local Authority Traveller sites, and monitor how (if at all) the recent changes to Local Authority duties made by the 2004 Housing Act influenced these.

However, I quickly discovered that someone elsewhere was planning post-doctoral research to address a very similar, if not the same, 'lacuna'. More importantly, inherent within my initial PhD proposal was the notion, although initially less than clearly expressed, that, on some very fundamental level (in particular) *Local Authority Traveller Sites*, whilst hegemonically 'legitimate', don't 'work' for many of their residents; with symbolic 'meaning' somehow associated with or contained within such 'sites' playing a part in this. Through, initially, a reading of Kemeny (1992), I was able to identify a fundamental flaw in my original research proposal: I had planned to 'contribute to knowledge' by following the methodology of previous positivist/empiricist

work, but with a focus that was epistemologically incompatible with positivism and/or empiricism, upon (the 'meaning' or 'significance' of) site characteristics from the 'alternative' viewpoint of the Traveller ('Gypsy' and otherwise) residents (or at least, from that of a 'settled' non-governmental organization worker occupied with the Traveller residents' support and welfare).

After further review of more general theoretical texts, including Berger and Luckman's *The Social Construction of Reality* (1967), I concluded that wanting to recognize hegemonic and non-hegemonic perspectives *equally* alongside each other in my work represented a major departure from the assumptions of previous state-sponsored research. In careful consideration of various alternatives to, and more recent examples and critiques of, social constructionist work in both Housing Studies and other social science fields and disciplines (to a detailed summary and discussion of which the next chapter is dedicated), I identified a primary interest not in testing the validity of, but in developing a better understanding of each of the multiple, often conflicting social perspectives of which I had become aware through my practice experience, and the way in which discursive interaction between these different perspectives socially constructed and maintained the 'reality' of the 'Traveller site' as a multi-dimensional, collaboratively produced human *artefact*. I thus made the decision to attempt an explicitly reflexive 'social constructionist' approach to my PhD research, and to use, broadly, a qualitative, 'discourse analysis' research strategy (of both of which the present introduction, as an integral part of this thesis, is also a product). For the reasons outlined in the last section, I chose to focus particularly on the 'Local Authority' variant of the 'Traveller site'.

1.5.3 Reflections on the process of knowledge-production, thesis-writing, and the epistemological scope of this work

Out of practical and physical necessity, this thesis appears typically 'linear' in its

presentational style. However, in the interests of my commitment to social constructionism, and thus to the closest approximation of reflexive ‘transparency’ I can (‘humanly’) achieve, I will explicitly state here that the ideas I will present in this work (including those contained within this ‘introduction’) were not produced straightforwardly or in the chronological order in which they appear in print, but (with sincere apologies to Stănescu (1966)¹⁹, and in reference also to King, 2008:vii-viii, who describes a similar process), by means of a messy, often uncomfortably jerky, spherical, spiralling process, with the various ‘limitations’ reached in the many dimensions explored often only becoming apparent on my return to a (shifting) approximation of ‘centre’; resulting frequently in the necessity of repeating at least part of the original ‘journey’ in order to break through the ‘shell’ of each apparent ‘limit’. This applies particularly to my understanding of the literature, which of course I continued to review throughout, modifying my interpretations and conclusions as necessary as my perspective shifted and broadened during analysis of key terms, field work and analysis of collected data, or when new work was published (as it continued to be until, and throughout, my ‘writing up’ stage). Whilst my review of literature was therefore the first task begun, and is presented here as the Introduction and first two of a linear series of chapters suggesting a parallel chronology of events, both this introduction and some parts of my literature review are chronologically the *final* product of my PhD process, produced using methods learned and insight drawn from the whole research process, and in close conjunction with the later stages of my analysis and, of course, my concluding chapter. Finally, whilst I hope the entire thesis that this present chapter is designed to introduce will be found to be internally consistent, and convincingly linked to other academic work outside itself, I cannot stress too strongly that in my view it nevertheless remains just *one* possible representation of *my* essentially situated (and thus inherently limited) ‘view’ of ‘reality’.

¹⁹ Nichita Hristea Stănescu, 1933-1983; Romanian-Russian philosophical Poet and Essayist. Reference to his 9th Elegy

1.6 Chapter-by-chapter summary of the remainder of this thesis

Chapter 2: Epistemology

This chapter firstly summarises my review of the general social theory literature, with an emphasis on social constructionism, and key critiques of the approach, Secondly, it outlines subsequent epistemology-focused explorations that I made of Housing Studies and related fields, and of the literature (not limited to any particular field or discipline) on the general subject of 'Travellers'.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Having decided upon an epistemological starting-point of 'weak' social constructionism, I conducted a further review of the methodological literature in this regard, eventually deciding upon Discourse Analysis as a compatible methodology. The first section of this chapter is a summary of my exploration of Discourse Analysis-related literature. It comprises a discussion of the development and different variants of this research strategy, with a more particular emphasis upon 'social constructionist' and broadly 'Foucauldian' discourse analytic approaches. The second section of this chapter comprises a further brief discussion of analytical method.

Chapter 4: Research design, Ethical considerations and Field Work narrative

The first section of this chapter discusses the case study approach and how I produced the particular case study design used for this project. The second section provides a summary of practical and ethical issues considered and encountered, solutions employed to overcome these, and in an attempt to produce as explicitly transparent and reflexive an account as possible, a brief narrative of my personal characteristics, my experiences as a researcher in the field, and how I perceived my own identity, position and life events to have influenced my research opportunities and limitations.

Chapter 5: Analysis I: Justification of data-collection starting-point(s); initial development of key themes, categories and theoretical framework

By reference to the extant literature and the conclusions of the deconstructive analysis of lay English terms and words key to this research summarized in this introduction, the first section of this chapter comprises a discussion of and justification for the social categories used as an organisational starting-point for data collection in the field. The second section describes my development of key themes of 'residence' (lifeway) and 'culture' (ethnicity) from my collected data; how, from these and a process of deconstruction and reconstruction in discursive terms of the starting-point categories, I produced alternative *socio-discursive* categories; and how based on these new categories, I began to develop a 'bi-modal' socio-discursive analytical 'framework'.

Chapter 6: Analysis II: Analysis of discourse at the national level 2004-2007

Using and refining the bi-modal socio-discursive analytical framework developed in Chapter 5, this chapter presents a bi-modal (Sedentarist/Nomadist) consideration of the social construction of Travellers and Sites in national-level discourse, using, as a starting-point, national documentary material that I had collected due to having identified it as directly relevant to local Traveller accommodation policy and practice nationwide, including in my particular field work area.

Chapter 7: Analysis III: Analysis of discourse at the local level, 2004-2007

Using the same bi-modal analytical framework developed in Chapter 5 and refined in Chapter 6, this chapter draws upon locally-sourced documentary, participant observation and interview data, to present two contrasting ('Sedentarist' and 'Nomadist') accounts of the Local Authority Traveller, site, derived from data collected directly from or in direct relation to two actual, anonymised Traveller sites.

Chapter 8: Analysis IV: Integration and generalization of findings to the theoretical level; answer to research question

This chapter attempts a 'bi-modal' integration and generalization of the specific findings of my analysis in an attempt to explain some seemingly irreducible anomalies identified in the analysis presented in Chapter 7, followed by a summarised answer to my initial research question, presenting the 'Traveller site' as a multi-dimensional discursive 'text', produced, maintained and contested through inter- and intra- paradigmatic social interaction, and 'read' simultaneously in diverse and conflicting ways. In addition I make the suggestion that the site may itself have independent constructive potential as a 'participant' in the production of discourse and new discursive paradigms.

Chapter 9: Conclusion:

Finally, after summarizing my initial 'nomadism-sensitive' critique of Housing Studies and social science in general, I outline a range of thematic and topical overlaps between my work and the more general extant literature in both Housing Studies and further afield, where work explicitly recognizing and including Travellers and other non-hegemonic lifeway groups could potentially begin. Linking back to the concept of residence as a fundamental aspect of the human socio-ecological 'lifeway' as developed in this Introduction, as well as to the findings of my analysis, I then describe how this concept and its internal 'stillness/motion' and 'Nomadic/Sedentary' binaries can, and, in a range of ways in various areas of academic work, are being, developed further, from the notion of 'dichotomy' towards that of 'continuum'. I conclude by offering a discussion of the contribution made by, the limitations of, and some future opportunities suggested by, this research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW I. Social Constructionist Epistemology, Housing, and Travellers

This chapter is intended to provide a detailed summary of the process by which I came to my understanding of the significance of epistemology in academic work, and in particular the theoretical position of 'social constructionism', which I chose as the epistemological starting point for the research described in this thesis. In addition, I will discuss the general epistemological character of the two bodies of extant literature I see as being equally relevant to my thesis topic and key concepts for this research, as outlined in the Introduction.

2.1 General review of social theory literature: What is social constructionism?

2.1.1 Antecedents to Social Constructionism

The view that there is no such thing as 'absolute truth' and no firm or objective foundations to knowledge has been advanced by a number of intellectual traditions and thinkers since the Enlightenment period, with direct challenges to 'Positivism' reaching back to 19th Century neo-Kantian thought. Positivism as a 'scientific' approach has been under attack ever since: Harrington (2005) identifies two strands of interpretivist thought that, although sharing similar ideas about the problems with positivism, developed separately in their initial stages- an Anthropological tradition started in France by Durkheim (1912) and Mauss (1924), and the German Phenomological 'sociology of knowledge' begun by Scheler (1925) and Mannheim (1936, and later works) (all as discussed in Harrington, 2005). In addition, Popper's (1935 (2005)) theory of 'falsification', which demanded a shift in science from an inductive to a deductive approach, and from verification to corroboration of 'truth', formed the foundation of a 'sociology of science'. Within Philosophy, critiques of positivism that focused on language and argued that a 'scientific' approach to studying human beings

was misguided, since our lives are meaningful, were offered by Wittgenstein (1958) and Winch (1958) (Both cited in Travers, 2004).

a) Peter Berger, Thomas Luckmann, and the Sociology of Knowledge

In the English-speaking world, the idea of 'social constructionism' appears to have initially arisen out of sociological studies of the natural sciences, developed from the work of Popper and his critics. However, it can be argued that Berger and Luckmann (1966), although taking the German strand of interpretivism as their starting point, were responsible for the term's popularisation in English. Their book 'The Social Construction of Reality', although superficially a treatise in the sociology of knowledge (and subtitled as such), was the first systematic attempt to show relationships between, and synthesize, the ideas of different interpretivist traditions. They can thus be seen as having played a crucial part in laying the foundation for general recognition of 'Social Constructionism', in its current form; as a concept, and as a 'family' of approaches.

Berger and Luckmann were influenced by a variety of classic sociological sources, including Marx (1844), Weber (1947) and Durkheim (1950), as well as writings from human biology with anthropological implications (Plessner, 1928; Gehlen, 1940), a social psychology derived from Mead (1934), the development of Mead's work by Blumer (1969) and others within the American Symbolic Interactionist school of sociology. However, by their own admission, they were influenced most profoundly by the philosophical and sociological work of Schutz (1962). One of the key founders of phenomenological sociology, Schutz espoused a perspective which takes as its focus the individual's personal experience of things, while 'bracketing out' the issues of whether or not they really exist, or what they consist of. Working under these influences from within the 'sociology of knowledge', Berger and Luckmann argued that the sub-discipline had historically been misdirected towards an almost exclusive preoccupation

with 'intellectual' knowledge. In an argument developed from earlier theoretical perspectives some of which were also antecedent to Bourdieu's (1977) later development of the notions of *doxa* and *habitus* (Susen and Turner, 2011:xx), they contended that the relevance and usefulness of this sub-discipline could, and should, reach far beyond its historical preoccupations (which in their view were of extremely limited significance and had led to its peripheralisation within sociology), and towards an understanding of everyday, 'commonsense' reality:

*'The sociology of knowledge must concern itself with **everything** that passes for knowledge in society'*

(Berger and Luckmann, 1966:26, italicised in original, emphasis in bold added)

Berger and Luckmann's aim was to use 'systematic theoretical reasoning' (ibid. p29) to synthesize the ideas of their various influences in describing the way in which 'everyday life', or 'reality' is constructed. They hoped to produce a sociological understanding of the knowledge that guides conduct in everyday life, and thus the 'reality' that forms the subject matter of the empirical science of sociology. In so doing, they wanted to divert the 'sociology of knowledge' onto a path that they felt would lead to its much broader significance. The arguments in the book are based on a series of fundamental propositions:

- 'Human-ness' and social interaction are inextricably intertwined- 'human nature' is not underpinned by biology and would not exist without some form of society;
- Human consciousness is determined by the individual's specific social location, and knowledge is always known from that location;
- 'Truth' is dependent on the social location of the 'knower' and is thus relative;
- Social reality is built up by activity that expresses subjective meaning, *and* social reality possesses objective facticity.

b) A Brief Summary of 'The Social Construction of Reality'

Human interaction in our shared, everyday reality, constructs a stock of taken-for-granted, 'common sense' knowledge. Meaning, detached from the prototypical 'here and now' 'face to 'face' situation of social interaction, is produced, reproduced, and modified through objectification and accumulation in sign systems, the most important of which is language. The social stock of knowledge is thus 'reified', and so experienced as external to the individual and representing for all humans the nature of the world in which they live. Through the typification and anonymisation of individual experience, routines and roles in shared spheres of action are integrated into the social stock of knowledge. Language is able to bridge different zones of everyday reality, and even transcend it altogether, bringing back meaning from other realities²⁰ by means of 'symbolic language'. However since this always happens through 'translation' that must out of necessity reference the social 'everyday' world where language originates, such 'translations' are subject to distortion. Since the social stock of knowledge continuously informs the way in which individuals understand the world, language, and the knowledge it transmits, do not simply reflect reality but actively construct it. This process leads to institutionalisation, which at its most basic level is simply the reciprocal habitualisation over time of activity and sign systems between at least two people.

As new generations are born into the social sphere, uniquely among animals and due to the high plasticity of human instinctual drives, human biological development continues, concurrently with the development of the human 'self', in a 'world open' inter-relationship with a social as well as a natural world. New members of society complete their organismic development and receive primary socialisation as separate individuals, but dependent upon significant others for survival, within specific social

²⁰ e.g. the world of dreams, or of 'spiritual' experience

locations (the huge variation of which cannot be accounted for by biology or environment). Each child's initial, specific, socio-cultural environment is thus apprehended as *the* social reality. As increasingly complex zones of a stock of knowledge specific to their social world are successfully transmitted to them, they become socially institutionalised. Put much more simply,

“[...] early social experiences [...] result in a way of seeing, thinking about and engaging with the social world.”

(Allen et al., 2002:24)

Institutions are experienced by the socialised as coercive, objectively 'real' entities, with histories that predate the individual's biography and which will continue to exist after they die. However, as ongoing human constructions, and thus subject at all times to modification, institutions are inherently unstable. Those individuals who did not participate in the original development of the institution are less likely to accept its order, since its meanings are not transparent for them. In order to remedy this, overarching, symbolic, 'sub-universes of meaning' are created through language to define reality and construct the basic institutional norms and rules dictating 'expected' behaviour. The basic institutional structures exert implicit control by channelling human behaviour into these, and in order to further 'legitimate' institutional codes, the sub-universes simultaneously provide explanations and justifications for 'the way things are', to integrate otherwise inconsistent institutional processes and thus support and maintain institutional stability by endowing its structures with 'plausibility'. Departure from institutional norms and rules is constructed as a departure from 'reality', and when the basic control mechanisms imposed by the institutional order break down, sanctions may be applied, or the behaviour given inferior cognitive meaning within the sub-universal context.

With the establishment of sub-universes of meaning, multiple perspectives on the

social world emerge. Each of these is a representation of 'reality' from the angle of one sub-universe; related to, but not simply reflecting, the location and interests of the group that holds it, since it is possible for knowledge to become quite detached from the social location and interests of the 'knower'. The nature of dominant social order will depend on which particular version of reality is sustained as being 'the objective truth', which in turn depends upon which sub-universe of meaning is most successfully legitimised through its availability and plausibility.

In Berger and Luckmann's view, then, reality can be known only as it is interpreted through the specific socio-cultural stock of knowledge available to the individual within his 'sub-universe' or 'plausibility structure'. Human culture, produced by human interaction through institutionalisation, channels human instinct so well that social reality is experienced and taken-for-granted as 'real' in much the same way as the 'reality' of the natural world. Berger and Luckmann argue that although each generation is socialised and institutionalised into accepting *the* social world as an independent 'given', multiple social worlds are in fact produced 'dialectically' through human interaction.

In their discussion of society as both objective and subjective reality, three key 'moments' are highlighted that underpin each human being's construction of knowledge about reality:

- 1) **externalization** or projection (society as a human product);
- 2) **objectivation** or reification (society as objective reality);
- 3) **internalization** and role alternation (man as a social product).

The authors conclude that through perpetual interrelationships between these 'moments', human beings are simultaneously the producers and the products of

society, *and* society is a human product and simultaneously an objective, coercive producer of human beings.

2.1.2 Critiques and Development of the Social Constructionist Approach

a) Language (Part I)

A criticism earlier levelled at Symbolic Interactionism, which was that in practice, not enough attention was paid to actual 'symbols' (language) (Sharrock, Hughes and Martin, 2003), was also true of some early Social Constructionist work. Lyotard (1979) who wrote extensively about postmodernism and was also influential in the sociology of knowledge, introduced the Wittgensteinian idea of 'language games' - the notion of 'stubborn conflicts' between different cognitive versions of reality- into social constructionist debates. By discussing the importance of language and discussing how it links to methodology, Lyotard was instrumental in a major ongoing development of Social Constructionist thought. Other social theorists who contributed to this debate are Foucault (1970, 1972, 1977, 1980)²¹, who argued that all ideas stem from 'arbitrary and contingent historical processes', and Derrida (1976, 1977, 1988), who argued that there is no fixed meaning to any 'text' (Travers, 2004:18)). The general 'linguistic turn' across social science in the late 1980s and early 1990s influenced constructionism further towards a focus on language and in particular, 'discourse analysis'²² (Jacobs, et al., 2004).

²¹ Highly influential in social constructionism ,although he was often labelled a 'post-structuralist' or 'postmodernist' theorist, Foucault was uncomfortable with both labels, questioning the concept of 'post-' anything and preferring, if pressed, the concept of '*counter*-modernism'. This notion links to the idea of social constructionism as a 'counterbalance' to positivism.

²²A general term for the analysis of ' Texts' (in the broadest sense). Apart from early Foucauldian discourse analysis which is very abstract, this falls into two main methods, 'non-critical', which simply describes discursive practices; and 'critical', which also attempts to show 'how discourse is shaped by power relations and ideologies, and the constructive effects discourse has upon social identities, relations and systems of knowledge and belief'(Fairclough, 1992).

b) Power

“The concept of power is not at the forefront of Berger and Luckmann’s analysis, so it can be difficult to work out from their analysis why any one social construction of reality is accepted in society rather than others.”

(Clapham, 2005:22)

Many sociologists have been interested in studying the ‘power dynamics’ in society, and although not all have used social constructionism, the approach has proved to be an increasingly popular way to do so. Again, Elias (1994, 1996) and particularly Foucault (1970 and later work) have been influential in this respect. Linking ‘knowledge’ and ‘domination’ together, Foucault argued that the exercise of ‘disciplinary power’ was intrinsic to what he termed ‘regimes of truth’, but that power is not reducible to any individual causal factor. Rather than a hierarchy, his concept of power was that it is:

“...employed and exercised through a net-like organization [...] and [...] individuals are always in a position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power.”

(Foucault, 1980:98)

The usefulness of this idea to social constructionism, with its emphasis on social interaction and the ‘ongoing production and reproduction’ of social reality, is clearly apparent. Subsequently, focusing on power in social constructionist research has been one way to understand better how some ‘realities’ gain, maintain and lose precedence over others.

c) Integration of Agency and Structure, or Micro and Macro, approaches

Mapping to some extent on to the discussion about power, an ‘integrationist’ position

also emerged within the approach, stemming from the argument that social constructionism was paying too much attention to agency in 'micro' level interactions, whilst neglecting the relationship of this to the 'macro' or structural dimension of social life. This can certainly be considered true of some early social constructionist work, e.g. Garfinkel's (1967) ethnographic work. However, Sharrock, Hughes and Martin (2003) have argued that criticism in sociology often confuses the two very different questions of whether an approach is known for doing a certain kind of study, and whether an approach is *capable* of doing that kind of study. Cicourel (1981, discussed in Clapham, 2005:23) argued that equal importance could and should be accorded to both 'micro' and 'macro', agency and structure dimensions of social reality, with a focus on the relationship between these. Giddens's (1984) 'Structuration theory', which focuses on the dualism of agency and structure and emphasises both in 'social practices', has been influential in this respect. Giddens is not a social constructionist; as highlighted by Haugaard (1992, discussed in Clapham, 2005:24), his focus was upon the action of individuals in relation to structures, whereas the original preoccupation of social constructionism was interaction between actors. However, Giddens's ideas can be seen as complementary to social constructionism and thus helpful in reconciling the agency-structure dichotomy.

d) Reflexivity

"The very construction of a field of interest is itself a matter of academic convention that should be open to scrutiny."

(Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, in May, 2001:33)

The above speaks of the need to identify both individual and group motivation and personal or group perspectives that fuel interest in a topic. As discussed by Sarbin and Kitsuse (1994:14), Social constructionism as an approach, specifically in 'social

problems' research, was accused of 'ontological gerrymandering' (Woolgar and Pawluch, 1985). A common use of social constructionism in this area of sociology was to identify some 'constant condition' (e.g. child abuse) and then examine how different claims are made about it. As Travers (2004) explains, Woolgar and Pawluch highlighted that in such work the claims under investigation are treated as constructions, but the constant condition underlying the research is assumed to be 'fact' and thus exempt from questioning. This betrays 'residual realist assumptions', that undermine the constitutive approach to social reality expected from a truly 'social constructionist' account. Thought derived from postmodernism, feminism and related movements has again been influential in the development of a refinement and response to this critique. In the words of Bauman:

“the Postmodern perspective reveals the world as composed of an infinite number of meaning generating agencies, all relatively self-sustained and autonomous, all subject to their own respective logics and armed with their own facilities of truth validation.”

(Bauman, 1992:35, cited in Clapham, 2005:18)

In acknowledging this, the notion of 'reflexivity' became a focus, i.e. that researchers should apply analysis as rigorously to their own position as they do to the positions of those under investigation. Frequently, social constructionist work now explicitly includes the notion that the researcher's own position is also socially constructed (e.g. as in Burr, 2003).

However, contrary to a common misapprehension, there is nothing about constructionism that precludes having values; in fact the perspective can be seen as encouraging their (open) espousal. It can even be argued that to make any sense at all, support must be given to some view of the world and what constitutes proper action

within it. The crucial factor is that the social constructionist researcher is reflexive, allowing for the legitimacy of competing values, as

“It is within relationship that we acquire the sense of the ‘real’ and the ‘good’ [...] of [...] value, justice and joy. [...W]hen we can understand our commitments as situated within culture and history, as expressions of traditions, then we may be less inclined to eradicate the other. It is in the reflexive moment that we may be able to appreciate the limitations of our commitments, and the potentials inhering in alternatives.”

(Gergen, 1999:234-235)

e) Relativism and the ‘Moral’ dilemma

Following on from the above, one of the seemingly most powerful critiques of the relativity implicit in social constructionism has been summarised by Edwards, Ashmore and Potter (1995) as the “‘Death’ and ‘Furniture’ argument”. They show that this type of argument has two parts that can appear together or independently of each other- the charge that extreme relativism when taken to its logical conclusion denies the existence of a physical world (by arguing that ‘everything’ is socially constructed- which constitutes the ‘furniture’ objection), and the charge that such a stance undermines politico-moral realities (either by unnecessarily questioning ‘desirable’, or making unwarranted space for ‘undesirable’, aspects of ‘reality’- which constitutes the ‘death’ objection, to be discussed further shortly), and is thus not only considered nonsensical in that it denies a clear difference between ‘physical’ and ‘social’ reality, but is also chronically morally relativistic and indifferent. The realist critique argues that by refusing to recognise a fixed material world, or any particular social ‘reality’ as superior, at best relativist approaches (including social constructionism) engender ‘political quietism’, and at worst, are potentially ‘irresponsible’ or ‘dangerous’.

The response from social constructionism is that this criticism is yet another misreading, and an underestimation, of the scope of the approach, and the classic constructionist response is to 'deconstruct' the critique. Edwards et al (1995) argue that this type of criticism simply betrays unwarranted assumptions about material reality that are contradicted within realism itself, and further assumptions that political or moral opinions and values are only (or are more) valid when underpinned by 'objective', 'scientific' or 'external' evidence. The implication is therefore that *only* realism is qualified to 'take a (moral or political) stand'. Edwards et al. argue that, in spite of the absence of a 'bottom line reality', the social constructionist is far from a politically and morally impotent nihilist. Instead he or she is simply left with the task, if wishing to declare and defend a particular personal position, view or belief, of crafting his or her argument in such a way that it is internally and contextually consistent, and thus plausible in and of itself.

Callon and Latour (1992) further developed an 'actor network theory' influenced by the work done by Kuhn in the 1970s and based in part on Latour's earlier ethnographic anthropological work, attempting to illustrate how scientific knowledge is constructed by a number of 'actors', including the research objects themselves. This use of social constructionism challenged traditional, 'taken-for-granted' distinctions in Western philosophy between conscious human agents and non-conscious physical objects or forces, and thus the metaphysical distinction between 'culture' and 'nature'. In Britain, the work of Barnes (1974, 1977), Bloor (1976) and others (the 'Edinburgh School') made similar arguments in the sociology of science, which have been developed more recently by Hacking (1999) (discussed in Harrington, 2004).

This work echoes the observation made by Feyerabend (1987:135, 176) - that the reason that the nature of 'bottom line reality' could be agreed upon within realism is because the vast majority of scientists thus far have come from similar cultural

backgrounds (the 'tribe of western intellectuals', *ibid.* p. 73.), and thus share a great deal of taken-for-granted 'common sense' reality. With the influence of postmodernism (in particular in this case, its postcolonialist and feminist branches) and the effects of globalisation, people from different cultural backgrounds are entering social scientific debates, and it is likely that 'moral' and 'material' 'bottom line' realities based on common sense traditions particular to specific socio-cultural circumstances are likely to continue be subject to increasing scrutiny.

f) **Language (Part II)**

A more recent criticism of social constructionism appears to be, in contrast to earlier criticisms, that it focuses *too much* on language and discourse. Linked to this, and to discussions of 'embodiment' (e.g. Burr, 2003), is the charge discussed earlier that relativist approaches are tantamount to a denial of physical reality. However this criticism can be seen as glossing over the primary aim of most social constructionist work, which is to investigate and understand *social* reality, in specific contexts. It can also be seen, again, as a misreading. Social constructionism as it is generally understood and practiced in research does not argue that language and discourse are 'all that exists'. As Ore (2003) explains: 'Although [social] reality is initially *soft* as it is constructed, it can become *hard* in its effects.' The vast majority of Social Constructionist work recognises that the language we use and the typifications we construct have effects and consequences in social reality, which impact upon other aspects of 'real' human experience (including the human sense of 'being' a body, which as Berger and Luckmann argued, is one aspect of the 'human nature' balance). A strength, and often a key purpose, of social constructionist analysis is to understand how the way that types of individual or groups of people are socially 'constructed', sooner or later has an impact upon how they are treated. Berger (2002) argues that an oft-cited extreme example of this phenomenon, the Nazi 'Final Solution', in part

became possible because 'the Jew' was constructed as a type of person whose killing was morally acceptable, even desirable- a state of affairs that by popular consensus today is viewed with horror (See also the influential work of Bauman, 1989, 1992; and Elias, 1994, 1996, on this topic). Far from denying the role of social construction, Berger states that in the current moral climate it is imperative that we consider how the Nazis constructed the 'Jewish Problem', precisely because the 'social construction' that ultimately resulted in what later became known as the Jewish Holocaust was at the time viewed as 'a most ordinary thing to do'.

Social events or phenomena that ultimately result in the human experience of pain, distress or even death, can thus be viewed as social constructions, not in the way this has been misconceived (and most often appears to be behind the moral outrage that is sometimes directed at the approach), as a 'figment of the imagination', but rather in the sense that, to paraphrase Ore (2003), such phenomena can be the 'hard' result of what was initially 'soft' social construction. In the words of Thomas (1928) and Marston (2004):

"[...] if we define situations as real, they are real in their consequences."

(Thomas, 1966:301, cited in Ore, 2003:4)

"[...] people can die from [a social construction]."

(Marston, 2004:86, 89 (paraphrased))

Although some critics misunderstand social constructionist theory as implying that since reality is socially constructed, social change is 'as easy as calling something by a different name'²³, it is clear from the above discussion that this is a gross and

²³ Lovering, John, March 2006: personal dialogue (The first element of his critique of my PhD

misleading oversimplification of the concept.

2.1.3 Social ConstructionismS?

The 'construction' that constitutes section 2.1.1 of this chapter is admittedly rudimentary, fragmentary, and is in the form of a 'heroic genealogy' (Lynch, 1998)²⁴. It was constructed from the specific perspective, and as the specific attempt, of a relative 'newcomer' to social theory – myself – with a specific socio-cultural, academic and professional background. Further, its specific original purpose was to 'make sense' of the concept known as 'Social Constructionism', primarily as it has developed and is used within sociology, and focusing particularly upon the concept as conceived by Berger and Luckmann, as an early task in my PhD Project (again, on a specific topic, in a specific field of research). However, since both the particular field and topic are by nature multi- and inter-disciplinary and have strong practice elements, in attempting to answer my own specific questions, I also drew material from elsewhere into this particular discussion; ideas about or relating to 'social constructionism' that appeared either at the peripheries of my own (primarily sociological) perspective, or within other disciplines related to the field of research, some of which initially contributed to the blurring of my understanding of the concept and the approach.

Even a much more encompassing 'genealogy' would still always be constructed from a specific position, and however detailed, would nevertheless remain incomplete. As Engler (2004) points out, a *constructionist* genealogy of constructionism would look different; rather than offering a 'roll of honour', such a creation might explore

“[...] linkages between themes in the trajectory of the theory and the social formations that have generated and used it.”

Engler (2004:293)

presentation)

²⁴ Or, a list of figures perceived to have made key contributions to the emergence and development of the approach.

Although in the second section of this chapter (2.1.2) I attempted to begin thinking more in this way about constructionism, to ‘complete’ such a task was far beyond the scope of this particular (and probably any) exercise. However, in constructing these earlier sections, I concluded, while not minimising the contribution of Berger and Luckmann and the other authors cited thus far, that the general term ‘Social Constructionism’ as it is understood today across the social sciences does not have a linear ‘genealogy’, or definitive ‘canon’. It appears to have developed from a variety of parallel sources, influences and dialogues, and has a number of subtly different, coexisting definitions, each valid within its own context. As a theoretical and empirical approach, in spite of considerable criticism²⁵, it has steadily gained currency across a spectrum of disciplines and fields. The term is now referenced and used broadly, both theoretically and empirically, within the social sciences and beyond. This inevitably involves the juxtaposition, under the generalised term popularised by Berger and Luckmann, of multiple products of multiple interpretations, developments, syntheses and conflicts. As Lynch (1998) argues, the term’s general coherence today is achieved only through ‘surface affinity’, which conceals a wide heterogeneity of approaches. It is thus inevitable that some members of the ‘family’ bear a strong resemblance to Berger and Luckmann’s conception, while others appear only distantly, if at all, related.

A construction of the approach created from a different socio-cultural, academic perspective, taking another starting point and focus, would thus be possible, and would inevitably have produced a different picture to the one I have produced. Both (and many other possible ‘constructions of social constructionism’) could be considered equally ‘accurate’ or ‘real’. Even in the process of producing this one attempt at an account, from one individual perspective, many different possible forms that the chapter *could* have taken, manifested themselves.

²⁵ some of which has even been branded an ‘enthusiastic demonisation’ of the approach (Woolgar, 1997:14, cited in Burningham and Cooper, 1999:301)

2.1.4 *Constructionism or Constructivism?*

Some writers (e.g. Burningham and Cooper, 1999) have claimed that no rationale can be distinguished for preferring the term 'constructionism' over that of 'constructivism'. However, others (e.g. Jones, 2002) argue that the terms should not be used interchangeably, since 'constructivism' in some areas of sociology is strongly associated with realism, whereas 'constructionism' is more usually taken to imply relativism. Jones posits that a characteristic 'constructivist' approach will assess different social constructions of a given phenomenon or problem in relation to a 'bottom line reality', and thus the purpose of the exercise is to judge their 'truth' or 'error' according to how closely they correspond with whatever is perceived as objectively 'real'. In 'moderate' or 'weak' constructionism, although social constructions are generally explored in relation to a pre-given context, no specific 'reality' is invoked and no absolute claims are made about what is (or is more) 'real', 'true' or 'false'. Where such 'contextual' social constructionism is claimed to be compatible with realism (e.g. as in Burr, 2003), it appears that what is actually being referred to is more akin to Jones's 'mild constructivism' rather than constructionism in the sense understood by Berger and Luckmann. However, across different disciplines these two terms are used with varying degrees of interchangeability and have differing meanings attached to them (e.g. in environmental sociology, a field that focuses explicitly on social aspects of the 'natural' or 'physical' world, 'social constructionist' work often has what appears to be underlying realist assumptions (e.g. C apek (1993), cited in Burningham and Cooper (1999)), and in Psychology both terms are associated with contexts somewhat different to that under discussion here²⁶, with 'constructivism' focusing strongly on individual interpretations of the world rather than interpretations stemming from social interaction). In this thesis, in order to avoid confusion, I will adhere to the distinction

²⁶ Alternative understandings of the words 'Constructivism' and 'Constructionism' are used widely, associated in cognitive psychology with Piaget (1967) and Papert (1980) respectively - see discussion in Burr, 2003:19

posited by Jones (2002), associating ‘constructivism’ with realism and ‘constructionism’ with relativism.

2.1.5 Variants of Social Constructionism

Constructionism has been popularly conceived as having two variants, known as ‘strong’, ‘strict’ or ‘radical’, and ‘weak’, ‘moderate’ or ‘mild’ social constructionism. What these approaches have in common is a basic interpretivist, relativist position- in that they do not ask whether concepts are ‘true’, but rather about

“the consequences in cultural life of placing such terms into motion through discourse”

(Gergen, 1999:225).

The general consensus from the literature reviewed is that ‘weak’ social constructionism (Sayer, 2000) recognises a material world outside of discourse, but argues that its nature and impact on the social world can be understood only through its social construction²⁷; whereas ‘strong’²⁸ social constructionism (Travers, 2004), asserts that no assumptions can be made about the existence of an external reality outside of discourse, material or otherwise. This latter type of constructionism is again apparently frequently misread, as Travers explains, as a ‘grand, all-embracing theory’ that denies the reality of the ‘everyday world’. In fact it is more accurately described as a radical version of the same approach, which, while still appreciating the objective and constraining character of the world for ordinary members of society, allows nothing, including the most fundamental of the researcher’s own beliefs and assumptions, to be placed beyond problematisation. It thus retains a radical scepticism about ontological

²⁷ This corresponds fairly well with a group of similar conceptions of social constructionism, variously termed ‘moderate’, ‘contextual’ or ‘mild’.

²⁸ This description also loosely corresponds with versions of constructionism known variously as ‘extreme’, ‘strict’ or ‘radical’.

claims, as opposed to ontological reality itself. Indeed, another possible way to conceive of the difference is to make the distinction a matter of ontology and epistemology; some have suggested that while both forms of constructionism share a common relativist epistemology, they differ in their ontological assumptions. Where 'weak' versions accept the possibility of a single reality that is ontologically 'out there', albeit accessible only via subjective experience, stronger versions espouse instead an alternative coordinate ontology that has been termed 'contextualist' (Sarbin and Kitsuse, 1994:8). This, rather than being a belief in a single external reality, recognises change, novelty, and contingency as fundamental categories.

2.1.6 Dropping the 'Social'

A fairly recent development, influenced by the actor-network theories mentioned earlier, has led some writers (e.g. Callon, 1998; Latour, 1999, discussed in Jacobs et al. 2004:4) to drop the word 'social' altogether- to emphasise that human knowledge of the world does not derive from interactions between humans alone but also from human interactions with non-human entities (e.g. animals, the environment). However, Jacobs et al. (2004:4) argue that the word 'social', used in its broadest sense, can be understood as encompassing 'interpersonal, intrapersonal, person-animal, person-environment' etc. interaction, and thus the terms 'constructionism' and 'social constructionism' can be used interchangeably.

2.1.7 'Dance' or 'Clash'?; the Relationship between Realism and Constructionism

It has been suggested that there is an intrinsic tension between realist and interpretivist understandings of constructionism (Travers, 2004:27). Critical realists recognise the deeply problematic nature of the 'naïve' realist approach when applied to the study of social phenomena. Thus, although espousing the view that an ontological reality exists that can be accessed epistemologically, some realist writers (e.g. Searle, 1995) draw

distinctions between 'social' realities (e.g. a ten pound note) and 'brute' realities (e.g. a mountain) in the physical world, and in recognising the constructed nature of *social* reality accept the idea of social construction in a limited way. However it is the(ir) 'real' world that forms the basic, absolute foundation for their work, and anything considered to be a social construction is ultimately compared to this in order to decide its degree of 'truth' or 'accuracy'. Critical realism also claims that through the analysis of 'references' in social interaction and construction, it can discover and examine unseen, but objectively 'real', irreducible social structures with an existence of their own independent of social interactions (Bhaskar, 1978, discussed in Harrington, 2004:227-229; Travers, 2004).

While usually not arguing against the existence of a 'natural' world external to human interpretations and constructions, attention to such a notion is often considered, from a social constructionist research perspective within sociology, as an unnecessary and fruitless diversion. It contends that since all human beings experience the world and interpret their experience (including their interactions with 'natural', 'physical', 'material' phenomena) from a specific position, such an objectively 'real' world, even should it exist, is epistemologically inaccessible and thus impossible to explore or test empirically. Such problems with the 'absoluteness' of the realist approach have been discussed by various constructionist authors (e.g. Potter, 1996).

However, the 'clash' between these two approaches is seen by other constructionists as a fallacy. One alternative view is that, rather than a 'rival' epistemology, social constructionism represents 'an epistemological step back' in relation to other perspectives, and thus rather than seeing itself as being in competition with other approaches as the 'one true way' to investigate the world, it is able to view all epistemological approaches as potentially useful and illuminating perspectives alongside, or perhaps *within*, its own. Realist work, like positivist work, is thus often

recognised within the constructionist paradigm as potentially useful and enlightening, and as Dickens (1996) suggests: the dichotomy 'constructionism versus realism' is in some respects misleading particularly because 'realists' acknowledge that:

"...no knowledge has fallen out of the sky with a label attached pronouncing 'absolute truth.'"

(Dickens, 1996:71, cited in Burningham and Cooper, 1999:299)

When viewed in this way, the relationship is seen as more of a 'dance' or 'game' (Gergen, 1999:31) than a 'clash'.

It is clear that Social Constructionism can be seen as having implications for all academic study and research (particularly within social science, but also beyond it). One way to understand the controversy it has sometimes caused, therefore, is to recognise that this research approach, (which questions and problematises potentially the most fundamental and universal of received ideas) is inherently threatening to any approach that uses such ideas, unquestioned, as the basis of its arguments. A further variant of social constructionist thought argues that the relationship (or interaction) between social constructionism and other approaches is perhaps more crucial to our understanding of social reality than anything else. Thus, within social constructionism, alternative 'truths' are not rejected but invited as 'participants in the dialogue' (Gergen, 1999:228); much value is placed in the actual process of debate; and social constructionism is considered to 'need' the other approaches to exist in order to be meaningful (Danziger, 1997, discussed in Burr, 2003: 20-22). Writers who have discussed this also include Smith (1996:301-303), and see the relationship as a complex synthesis of both 'dance' *and* 'clash', and this is the perspective I find to be most convincing and potentially useful.

2.1.8 Methodological Implications

Even in light of the many critiques, modifications and refinements their theories have undergone in the past forty years, the concepts outlined by Berger and Luckmann in *The Social Construction of Reality* are still of use in helping clarify and define the shape of a Social Constructionist research strategy. To conclude this chapter and to briefly introduce the next one, I will return to a consideration of some of their key ideas and the implications of these for methodology and method.

Berger and Luckmann's proposal that all consciousness is directed **towards** specific objects, can be extended to propose that all consciousness (including research) is directed **from** a specific position, which influences in large part not only the specific objects towards which it is directed (and just as importantly, which are ignored), but also the manner in which such objects are approached and given meaning. All study and research, then, empirical or otherwise, is undertaken from a specific position. Some positions may resemble each other, to a greater or lesser degree, but none are universal in any absolute sense, since although, due largely to shared versions of 'common sense reality', a broad general consensus about what is to be accepted as 'real' exists in the vast majority of cases, the epistemological position of each individual researcher is informed uniquely by his or her 'natural attitude' and thus corresponds with that of another person only through some degree of compromise.

Thus whilst due to the human 'natural attitude' being common to all, the social constructionist theorist can conceptualise the idea of a whole world of human reality-production (as did Berger and Luckmann); on the empirical level, the researcher (or group of researchers) can access only very limited parts of this world at a time, and only ever from their own point of view. In addition, they have only the common sign systems, with their selective typifications and anonymisations, by which to access and

interpret the experiences and meanings of others. Even language, with its vast scope, can be seen as a fairly blunt instrument for this purpose.

Social constructionism as originally conceived of by Berger and Luckmann and as generally understood in sociology today therefore accepts that since empirical research can only be conducted from one perspective at a time, it cannot make 'absolute' claims about social reality. This has obvious implications for methodology, but does not necessarily strictly limit social constructionist work, as many wrongly assume, to qualitative, 'micro' work. In principle, the key is not whether empirical data collection and analysis is qualitative or quantitative, numerical or linguistic, 'more' or 'less' structured (Coolen, 2003), but that the background research position and purpose for the collection and interpretation of such data, and the context within which this will be carried out, are all made explicit; and the way in which all these factors influence the entire research process is considered and made as transparent as possible. This way, each reader of the final product will be able to judge the work not in accordance with any universal 'bottom line reality', but, as previously discussed, simply based on how plausible and consistent the work appears within itself.

That said, it is clear from the previous discussion of the preoccupations of social constructionist theory that qualitative methodology will generally produce data that is of greatest interest and use to the social constructionist researcher. Social constructionist authors do not in any way avoid the 'rhetoric of science', and some make very creative (and reflexive) use of quantitative methods (e.g. Lilley and Platt, 1994; Bodily, 1994; Scheibe, 1994; and Wiener and Marcus, 1994). However, the underlying purpose of social constructionism is to 'understand' rather than to 'explain'; as Sarbin and Kitsuse (1994:6-7) identify, the underlying structure of constructionist accounts is the narrative; and the 'rhetoric of science' is thus employed primarily to reinforce this structure. Most social constructionist researchers do not apologise then, for relying upon either entirely,

or primarily, qualitative methodology, and methods complementary to this.

2.2 Epistemology and the extant literature

Part 2 of this chapter comprises an introductory, epistemology-focused literature review of material that I consider to be most relevant and important to my thesis topic, 'Traveller accommodation'. This comprises two reviews, the first of which is focused upon the formal academic field of Housing Studies, from the primary perspective of which I have produced this thesis, and closely related fields, and the second of which is focused on work from across a further range of fields and disciplines on the topic of 'Travellers' or 'Travelling people', including most notably 'Romani Studies' and '(Irish) Traveller Studies' as well as 'Gypsy Studies' and the newly emerging 'Gypsy and Traveller Studies'.

2.2.1 Housing Studies (and related fields) and Social Theory

a) Background

Historically, in large part due to research precedents set from its primarily 'welfarist' foundations (e.g. Booth, 1902; Rowntree, 1901), the majority of research in the field currently known as 'Housing Studies' has been funded by government or other official agencies and organisations. The development from the 1980s of an empiricist 'contract research culture', necessitated by reduced funding opportunities (Allen, 2005); and a more recent post-'welfarist', 'Third Way' climate of 'efficiency, audit and accountability' in government and social housing management (Somerville, 2001) all contributed to the primacy of a 'neoliberal' (Clapham et al., 2012) 'natural science' economic approach to housing research. This created a preference, still present in varying degrees dependent upon the area of housing studies concerned, for large scale 'fact-based' studies delivering empirical, statistical evidence, and the adoption of

quantitative methodology and method; in line with a more general, rising preoccupation with 'evidence-based practice', (and thus with research designed to produce such 'evidence'), in other related fields (for example, Social Work as a field of research has similar origins, and many parallels and common factors in its development). Although much of this research, produced in the quest for evidence upon which to base housing *practice*, has been labelled, or claims to be, 'atheoretical', it can be argued that such a conclusion is superficial; while not overtly expressed, the underlying assumptions employed have usually been positivist and/or empiricist, driven by ideology- and policy-related agendas..

The initially promising development of alternative, explicitly theoretical perspectives in housing studies (which according to Kemeny (1992) also began in the 1980s, with the exploration of Marxian and Weberian approaches), was severely stunted for a period by the dominant, contract -led "myopic and narrow focus on housing policy and housing markets" (Kemeny, 1992:xv), and a lack of interest in/support for the study of broader Housing issues. However, as discussed in the Introduction , Kemeny's (1992) work was instrumental in revitalising the sociological housing perspective as well as others within the field. More than twenty years on, present-day housing studies can be characterised as a broad, eclectic and generally much more theoretically engaged field of research, with its share of debates and controversies (see Clapham, 2002, 2005, 2009a , 2009b, 2011; Clapham et al, 2012; Allen, 2008a, 2008b, 2009, 2011a, 2011b; Allen and Imrie, 2010;).

b) 'More theory': The development of the Social Constructionist epistemological perspective in Housing Studies

As discussed in the previous introductory chapter, the restrictive, but dominant Housing Studies paradigm described above was systematically challenged by Kemeny (1992), who argued that the field's 'common sense' planning and administration origins had

resulted in a narrow research focus and isolated Housing Studies from integrated consideration in relation to other (e.g. social, economic, or political) dimensions of society. He proposed that re-engagement with social theory was crucial to Housing studies in order for it to keep in step with, draw inspiration from, and contribute positively to, contemporary academic debates across the social sciences. Kemeny described society as the product of definitions of reality that prompt social action, which in turn generate social organization, and expressed dissatisfaction with what he saw as the profound academic neglect of housing *as a dimension of social structure*. Kemeny called for a shift of focus within Housing Studies towards much broader, and diverse, *lay* perspectives, proposing, as previously outlined, a reconfiguration of work in the field away from 'housing' and towards a

“[...] ‘sociology of residence’ which transcends housing studies, as narrowly conceived [...]”

(Kemeny, 1992:163),

and particularly, development of a *social constructionist* ‘divergence’ perspective in the field that would further the relevance and integration of housing research to the rest of the academic world.

Since Kemeny’s 1992 call for ‘more theory’, Housing researchers from various disciplinary backgrounds have engaged more fully with general theoretical debates and a range of interdisciplinary academic work. Whilst this work has by no means been limited to social constructionism (e.g. Allen, 2000; Lawson, 2002, 2006, 2012; Fitzpatrick, 2005, 2012; King, 2004a, 2004b, 2005, 2008, 2009, 2011), early responses following Kemeny’s interest in this epistemological approach included Jacobs and Manzi (1996), who proposed a methodological framework for analysis of housing policy discourses based on the perspective; Clapham (1997), who, drawing upon the work of

Foucault (1977) and Garland (1985) in exploring the concept of housing management as 'surveillance', offered a social constructionist critique of previous work on this topic in Housing Studies; Franklin and Clapham (1997) whose paper together further explored the social construction of housing management, and Franklin (1998) who used a social constructionist approach in her further exploration of the effect of professional discourses upon the delivery of housing; Allen, (1997) who reconsidered the role of housing in 'community care' through a constructionist theoretical framework influenced primarily by the work of Berger and Luckmann (1966) and Callon and Latour (1981); and Gurney (1997, 1999a, 1999b), who again drew upon Foucauldian theory in his critical use of social constructionism to examine the meaning of 'home' and discourses of home ownership.

Influenced by Kemeny's initial work and subsequent responses to it, Jacobs and Manzi (2000) published a paper, entitled *Evaluating the Social Constructionist Paradigm in Housing Research*, which highlighted the disadvantages (not least the tendency to methodological conservatism) of policy-oriented research and the practice agenda still predominant in academic Housing research, and contrasted the advantages that a social constructionist epistemology brings. Again emphasising Foucault's influence on the development of social constructionist theories of language and power, they argued that while social constructionist epistemologies are not appropriate for all housing research, they are ideal for work which seeks to *clarify* concepts used by housing professionals, and *interpret* the subjective perspectives of various actors in the policy process.

Clapham also acknowledged Kemeny's continuing influence in later work on the 'meaning of housing'. Through this he developed what he termed his 'Pathways' research approach, described as a social constructionist research framework for Housing Studies. First outlined in a journal article (Clapham, 2002), and later

developed into a book (2005), this work, which explicitly avoided the assumption that people's housing choices are based in 'simple or universal attitudes and motivations', and focused on the decisions made about accommodation by 'households', prompted healthy theoretical debate²⁹.

Further work by several of the above-mentioned authors and others, eventually resulted in a collaborative, co-edited volume, *Social Constructionism in Housing Research* (Jacobs et al., 2004), which further described, formalised and illustrated the use of, and ongoing debate about, the social constructionist approach in Housing Studies.

c) Critiques and developments of the social constructionist perspective in housing research (and of Housing Studies in general)

As generally within other social science fields and disciplines³⁰, most criticism from outside the perspective of Social Constructionism in Housing research appears to have come from the epistemological stance of Critical Realism (e.g. King, 2004). However, Social Constructionist housing researchers have also looked critically at work produced from within their own ranks. Housing studies is now characterised internally as beginning to 'catch up' with advances in social science that, elsewhere, began years earlier. Nevertheless, the field's late arrival on the theoretical scene presented challenges, giving rise to the first key criticism of social constructionist Housing research from within. Kemeny (in a published interview with Allen, 2005) offered his view that the type of social constructionism that has developed in Housing research since publication of his 1992 volume owes considerably more to post-Foucauldian discourse analysis than earlier forms of constructionism. His concern was that Housing Studies theory and research had thus missed much of the wider debate around 'strong' and 'weak' constructionism, resulting in constructionist applications to housing being,

²⁹ see published responses following Clapham, 2002

³⁰ See section 1 of this chapter

thus far, patchy, with considerable gaps.

King (2005, 2008, 2009) has produced further critique of Kemeny and others and explicitly attempted to push the theoretical debate within Housing Studies further, by arguing that, with few exceptions, responses to Kemeny's calls for a return to disciplines and (social) theory in housing research have resulted only in more application of theory ready-made elsewhere and 'imported' in (King, 2009:45). Citing Franklin (2006) as an example of the integrated use of concepts from other disciplines in housing work, he contends that theoretical traditions from beyond sociology can be just as applicable within Housing Studies. He proposes a new 'bottom up' approach, moving away from the idea of housing as policy and the use of 'borrowed' theoretical concepts, towards the development of original 'born at home' concepts (such as 'dwelling' and 'accommodation'), and 'bespoke' theory, within Housing Studies.

Allen (2008a, 2008b, 2009, 2011a, 2011b, and with Imrie, 2010) also produced a provocative, much more general, social class-based and Bourdieu-referenced critique of 'Housing Studies' work, both 'Empiricist' and 'Theoretical', calling into question the authority of either approach, and in so doing its very existence as a valid academic field. Allen's argument was essentially that academics (regardless of approach) embody a 'middle class' *habitus* which, when imposed upon working class research participants, does them 'symbolic violence'. He concluded:

"[...] the distinction between social science and local knowledge, which the existence of Housing Studies is parasitic on, fails to stand up when subjected to philosophical scrutiny. [...First, ...] ordinary modes of "being" infect social science which means that the knowledge that social science produces is heavily and inevitably imbued with social class and other values. [...] Second, [...] housing researchers' conceptualizations of housing phenomena are in no way superior to the conceptualizations that ordinary people form in the course of their everyday being-toward housing. Third, [...] this analysis fundamentally

wounds the Housing Studies project and compels housing researchers to scale back their knowledge claims whilst also affording a level of recognition to ordinary knowledge claims that they have hitherto denigrated.”

(Allen, 2009:76)

Reactions to this work appear to have been (quite predictably, and understandably) strong (Allen, 2014) with varied responses drawn and and further healthy debate ensuing (see Sprigings, 2011; Flint, 2011; Allen, 2011a, 2011b):

“[...] I believe that Chris Allen [...] is correct to critique a contemporary social science that constitutes the working class in relational terms and that we need to understand working-class consumption on its own terms [...and support...] the need for a greater awareness of the partiality of “expert” knowledge within housing studies (Webb 2010:1) However [...] this misunderstanding [of the working-class ‘being’ towards dwelling] primarily arises from an academic-scientific habitus and the very act of undertaking social science rather than the alleged middle-class position of academics. This paper has also argued that the voices of the working classes need to be more prominent within housing studies, but that there is not one definitive voice or story to be told (Collins 2004:11).”

Flint, 2011:83, 88.

Although the above publications and exchanges appeared long after I had produced my PhD research design and started related data collection and analysis, to a great extent the concerns voiced reflected many that I had had myself, and there was much that resonated with the data collection and analysis approaches I had taken (see Chapter 4).

d) David Clapham's 'Beyond Social Constructionism'

Further more recent work in Housing Studies (much of it published, again, long after I had produced my PhD research design and commenced field work) has attempted to push the debates about, and development of, social constructionist approaches in housing studies still further. Clapham has continued to refine and develop his ideas about social constructionism, and its application in the Housing field, through a series of papers, articles and a book from 2009 onwards. In '*Social Constructionism and Beyond in Housing Research*' (2009a), he discussed the limitations of the approach from his perspective as an exponent of it, and ways in which these might potentially be ameliorated, either through amendment or addition. Clapham outlined four key areas of weakness in social constructionism in Housing Studies; firstly the *embodied* nature of humans and the impact of this upon meaning in the relationship between people and their homes; secondly, the "problem" of dealing with a "*material* world" with regard to the relationship between people and houses in their material dimension; thirdly, the *relativism* of social constructionism, which has led to divisions in the approach into 'strong' and 'weak' variants, and which presents a challenge with regard to integration with the type of positivist, interdisciplinary work still most common in Housing research; and lastly, its lack of a *structural* element, leading to neglect of concepts such as power in, for example work on Housing policy discourses.

In discussing the failure of the original formulation of the approach to acknowledge human 'embodiment', Clapham considers 'Actor Network Theory', and the attempts of various authors to explore and understand human "reality" as "socio-technically" rather than simply "socially" constructed; and highlights the concept of "affordances" (Gibson, (1986) which contends, centrally, that the physical structure of objects can both have symbolic meaning, and materially facilitate and/or hinder different human uses. In the case of housing studies, the primary technical and/or physical object of study is the

fabric of 'the house' as a material entity, and Clapham concludes that

“Houses are not just passive tools of use or conveyors of meaning, but in their built form influence use (through their affordances) and influence meaning through their design and appearance. Focus on the two-way relationship between people and their houses is the key to understanding the nature of the dwelling experience”

(Clapham, 2009a:11)

(See also King, 2005, 2008 on 'dwelling'). With regard to the structure-agency debate, Clapham states that the criticism of social constructionism as lacking a connection with concepts of 'power' can either be simply accepted (by arguing that the approach emphasises human agency) or responded to by developing the approach to fill this 'gap' in its original formulation. He argues that this has been attempted in a variety of ways, stressing that while social constructionism is not generally compatible with approaches that emphasise the structural forces of change, it can be integrated with ideas of power as invested in human agency with different groups having the ability to wield it to different extents. He offers a range of examples representing different ways in which this has been attempted, including the integration of social constructionist analysis of the construction and use of discourses with a Foucauldian conception of power networks and relations (Foucault 1974), and applying a combination of structuration theory (Giddens, 1984) and the power approach of Clegg (1989) to explain the way in which dominant agendas become "set".

Although Clapham does not mention Bourdieu (1977) in the above-described consideration, the latter's understanding of social structure and individual practice in relation to the concept of *habitus*, and his related ideas about objectification and embodiment (ibid. pp. 72-95), and symbolic power (ibid. pp. 159-197) can clearly also have direct application in relation to amelioration of some of the limitations of social

constructionism as discussed.

In a further article, "*A theory of housing: problems and potential*" (2009b) Clapham also addressed the question of the incompatibility of the relativism of Social Constructionism with more common research approaches in the Housing field. In this he contended that while social constructionism is more naturally preoccupied with the construction of dominant discourses and the conceptions of reality they underpin, and the power structures that lead to particular versions of reality becoming dominant, adaptation of the approach towards at least limited compatibility with positivism might be possible. He suggested that it would be challenging, but nevertheless, theoretically, feasible, for a social constructionist researcher to agree a particular, time- and space-limited reification of "reality" with a researcher taking a positivist stance, and in taking this position of "limited positivism" or "fixed constructionism", forge a common conception of how actors would behave within this strictly and specifically limited context. Clapham thus argued that the social constructionist could in this way work in terms of the "social facts" of particular social institutions in relation to the agreed context.

Finally, Clapham discusses criticism arising from the popular perception of social constructionist research as producing a type of relativist critique of social policy that does not deliver the type of "answers" generally claimed by positivist work (which has led to the approach being charged with not contributing helpfully to the production and development of policy. In answer to this he refers to his earlier work, "*The Meaning of Housing*" (2005), in which he argued that he disagrees fundamentally with this criticism, and believes that social constructionist work could be useful in policy processes, in particular where policy interventions are at particular risk of failure due to incongruence between the perceptions and aims of policy-makers, policy implementers and those towards whom policies are targeted. Clapham's answer is a typically social constructionist deconstruction and reconstruction of the 'problem' underlying this

particular criticism of social constructionism, in that, as he conceives of it, the problem is not that social constructionism has no useful contribution to make in policy processes, but that the current general 'lack of fit' between relativist researchers and positivist policy-makers prevents this. He subsequently further discussed and developed this idea in a later article, "*Happiness, well-being and housing policy*" (2010).

In his most recently published paper at the point of beginning to 'write up' this thesis, '*The Embodied Use of the Material Home: an Affordance Approach*' (2011), Clapham returned to the question of embodiment, arguing that while houses have symbolic and discursive meaning at both a societal and individual level, these meanings are simultaneously 'embodied', in the sense that they involve feelings, emotions and actions; and thus, the meaning of a 'house' is shaped by *both* a range of discourses in which the idea of 'home' is embedded, *and* the use of and performance of social practices within the material building. Following this argument, he posits that the relationship between 'humans', 'houses' and 'homes' might be theorised and researched in an integrated way through a broadened framework for housing research that draws upon or is founded in, but is not limited to, the social constructionist approach.

e) Some theoretical parallels in research areas related to Housing

My PhD work is primarily grounded in (sociological) Housing Studies, and I have thus primarily focused on literature from within this field. However, in exploring this I also identified and considered a range of further material from closely related and complementary academic areas. I found that during broadly the same period, authors working in these other fields and disciplines had concurrently called for, and produced, a shift away from the dominant empiricist/positivist paradigm towards interpretivist

approaches. In addition to more general theoretical work, some of which has already been mentioned (e.g. Bourdieu, 1977, 1991; Elias, 1994, 1996; Foucault, 1970, 1972, 1980, 1995; and Bauman, 1989, 1992), from the early 1980s onwards, authors taking social and cultural geographical perspectives inspired by a 'communicative' and/or 'argumentative' turn (Fischer and Forester, 1993; Healey, 1996), within fields such as Planning and Architecture, began to produce critiques of the positivist, structuralist approaches common within them, and to increasingly stress the central role of representational practices in human geography (e.g. Thrift, 1983, 1996; Goss, 1988; also, Harley, 1989; Olsson, 1991, discussed in Atkinson et al, 2005). In his article *The Built Environment and Social Theory*, Goss (1988) argued that

“geography has generally failed to come to terms with the complexity of architectural form and meaning” (ibid., pp. 392).

In broad parallel to Kemeny's theoretical challenge in *Housing and Social Theory*, Goss and others called for the development of a theoretical basis for the study of the socio-spatial significance of architecture, describing buildings as, simultaneously and interrelatedly, 'artefacts', 'objects of value', 'signs' and 'spatial systems'; and the built environment as 'the locus of important contemporary social processes and popular concerns'. Goss discussed various perspectives for such study of the built environment, considering the influence of, for example, state ideology, and economic processes, upon architecture. He also similarly suggested that the adoption of a Foucauldian perspective on interior/exterior (control/power) relations would be fruitful with regard to new work within the field. Although not arguing explicitly for a 'social constructionist' approach, Goss (1988) proposed that as a way forward for research in the field, an 'interpretative' approach should actively be used to 'challenge [...] and rewrite the meanings and functions of architectural-spatial configurations', and thus, as did Kemeny (1992), suggested recognition, and a focus upon exploration, of a range of

lay or other alternative perspectives alongside or instead of those considered more traditionally.

Following such critiques, as in sociological work in Housing research, primarily geography-oriented authors in fields such as Architecture, Planning and Urban Studies took up such challenges, initially taking a similarly 'linguistic turn' in focusing primarily upon 'meaning' and 'discourse'. For example, influenced by Goss (1988), Lefebvre (1991) and others, Llewellyn (2003) argued for a 'polyvocal' methodological approach to the study of architectural spaces, arguing specifically that not only architects and planners, but also *residents* of architectural space should be recognised as 'actors' equally worthy of study, and that in combination, these different 'voices' can be integrated to build a previously unobtainable, richer 'image' of the built environment. Llewellyn posited that an interpretative methodology is best suited to exposing the 'plurality' of the complex, and often contradictory, meanings bound up in the built environment, and also the 'productive capacity' of [the practices of] 'everyday life' (see Hoggart, 1957, 1969). However, under the influence of what had been termed an 'emotional turn' (Anderson and Smith, 2001; Pile, 2010), work in human geography has more recently additionally concerned itself with the relationship of bodily senses and emotions to places. Thrift (1996, 1997, 2004) appears to have been among the first to take this further in arguing explicitly for a 'non-representational' geography that does not just focus on texts or other symbolic forms of meaning, but examines affect, therefore encapsulating "our self-evidently more-than-human, more-than-textual, multi-sensual worlds" (Lorimer, 2005:83, cited in Clapham, 2011:363). A new focus has thus gradually developed in housing-related areas of geography, as in sociology, on the performance of everyday activities and social practices that enact identities (Butler, 1993a, 1993b), or "mundane everyday practices, that shape the conduct of human beings towards others and themselves in particular sites" (Thrift, 1997:126-7, in Clapham 2011:363). However, Lorimer (2005) has emphasised that a research focus

on performance should be *additional to*, rather than *instead of* representational analysis, thus arguing for research approaches that are '*more than* representational' (rather than '*non-representational*'); or, in other words (returning to Housing Studies):

“embodied social practices need to be socially located in levels of discourse and meaning [...].”

(Clapham, 2011:364).

The developing emphasis in primarily geographical work on '*more than representational*' research in the study of the built environment thus complements the '*beyond social constructionism*' research approach currently emerging within primarily sociological Housing Studies.

2.2.2 Social Theory and the Study of Travellers

a) Background

Similarly to Housing Studies and other fields already discussed, early and traditional academic research on Travelling people, beginning with 'Gypsyology' and 'Gypsy Lore' work primarily from anthropological, linguistic and historical-genealogical perspectives, was superficially atheoretical, but implicitly entirely positivist. This state of affairs continued undisturbed in any significant way until the 1970s, when some promising, more explicitly theoretical work from both realist (e.g. Kenrick and Puxon, 1972; Acton, 1974) and interpretivist (e.g. Sibley, 1981; Okley, 1979, 1983) perspectives then began to appear, producing critiques of the positivist assumptions made and conclusions drawn in earlier work. However, as also in the case of Housing Studies and a range of other fields, the 1980s academic 'contract culture', appears to have led to the prioritization and publication of a range of government-funded/agenda-led and closely related work (e.g. Acton and Kenrick's contribution to Liégeois, 1987; Hyman, 1989). This appears to have similarly affected the extent to which it was possible for the earlier

more independent and theoretically rigorous material to be further developed.

b) A 'clash' of two 'realisms'- epistemology in 'Gypsy Studies' and Romani Studies

As discussed in my introductory chapter, from the 1970s two broad, primarily UK-focused, academic 'schools', considering 'travelling people' from two quite different perspectives, the 'socio-economic' and the 'ethnic', began to develop. From the 1990s, academically independent, and geographically speaking more broadly-focused and contextualized, work on 'Gypsies', (e.g. Willems, 1997; Lucassen, Willems and Cottaar, 1998; Willems and Lucassen, 2000) and 'Romani people' (Acton, 1997; Acton and Mundy, 1997) now began to appear more steadily. Whilst in the revived dispute between these two perspectives (which dated from the early 1980s: see Okley, 1983, and Acton, 1983 (review of Okley's 1983 book)) a clearly (but not explicitly or rigorously) realist 'Romani Studies' accused key authors in 'Gypsy Studies' who had produced a critique of their approach and conclusions, of being 'social constructionists' (Acton, 1998), dismissing their work on this basis. Matras (2004), in producing the debate as a clash of two definitions linked to the 'double signifier' status of the word 'Gypsy' produced both sides as 'constructionist'- on the Romani Studies side as 'neo-constructionist' and the Gypsy Studies side as 'deconstructionist'. However, upon analysis of the texts through which the debate took place (continuing well into the 2000s, for example see Willems and Lucassen, 2000; Lucassen & Willems, 2003; Acton, 2004; Matras, 2004; Marsh, 2008a; Le Bas and Acton, (eds.) 2010) it appeared to me that both 'sides' were implicitly realist. For example, Wim Willems (1997), has been described by Thomas Acton, by far the most prominent UK Romani Studies author (and at the time of the first citation, the newly appointed first Professor of Romani Studies in the world) as

“[...] the leader of the Dutch school of social constructionist Gypsy history [...]”

(Acton, 1998:2).

“[...]a[radical social constructionist critic[...]]”

(le Bas and Acton, 2010:3)

However, Willems' (1997) book, to which Acton refers in this assessment, discusses the 'social construction of the 'Gypsy' ' in the 'ethnographic' work of others in critical terms, and is replete with underlying realism, for example:

“[...]the notion of Gypsy identity as a primordial and incontestable given *obscures* both the historical and ethnic variety ***lurking behind*** the monolithic concept [...]”

(Willems, 1997:4; emphasis added)

“The history of the persecution of [persons and groups labelled 'Gypsy'...] is already in itself sufficient ***to establish the reality of their existence beyond denial.***”

(Willems, 1997:7; emphasis added)

“By making creative use of historical sources that have remained unexplored until now, and by choosing a socio-economic perspective to analyse the history of these groups, perhaps we will succeed in ***discovering creatures of flesh and blood behind the social construction*** of a separate Gypsy people. For we should not content ourselves simply with an attempt to ***tear off the mask of*** identity that has been imposed on Gypsies [...]”

(Willems, 1997:309; emphasis added)

As shown in the last of the above citations, Willems argued explicitly not for a 'social constructionist', but a(n implicitly realist, deconstructivist) 'socio-economic' approach.

I was able to identify clear evidence on both sides of the debate of eminently problematisable, but nevertheless unquestioned 'bottom-line' concepts, and a common preoccupation with 'truth', 'accuracy', 'reality', etc. After further review I thus concluded that, whilst equally involving elements of construction, both of the perspectives concerned are fundamentally realist. Further to the discussion in section 1³¹ of this chapter, for the sake of clarity I would thus (as does Marsh, 2008a:19) alter Matras' assessment, in re-labelling the two approaches concerned as *equally realist* 'neo-constructivism' and 'deconstructivism' in the context of the earlier positivist work upon which both focused critically during this period, as well as in their approach to each other's work.

Although there have been several internally significant developments within Romani Studies, for example the growing focus upon 'anti-gypsyism' as a discrete area of study (Heuss, 2000; Kenrick, 2004) and the post-modern, historical revisionist 'turn' (Willems, 1997; Gheorghe, 1997; Hancock, 2002; Marsh and Strand, 2006; Marsh, 2008a; Tremlett, 2009; Acton, 2010; le Bas and Acton, 2010) produced partly as an effect of the growing number of self-identified ethnic Romani/Gypsy people joining the academic ranks (le Bas and Acton, 2010:3-4), the epistemological landscape of such work has been largely unchanged, in that it remains predominantly positivist and realist.

c) Epistemology in '(Irish) Traveller Studies', 'Gypsy and Traveller Studies', and research on Travellers produced from mainstream perspectives

The more recently developing bodies of work discussed in the introduction to this thesis, of 'Traveller Studies' and 'Gypsy and Traveller Studies', contain a broad and generally unintegrated mixture of generally superficially atheoretical work, taking a range of mostly implicit positivist and critically (but as with Gypsy Studies and Romani Studies, not explicitly or rigorously Critical) realist perspectives. Whilst there are more

³¹ See pp. 72-73

explicitly theoretical exceptions (e.g. Belton, 2005; O'Donnell, 2007) these are also generally realist, and again whilst 'construction' and 'social construction' are discussed this is from implicitly realist or positivist perspectives that assume particular 'bottom line concepts' without discussion or question and are similarly preoccupied with concepts such as 'accuracy', 'distortion', 'truth' and 'reality'.

d) The social constructionist perspective in academic work on Travellers

Whilst some authors claimed, or appeared to partially lean towards, 'social constructionist', 'interpretivist' or 'postmodern' research approaches, I found that these all to some degree or at some point were, or veered towards, realism, and were thus rather, by the definition accepted for this thesis, 'constructivist' (ie. concerned with the way in which 'real' entities are distorted or misrepresented by flawed constructions and the discovery or development of more 'accurate' constructions) rather than concerned primarily with the production and maintenance of discourse through social interaction. The only explicit and developed example of a social constructionist research approach, in the sense defined in section 1 of this chapter, that I was able to find in the travelling-people related literature, was in the work of Mayall (2004). Taking a historical/historiographical approach, Mayall described and discussed in great detail the many ways in which 'Gypsy' identity has been constructed over a 500 year period from 1500 to 2000. However, he does not attempt to ascertain which construction is the most 'accurate' and does not reject any representation, concluding, in true constructionist style, that

"Identity is [...] complex and multi-faceted, and groups as well as individuals can have multiple identities. [...]he British state continues to operate with a definition of Gypsies as both nomads and an ethnic group, [...]for] reasons based in the origins and history of each of the main representations of the group. It is difficult to see how the problem can be finally overcome as [...] the alternative images are embedded in the politics and culture of British society. It

seems then that the question ‘Who are the Gypsies?’ will continue to be asked and contested for some time to come.”

(Mayall, 2004:278)

Whilst a sound example of one possible social constructionist approach and application, Mayall’s work was limited to a historical/historiographical approach focused largely on analysis of previous academic (historical, linguistic etc.) work, rather than exploring the “everyday” world (again, see Berger and Luckmann, 1966) sociologically.

2.3 Chapter 2 Conclusion: Towards ‘dance *and* clash’: a *social constructionist* critique of Traveller-related social constructionist work and confirmation of epistemological starting-point

Within the range of ‘traveller-related’ work, rigorously reflexive sociological perspectives in general, and interpretivist/relativist epistemologies, including *social constructionism*, in particular, appear to have been poorly understood and/or under-utilised. The approach has generally been confused with positivist/realist *de- and re-constructivist* challenges to alternative, but equally positivist/realist-produced ‘facts’ and ‘realities’.

By contrast with the ongoing arguments between ‘Gypsy Studies’ and ‘Romani Studies’ realists, I was unable to locate in this literature any developed and/or sustained inter-interpretivist dialogue, self-critique, or broader application of explicitly social constructionist approaches to current and/or lay domains.

It appears that the opportunity for positive, rigorous and explicit epistemologically-grounded sociological work and debate in direct relation to *Travellers or Travelling people* within a UK context (whether produced as ‘Gypsy’, ‘Romany’, ‘Irish’ ‘New’ ‘Showman’ or otherwise), thus far remains unorganised and severely limited. With the theoretical developments that have been taking place within Housing Studies over the past few years, ‘weak’ social constructionism as an epistemological starting-point now

represents somewhat of an epistemological 'treading of water' in that academic domain, but a barely explored but nevertheless comprehensible 'next stage', in Gypsy, Romani, Traveller, and Gypsy and Traveller Studies. Taking a conceptual 'starting point' representative of currently popular realist discourse within both Housing Studies (sociological and otherwise) and traveller-related academic work, I aimed to produce a piece of exploratory, descriptive work focused on constructing a better understanding of present/recent, 'everyday' social phenomena, by contrast to the mostly realist, critical constructivist approaches aimed primarily at the past, at other academic work, or explicitly focused on the behaviour of the hegemonic majority as discriminatory, that have been dominant in academic work on Travellers to date. The present work has the aim not of seeking 'truth' or 'reality' but simply of exploring different perspectives, the interaction between them, and how they might be combined in an exploratory, new theory-building process with both internally and externally integrative potential. I thus aimed to expect and welcome both 'dance' and 'clash' of perspectives within my work.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW II. Methodology: Constructionist Discourse Analysis

In reading for the initial, personal research papers that eventually formed the basis of this chapter, I came across a confusing host of overlapping, competing and contradictory definitions, descriptions, and diverse understandings of 'discourse', and forms of 'Discourse Analysis' (hereafter 'DA'), that exist across and within a wide range of social topics. For context, I will thus begin this chapter by attempting a brief overview of these, and will then focus more specifically upon an outline and discussion of the forms of DA I have used in this research. Very broadly, these are two types of analysis associated with Social Constructionist, poststructuralist and postmodernist social theory, based in particular on the work of Potter, 1996, and Carabine, 2001. Although a slightly unusual approach, I attempted to incorporate both of these, in order to consider the notion of discourse *as it relates to the Local Authority Traveller Site* in as wide-ranging a way as possible; from the 'mechanics' of its production, to the 'messages' of its constructions.

3.1 What is 'Discourse'?

The term 'discourse' is now used so frequently across such a wide variety of disciplines and domains that it is often left undefined, suggesting an assumption that its sense is common knowledge (Mills, 1997). However, it has a vast range of possible meanings, with general and theoretical senses of the word often intertwined. Like other terms, discourse is often defined in relation to what it is *not*, and this can vary depending on the discipline. Within linguistics, 'discourse' has sometimes been defined as 'spoken language', and contrasted with 'text', which is used to denote written language. However this distinction easily breaks down, not least because spoken language is in almost all cases transcribed during analysis. Both 'discourse' and 'text' can also be

used in linguistics in a much broader sense, and interchangeably, to include all communicative language, whether spoken or written (Crystal, 1987). Other theorists have contrasted 'discourse' with 'the language system'; with 'history' or 'story'; or with 'ideology', giving the term meanings, particularly in sociology, social psychology and cultural and literary criticism, beyond the definitions around 'language-in-use' found in linguistics. In general, these broader meanings can be summarized in the following statement:

"[Discourse is]...a term that denote[s] the way in which a particular set of linguistic categories relating to an object, and the ways of depicting it, frame the way we comprehend that object. The discourse forms a version of it. Moreover, the version of an object comes to constitute it...in this way, a discourse is much more than language as such: it is constitutive of the social world that is a focus of interest or concern."

(Bryman, 2004:370)

Parker's definition is neat and concise and goes some way to summing this up: in his view, discourse is:

"A system of statements that constructs an object".

(Parker, 1989:61, cited in Wooffitt, 2005:146)

To complicate matters, different usages of the term can be found alongside each other. The social theorist Michel Foucault (1969), highly influential in the development and widening of the meaning of 'discourse', openly admitted to inconsistent usage of the term in his work. Depending on the purpose for which it was to be employed, he stated that he:

“...sometimes [used the term ‘discourse’] as the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements.”

Foucault, 1969 (1972:80)

Since ‘discourse’ continues to resist being confined to one meaning, it is important to ascertain its definition and scope in any particular context.

3.2 What is ‘Discourse Analysis’?

The term ‘discourse analysis’ has been defined as:

“[...] detailed analysis of language-in-use, whether [...] speech or text.”

(Hammersley, 2002:2)

Based on just the brief outline of definitions of ‘discourse’ in this chapter, the above definition is clearly narrow. However, within Hammersley’s definition alone, a variety of different approaches are available, and the meaning of DA (and its application) can nevertheless vary considerably. For example, the orthodox version of **Conversation Analysis** (hereafter ‘CA’), involves a close focus on ‘micro’ aspects of interactional order, strictly within ‘naturally occurring’ examples of spoken language, such as occurs in the ‘mundane talk’ of telephone or face-to-face encounters; whereas **‘Foucauldian’ Discourse Analysis** (hereafter FDA) takes a broad-brush historical approach to the study of discursively constructed social phenomena such as mental illness or sexuality. Others, such as **Critical Discourse Analysis** (hereafter CDA), explicitly link discursive construction to wider socio-political processes with the overt aim of combating exploitative or oppressive practices, and thus focus on ideological concepts such as

capitalism or patriarchy.

Across these and other types of DA, Hammersley (2002) identifies the following five dimensions within which variation is possible:

3.2.1 Focus

Hammersley (2002) distinguishes between two primary foci: that of analysis which places a firm divide between language and society, and restricts itself to conclusions about language and discourse alone (found frequently within systemic linguistics), and that of the broader form of analysis favoured within social psychology and sociology. The latter, in accepting that discourse and social action are interconnected, rejects divisions between them, using discourse analysis to examine social phenomena, processes or structures. In addition, Hammersley also draws attention to further differences in this respect: Research can be directed towards any level or aspect of discourse, within or beyond linguistics: from words and sentences, interactional 'turns' and paragraphs, to whole conversations or written texts, and on still to Foucauldian discursive 'domains' and 'practices'.

3.2.2 Aim

Here again, Hammersley (2002) divides different versions of the approach into two main groups: analyses that aim simply to produce knowledge, and those that have additional practical or political purposes, best illustrated by the sharp contrast between Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which posits that serving political purposes is unavoidable, and Conversation Analysis (CA), which traditionally adopted a strict value-neutral approach. Hammersley also indicates that discourse analytic approaches are employed regularly to further one or both of two additional focus-related aims; that of examining how specific texts are related to particular social contexts; or that of

developing theoretical understanding of various general types of discursive mechanisms.

3.2.3 What can be inferred/significance of context

The question of what can legitimately be inferred from texts is closely related to the significance (or otherwise) of context. Conversation analysts generally argue that context is constituted in and through the 'talk' itself, and thus contextual inferences should be limited strictly to what is directly observable in the discourse of the participants themselves. CDA again offers the best illustrative contrast, since it contends that discourse is produced in and by context, and discursive interaction cannot be adequately understood outside its contextual (ideological) background, generally identified by the analyst (Fairclough, 1992, 1995, 1999 (with Chouliaraki), 2005). Most examples of discourse analysis fall somewhere between these two extreme positions.

3.2.4 Techniques used

Discourse analysis employs a wide range of techniques, and although there are traditional 'norms' in this regard, these are frequently transcended. Within some approaches, it appears that research techniques are often combined. For example, although its focus can be on an individual word, CA's method of analysis is not linguistic, since it is concerned with language use in context, whilst even where the focus is above the level of the sentence, linguistic analysis can be employed. DA researchers have experimented with modifying techniques used traditionally in other strands of the approach to further quite different aims.

3.2.5 Type of knowledge claim made

This refers to the varied ontological and epistemological assumptions found across DA, which have important implications for the research focus and methodology, to be discussed next.

3.3 Discourse Analysis and Social Constructionism

Another way to understand the extensive mass of work that is gathered under the broad DA heading is by attention to underlying epistemological assumptions. Although overlaying this dimension of research does not unrecognisably reformulate the boundaries within the DA research 'terrain' as described thus far, it does produce further complexity. As with CA, constructionist forms of DA focus primarily upon the pragmatics of language use rather than linguistics. However, they differ sharply from orthodox CA in other respects, and are found mainly under the broad umbrella of FDA, which they share in turn with much other work that is not constructionist in nature. Before further epistemology-oriented discussion, I would thus first like to return to a slightly fuller consideration of FDA, which was described very briefly along with other traditions of DA earlier in this chapter.

3.3.1 Foucauldian Discourse Analysis

Wooffitt (2005:146) argues that whereas other approaches can be described broadly as '*discourse analysis*', FDA is more properly described as 'the analysis of *discourses*'. In this view, whilst other forms of DA are preoccupied with *how people use discursive resources* in order to achieve interpersonal objectives in social interaction, those that come under the heading of FDA focus rather on

“[...] what kind of objects and subjects are constituted through discourse, and what kinds of ways-of-being these objects and subjects make available to people.”

(Willig, 2001:91)

Although the type of DA now under discussion is often identified as ‘Foucauldian’ (Willig, 2001) this is another loose, and to some extent, misleading, term. This strand of DA has been influenced and shaped not by a single author, but a variety of theoretical sources, and is often, as with other forms, called simply ‘Discourse Analysis’, especially perhaps when those using it may identify more strongly with influences other than Foucault. Wooffitt (2005) discusses some key influences and overarching themes:

Foucault- whose historical analyses attempted to identify the regulative or ideological underpinnings of dominant discourses, or vocabularies which constrain the way we think about and act in the world;

Derrida- who argued that dominant ways of categorizing the world inevitably rely on suppressed or hidden oppositional conceptions, and urged the *deconstruction* of texts to reveal the latent oppositional alternatives on which dominant perspectives depend;

A critical historical perspective on the implications for their practices of the political and ideological contexts of academic and professional disciplines. In particular, two influences were key to this: the concept of **ideology**, which opened up new ways to understand social and political life, and the emergence of **social constructionism**, which argued for the social basis of all knowledge claims. Beginning in sociology and philosophy in the mid-twentieth century, and fuelled by post-structuralism and postmodernism, early FDA-style approaches to research were quickly embraced within other disciplines, particularly psychology. The various versions of FDA seem to have

developed primarily from the desire to systematically question positivistic and empiricist academic hegemonies. However a parallel interest in the practical work influenced by such hegemonies, e.g. in clinical psychology or medicine, contributed to an additional wish to respond to social and political inequalities. Thus:

A link between discourse and wider social structure is also commonly recognized within FDA, although perspectives and interpretations on this theme can vary radically. Consequently, when FDA researchers orient their research politically, they generally do so in an academic critique- rather than the more direct socio-politically-focused manner common to CDA. However, included within the FDA bracket are some Marxist approaches (e.g. Parker 1990, 1992, 1999), which represent a degree of overlap between FDA and CDA.

It is no surprise that work within such a broad and loose category is varied, not simply in content, focus and method, but also across a broad range of social theoretical approaches. FDA has been populated by researchers not only from a range of disciplines and fields, but also working from a variety of epistemological backgrounds. This causes considerable conflict and debate as to the purpose and scope of 'Foucauldian' discourse analytic work.

Carabine (2001) proposes two ways in which academic work can be 'Foucauldian'- firstly in the traditional sense of historical research patterned after Foucault's own genealogical studies, but also in the sense of 'snapshot'-type work following similar analytical principles, that can either stand alone or form part of a larger genealogical study. These two alternatives may arguably be understood as the same project in macro, and conversely micro, focus; the latter, having both the possibility of being whole in itself, and also the potential to be or become a component part of the former.

3.3.2 Influences in the development of constructionist approaches to Discourse Analysis

According to Potter (1996) and Wooffitt (2005), constructionist approaches to DA count, among their influences, ethnomethodology; CA; semiology; and a range of philosophical and sociological ideas that have been labelled, variously, as 'constructionist', 'relativist', 'poststructuralist' or 'postmodernist'. There follows a brief discussion of some of the influences discussed in the literature reviewed.

a) Philosophical influences

An early influence on this type of DA, as on others, was the development within (Western) philosophy of an approach known as '**conceptual analysis**'. Certain analytic philosophers³² questioned the dominant belief that the function of language is simply to represent the world, eventually coming to reject this, and along with it the idea that such representation can be 'perfected' through logic. An alternative model was proposed, based on a set of 'language games' or 'conceptual grammars'. Notably, in his 1962 book, *How to Do Things with Words*, Austin argued that language is never used simply to describe the world, but to perform 'social acts', and that even the most superficially simple descriptive 'statements' did not just represent objects or phenomena in the world, but also performed the *act* of 'stating'. In this way Austin moved discussion away from notions of the statement (description, report etc.):

“...Hanging in...conceptual space where it can be compared to some aspect of the world, and [on to] the idea of statements as actions performed in settings with particular outcomes.”

(Potter, 1996:11)

³² e.g. Wittgenstein, 1953; Austin, 1962

Although this idea was taken no further in his work, Austin's ideas have subsequently been developed away from his fictional, idealized examples of language, and in the analysis of various naturally-occurring texts research has demonstrated many ways in which statements can be performative beyond the simple 'act of stating'.

b) The Sociology of Science and of Scientific Knowledge

As perspectives in philosophy changed, confidence in science as the supreme model of rational understanding was concurrently being undermined, and a continuing '**reflexive turn**' in the sociology of knowledge and the sociology of science came to have considerable influence in changing perspectives on both natural and social science and over the development of DA. In particular, the work of Popper (2005 (1935)), Kuhn (1996 (1962)), and Berger and Luckmann (1966), were seminal, and the 'sociology of scientific knowledge' developed from these and other influences. Collins (1983) advocated a form of 'methodological relativism' as crucial: i.e., that scientists' claims about what is 'true' and 'false' should not be taken as the starting point in sociological research (as had been the case with Merton's (1973) work in traditional sociology of science), but as the topic of research in and of themselves, with the focus on how such claims are made and maintained rather than on their truth or error. Science came to be viewed by some not as an objective means of accessing 'truth', but as a discursive activity, as the idea of discourse *constructing* the world through social interaction (rather than *representing* it) gained currency and extended to science itself. Notably, Gilbert and Mulkay (1984) developed this further, arguing that belief and action take place within templates that guide or influence, and that distinct differences in the way scientists presented their work in different contexts could be explained with the concept of 'interpretative repertoires'. Formal or defensive accounts of activity were made by reference to an 'empiricist repertoire' e.g. to give the impression that the findings are a natural consequence of following 'proper' procedure; and less formal or

critical accounts a 'contingent repertoire', e.g. to suggest that rival work has been influenced by social, political or psychological factors and thus is biased and/or subject to error.

c) Ethnomethodology and CA

Ethnomethodology, or the study of the way people conduct social life, developed preoccupations early on that have been of great interest to discourse analysts. Sacks (1963) argued that self-characterisations are central to social life and that the descriptive activities underlying them should be an important topic of study. Garfinkel (1967) developed similar themes in his work, in studying the methods that people use to produce descriptions of the social world that seem rational, appropriate and justifiable.

Potter (1996) identified four key ethnomethodological concepts that have been influential:

- **Indexicality:** the notion that the meaning of a word or utterance depends upon its context of use.
- **Reflexivity:** the notion that descriptions are not just *about* or *representing* some facet of the world, but are also *doing* something- i.e. *involved* in the world in some way.
- **The Documentary Method of Interpretation** (Garfinkel, 1967): the notion that people come to understand events and actions in terms of background expectancies, models and ideas, but that these are then modified by the understanding that is gained, and so on.
- **Mundane Reason and Reality Disjunctures** (Pollner, 1987): A theory that highlights the reasoning and method behind shared versions of reality, and the

ways in which fundamental conflicts over basic facts are resolved in order to sustain the notion of an 'agreed-upon' world to which all participants have equal access. CA, which grew in part from the ethnomethodological tradition, has made such phenomena as Pollner's 'reality junctures' its key focus, and in so doing attempts to provide a theoretical understanding of abstract types of discursive strategy (for example, question/answer sequences, turn-taking, intonation).

(Adapted from Potter, 1996:43-57)

Where CA is influenced by the previous work in ethnomethodology that emphasises what is 'there', e.g. in avoiding the contextualization of events in terms of the age, race, social class etc. of the participants, other forms of DA are more influenced by previous work that was strongly preoccupied with 'absence'.

d) Semiology

The linguistic tradition of Semiology, or semiotics, has its roots in de Saussure's (1974) 'general science of signs'³³. De Saussure theorised that rather than words simply standing for things in the world, their meaning is derived both from contrasts and contextual juxtapositions with other words. These relationships make up a system of differences underlying the meaning of any one word. De Saussure developed a multi-lingual argument that the set of concepts used by a culture or language to describe the world is not derived from the world itself, arguing that each language and culture has its own distinctive range of word relationships, and therefore its own individual conceptual world. He thus implied that the *whole* sense of any individual descriptive utterance can be understood only through a consideration of the rest of the system: that which is *absent* being crucially significant to the understanding of that which is *present*.

³³ De Saussure's work was begun in the early twentieth century, but published in book form only in 1974

De Saussure's ideas were further developed by Barthes (1972, 1977), who argued that, as processes of sign production are perpetuated, existing signs, and clusters of signs, combine to form complex cultural associations and concepts, which he termed 'myths'. Through this work, Barthes opened up the domain of everyday, common cultural objects and symbols- the 'doxa'³⁴ - for academic investigation.

Semiological work tends to take a 'cognitivist' rather than 'practical interaction' approach to language, and due to this there is a tension between theory and analytical procedure. De Saussure was preoccupied with underlying structures, and had little interest in the development of signs over time. Due to this, his theory was abandoned as ahistorical and idealist by poststructuralist thinkers, who were concerned with actual language practice and Marxist assessments of the world. However, in questioning the 'word-and-object' account of descriptions, and emphasizing the importance of oppositions and relationships to meaning, this work was pioneering, and important to constructionist DA in a similar way to that of Austin (1962). (Discussion adapted from Potter, 1996:69-73).

e) Post-structuralism and postmodernism

Both of these terms are highly contested and contentious, with numerous and again often conflicting definitions and meanings. Where, as has been shown in the discussion of de Saussure and Barthes, post-structuralism emerged as a development (but not necessarily a rejection) of earlier structuralist ideas, it was Jean-François Lyotard who first formally coined the phrase 'postmodern', to describe the status of knowledge in post-industrial 'highly developed societies' (Lyotard, 1979:xxiii; cited in Harrington, 2005:260). Lyotard approached the concept from a Marxist perspective, and his key

³⁴ Barthes' uses this word in a somewhat different way to Bourdieu (1977); in the former's literary terms, this denotes "[...] Public Opinion, the mind of the majority, petit bourgeois Consensus [...]" (Barthes, 1977:47) and is explicitly contrasted with what he terms the 'paradoxa'- the 'contrary' to the 'doxa', or the 'novation' (ibid. pp. 68.).

initial focus was on tracing the disintegration of 'grand narratives' about human activity, and the rise of legitimation through performativity in their place. However other theorists associated with postmodernism have taken a different stance, e.g. Baudrillard (1973, discussed in Harrington, 2005) who abandoned Marxism for a semiology- and cultural anthropology-influenced approach in his work on consumer culture. Since its birth, the term has been used across a plethora of disciplines in diverse ways. Some authors who are commonly associated with postmodernism have resisted this, and suggested alternative conceptions of the phenomenon, such as 'anti-modernity' or 'late modernity'. The preoccupations of postmodernist thought can be seen as having driven in large part the growth of concern over reflexivity, by raising awareness of the ongoing production and consumption of different versions of the world.

3.3.3 Some key ideas and concepts in constructionist Discourse Analysis

Although it is difficult to adequately describe the areas of thought outlined above, and, in a few short paragraphs (if at all), impossible to definitively cover the way in which they have influenced DA, Harrington (2005) offers a useful summary of some of the key ideas that have emerged from these traditions, while Potter (1996, 2004) has discussed his own formulation of the same in the light of their relevance to his focus on discourse and fact construction. The following is a partial exploration of ideas commonly associated with post-structuralism and postmodernism based on these two treatments of the subject, and, with the inclusion of some practical examples, an attempt to show how they can appear in DA work.

a) The production of realism in texts

Barthes, although initially working within the bounds of semiology, departed from the constraints of seeking an underlying system or structure in his later work, his focus moving more in the direction of discourse. In his book *S/Z* (1970), he analysed the

process of producing realism in literature. Barthes showed that a 'realistic' literary scene is not produced through simple 'word-object' denotation processes, but by symbolism and signification through the same cultural codes used by the reader to make sense of their everyday world. This point was illustrated in his analysis of a short story, considered to be a classic realist text, by the French author Balzac (1931). Barthes argued that the significance of 'the clock on the Elysée Bourbon' as part of the description in the opening scene was not found in the word-object sense of a timepiece, but rather as a famous French landmark, situated in a specific area of Paris, in turn associated with a certain way of life and social class, and that only by reference to all this does the clock contribute to the story's 'realism'. In this way Barthes dismissed as illusory the commonly held view that convincing realism in literature was the effect of simple description, arguing instead that to be convincing, literary work must draw covertly upon a variety of complex cultural codes.

Where Barthes stopped at the analysis of fictional literary texts, conversation analysts such as Drew (1978; 1995) have expanded the application of his ideas. For example, by using them in the analysis of texts such as police log books and court proceedings in Northern Ireland, Drew illustrated how the name of a particular street in Belfast has meaning for the participants far beyond its straightforward material object, its significance stretching through geographical location to religious and political relationships (adapted from discussion in Potter, 1996:73-77)

b) Intertextuality

The idea of 'cultural codes' led to the notion of intertextuality, which although referred to by Barthes, has been further developed in the work of authors such as Kristeva (1980) and Bakhtin (1981) (both in Potter, 1996). Its emergence can be seen as a consequence of the post-structuralist move away from cognitivist 'underlying systems'

to focus on the realization of language in texts and discourse. Intertextuality can be understood as a set of often concealed relationships of 'quotation' between different domains, discourses and genres (Potter, 1996:78). Initially following Barthes, this was explored through literature, where each text, at least in part, was seen to 'quote', i.e. reference in some way, past texts.

Again, this notion has been expanded, and the concept of intertextuality is now associated with both post-structuralism and postmodernism, since it includes the idea of relations between different forms of representation, i.e. using a style common to one genre or domain to produce effects or meaning in another. For example, the use of a 'real-life documentary' style of production for sections, or all, of an openly fictional or fictionalized account in film is common³⁵.

In a discussion of our perceptions of different aspects of everyday reality, Potter (1996, 2004) argues that one way of viewing the postmodern condition is to see it as

“...A consequence of the massive expansion of intertextual relationships made possible by the pervasiveness of representational media in western lives.”

(Potter, 1996:95)

This pervasiveness promotes a continual process of transformation in our understanding of the world as we come into contact with myriad discourses related to similar themes (for example, our perceptions of 'health' or 'war' will be influenced by watching treatments in both news footage and Hollywood-produced films on these subjects as well as many other factors). Theory and commentary produced by the 'Birmingham School' of Cultural Studies (e.g. Hoggart, 1957, 1969; Hall, 1973, 1997) in

³⁵ e.g. Kubrick's *Dr Strangelove*, 1964; Myrick and Sánchez's *Blair Witch Project*, 1999; or Makhmalbaf's *Kandahar*, 2001

relation to this has been particularly influential, as has the work of Žižek (2008).

The notion of intertextuality and its intrinsic warning against the tendency to treat 'realism' as a straightforward phenomenon in texts, has been embraced and discussed in discourse analytic work such as that done by Shapiro (1989), Worton and Still (1990), and Krohn (1992), who through an ethnographic study of news reporting about the Vietnam war, found evidence suggesting that young soldiers commonly 'turned on' a particular and distinct style of behaviour whenever the news cameras appeared, based on their perceptions of what was required of them from watching war films (From discussion in Potter:1996:78-80).

c) The deconstruction of texts

In developing ideas about the way 'truth effects' are produced in argument, Jacques Derrida (1976, 1977, 1988) offered another important departure from the semiological emphasis on underlying systems and structures. He emphasised instead the importance of a wide range of discursive phenomena, such as metaphors, generalized assumptions and standard patterns of 'figuration', and focused his attention on the *deconstruction* of various texts to expose these. For example, in his critique of Austin (1962), he deconstructed Austin's arguments in support of his 'speech acts' theory, and in so doing, revealed and questioned an unarticulated hierarchy of privilege between real, sincere or literal speech acts, and what Austin had termed 'parasites' - for example, irony, poetry and quotation. Through this and further work, Derrida radically undermined the grand philosophical traditions and their notions of 'truth', and powerfully questioned the possibility of a 'definitive' reading of any text, in particular in his famous exchange with John Searle (1977), a student of Austin, in which he systematically deconstructed and questioned the meaning of a piece of Searle's own work (Derrida, 1988).

Many discourse analysts, in particular within the CA tradition, have followed Derrida in being extremely critical of the idea that language is, or remains, under the full and conscious control of the speaker or writer (e.g. Heritage, 1990, 1991) and of speech act theory (e.g. Levinson, 1983). An interesting study that echoes Derrida is by Bogen (1992) in which he deconstructs core concepts within CA, arguing for example that the primacy of 'mundane talk' is not part of a natural hierarchical system that has been uncovered by CA, but merely a theoretical and analytical supposition produced by it. (Adapted from longer discussion in Potter, 1996:80-85)

d) Discourse, knowledge and power

Foucault also treated discourses as fundamental, however in his now widely influential work this was with regard to the construction of social objects like 'illness', and categories of people such as 'the homosexual' or 'the criminal'. Foucault's work, like Derrida's, had the effect of radically destabilizing traditionally-held beliefs; in this case, regarding the individualized notion of the human subject. He had a direct interest in the nature of power, and in the relationship of 'power-knowledge' to what he calls 'the politics of truth', and through his work, aimed to problematise the ways in which aspects of life such as the social objects and categories described above are thought about and acted upon.

Some of the ideas developed by Foucault are reflected in Rose's (1989) historical study of British psychology in the twentieth century. Rose argues that as psychology has developed, successive 'regimes of truth', each constructing its own unique range of psychological 'objects', have emerged and become part of the fabric of people's lives. Thus, the invention of phenomena such as 'work satisfaction', parent-child attachment' and 'clinical depression' create:

“[...] new ways of saying plausible things about other human beings and ourselves...new ways for thinking about what might be done to them and to us.”

(Rose, 1989:4; cited in Potter, 1996:87)

Rose offers a striking account of how object and subject production processes influence and depend upon each other, and the way in which these processes are intrinsic to the way in which overarching psychological discourses are simultaneously maintained and transformed (Potter, 1996:87).

Although the themes discussed above, and the thinkers whose work has been highlighted here, are generally considered central to accounts of post-structuralism and/or postmodernism, countless further ideas and contributions also exist that have been, or have the potential to be, taken up and used in DA.

3.4 Constructionist Discourse Analysis and Criticism

Constructionist forms of DA have come into conflict with others, most prominently those which are based epistemologically on some form of realism- including CA, ethnomethodology, and those (such as CDA and some variations of FDA) that are committed to socio-political activism. Analysts working from Marxist or Critical Realist traditions have argued that if research work is not directed towards the critique of contemporary socio-political arrangements, it amounts to no more than:

“[...] traditional positivist methods masquerading as discourse analysis [...]”

(Burman and Parker, 1993:11 cited in Wooffitt, 2005:147)

Parker also states that we must be careful not to allow

“[...] an analytic sensitivity to discourse become just another thoughtless empirical technique.”

(Parker, 1992:123 cited in Wooffitt, 2005:147)

In relation to this, the relativism associated with constructionist DA research has been seen as corrosive to radical as much as conservative values, rendering it useless or even potentially damaging to political aims. In the context of feminism, for example, Alcoff (1995) argued that taking a constructionist approach to the analysis of discourse appears to undermine the fundamental concept of ‘woman’ on which the Feminist political project is based.

Another objection related to those outlined above involves the notion that constructionism implies that the world can be changed simply by attention to and the manipulation of language, a possibility strongly rejected by constructionism’s critics, and in particular by realist researchers motivated by political radicalism. However, many constructionist discourse analysts have responded that this understanding of their work is a misreading (or even, in keeping with their perspective, simply an alternative reading), largely borne of confusion between the ontological and epistemological concerns of constructionism (discussed at length in Chapter 2). From a constructionist DA perspective, the classic response is to ‘deconstruct’ such criticism (Edwards, et al., 1995:29, 37). Some themes can be drawn out from the criticism discussed above: ‘insignificance’, ‘thoughtlessness’, ‘uselessness’ and ‘dangerousness’, to name just four. These charges can be perceived as simply indicative of unarticulated presuppositions, e.g. that a radical or politically critical agenda is essential if research is to be thoughtful or of any significance. Constructionist analysts such as Potter (1996) thus counter that in their view, while they recognize the contribution of politically-oriented work, the absence of such an agenda does not automatically invalidate or weaken such research. Potter is happy to acknowledge and

defend the validity of constructionist forms of DA being used for purely academic or 'uncritical' ends. However, he argues that the approach is not confined in its utility to this and can also be used successfully for political or practical purposes. He identifies three types of criticism that can be provided by constructionist DA:

- *ad hoc* practical;
- **Critical** (capitalized);
- reflexive.

'Ad hoc' practical criticism denotes the kind of usefulness in findings that would 'help' a viewer watching a television documentary, or a tenant involved in a negotiation over rent, by contributing to their ability to decipher, and question, everyday factual accounts. Two dangers are identified: firstly that such work could appear patronizing; and secondly (a far more serious concern for me in view of my chosen research topic), that it could result in 'mis-empowerment', which he defines as

'...The risk that tools of fact construction and destruction that might be used in a creative or critical manner can end up shoring up particular *status quos*, or being neatly slotted into the rhetorical armoury of the already powerful.'

(Potter, 1996:231)

Atkinson's (1984) CA study of the rhetorical construction of successful political oratory provides an illustration of this; although produced in the hope of empowering ordinary people to be more critical of political rhetoric, it can be argued that in the subsequent years, the work may have resulted rather in better educated, and thus more rhetorically skilful, politicians.

'Criticism with a capital C' is the type commonly associated with CDA, where deconstruction techniques work hand in hand with theoretical and historical analyses

towards the aim of 'demystifying' established or dominant accounts of various aspects of and relationships in the social world. Authors committed to this approach and aim include Fairclough (1992, 1995, 2005, and with Chouliaraki, 1999) and Thompson (1990), who have developed forms of analysis from the perspectives of linguistics and sociology respectively. Fairclough has criticised constructionist (and Foucauldian) DA from the vantage point of Critical Realism and CDA, and remains sceptical of postmodernist-style conceptual revisionism, in particular supporting the more traditional conception of ideology (which is central within CDA). He argues that the concept cannot be used effectively to explore domination and power, without showing how it (ideology) works to support class-based interests through explicit links to the material infrastructure of society.

Such an approach is undeniably attractive for the theoretical capacity it offers for general social Critique, and CDA is clearly a strong and valuable form of social analysis. However (turning the earlier criticism of constructionism on its head), its main strength, its powerful focus on actively and explicitly undermining a particular account, leaves it vulnerable to uncritically assuming the truth or superiority of others, and thus to charges of asymmetrical and unreflexive practice- in other words, ontological gerrymandering (Woolgar and Pawluch, 1985).

In addition, the concept of ideology is increasingly contested³⁶. Rather than try to produce a more 'accurate', 'truthful' or 'definitive' version of events (e.g. in the style of Marxism), FDA, and most constructionist work, shifts the focus to the kinds of viewpoints adopted in such studies, arguing that it is more important to see the particular ways in which the events have been constituted in discourse (Wetherell and Potter, 1992). Thus, a concern with 'ideology' in the traditional sense is replaced by

³⁶ for a notable example of a challenge to popular conceptions, see Žižek, 2008

“[...] Attempts to show how power is exercised through the technologies (discourses, social practices, institutions and so on) that structure social relations,”

(Wooffitt 2005:156)

and thus the exercise of power, rather than being seen as attached to particular social classes, is viewed in the Foucauldian sense, as a fluid and fluctuating property of social arrangements. It can therefore be argued that constructionist approaches to DA can make their own unique contribution to the aim of ‘demystification’. Indeed some attempts have been made to do this by locating constructionist discourse work within a wider theoretical historical analysis.

Reflexive criticism, the final type of criticism identified by Potter (1996) as being possible by means of constructionist DA, is decidedly postmodernist, since it remains sceptical of the factual status of *all* authoritative accounts, focusing on their status as ‘stories’ and explicitly recognising the research itself as an account no more factual, and no higher in ‘story’ status, than those under investigation; and which should, thus, be subject to the same level of scrutiny. This form of analysis is not averse to the production of broad accounts or claims, but such are viewed in the same way: as ‘invented’ versions of events or phenomena that take their place alongside many other possible and equally legitimate versions. It can be argued that this approach to criticism actively encourages ‘invention’. This style of criticism in DA has been supported by Ashmore (1989), but criticized by others (e.g. Parker, 1992) whose concern is that in practice, any critical element of such work might become sidelined, or simply get lost, in the sheer effort and complexity of managing fully symmetrical and reflexive research practice.

At least from a constructionist perspective, making a definitive choice between these different critical courses in discourse analysis may be unnecessary. Some social

constructionists (e.g. Potter, 1996, 2004; Gergen, 1996, 1999) prefer to recognise the value of theoretical and analytical tension as productive in and of itself, and thus, in their view, the ideal research climate is one where:

“[...]Each of these positions both complements and undermines the other [...rather than the] outright victory of one line of argument or blandly peaceful coexistence.”

(Potter, 1996:232)

3.5 ‘Doing’ Discourse Analysis from a social constructionist perspective

As with other forms of DA, there exists an enormous range of techniques and methods through which constructionist DA can be deployed, and infinite potential foci regarding the combination of topic with level or aspect of discourse to be studied. However, the epistemological focus remains firmly upon the way in which *accounts* of reality and social discourse are constructed and maintained, rather than any realist notions of ‘right’ or ‘wrong’, ‘true’ or ‘false’. In addition, constructionist DA practitioners view discourse as a form of action, and as rhetorically organized, i.e., concerned with ‘establishing one version of the world in the face of competing versions’ (Gill, 2000:176). Researchers and participants alike are thus engaged, albeit in different ways and at various levels, in attempting to ‘persuade’ others of their own versions of the world. Such a perspective is the foundation of reflexivity in research practice and avoidance of pitfalls such as ‘ontological gerrymandering’ identified in so much superficially ‘constructionist’ work by Woolgar and Pawluch (1985).

Constructionist approaches to DA have been developed and refined at the theoretical level by several authors with a background in social psychology, notably Jonathan

Potter and Margaret Wetherell³⁷, but the approach has been in use across many fields and disciplines for some time, and both social constructionism and DA have recently been theorized more explicitly in other disciplines and fields³⁸.

Constructionist DA methodology is generally qualitative with methods complementary to this, with the quantitative techniques that codify practices found in other DA research generally being avoided. Bryman (2004) states that many constructionist discourse analysts prefer to see their style of research more as an 'analytic mentality', along the lines of a craft skill such as riding a bicycle, rather than a set format to be adhered to in the style of following a recipe when cooking.

Constructionist DA is explicitly action-oriented, and attempts to identify the discursive strategies at work in the production of various effects and the accomplishment of goals. Potter (2004) expresses the focus on action in the formulation of three basic DA research questions:

- ***What is this discourse doing?***
- ***How is this discourse constructed to make this happen?***
- ***What resources are available to perform this activity?***

With regard to the collection of data, the researcher can potentially draw upon an inexhaustible range of forms of talk and text, from informal conversation, interviews and focus groups interaction (transcribed to written form for analysis) to letters, newspapers and official documents.

³⁷ both individually, together and with others: 1987; 1992; 1994; 1996; 1998; 2004; also Gergen, 1996, 1999; Burr, 2003

³⁸ e.g. in Housing Studies: Kemeny, 1992; Jacobs and Manzi, 1996; Hastings, 2000; Clapham, 2002, 2005, 2010; Marston, 2002; Jacobs, Kemeny and Manzi, 2004

At the data analysis stage, two key aims of constructionist DA are:

- 1) **To uncover ‘interpretative repertoires’**. The classic study often used to illustrate this idea is Gilbert and Mulkay’s (1984) sociological analysis of scientific practice (discussed earlier).

- 2) **To expose the rhetorical detail of ‘fact production’**. The analysis of resources employed in producing a convincing account or argument, in which are combined many different rhetorical tools, is a complex task and requires development of the type of sensitivity and skill previously alluded to by Bryman (2004). He offers the rhetorical strategy of the ‘extreme case argument’, where emphasis is added by extrematizing the description, as an interesting illustration of this (Bryman, 2004:376), giving the following examples from Lynn and Lea (2003), who, in relation to ‘asylum seekers’, identified a ‘striking predominance’ of examples of this kind of emphasis, for example:

“Perhaps if they learned to say no now and again instead of accepting every freebie that comes their way any resentment would melt away.”
(*The Sun*)

“Genuine [Asylum Seekers] should have no qualms about being held in a reception centre.”
(*Daily Mail*)

(in Lynn and Lea, 2003:446; emphasis in original)

In the absence of specific formulations to follow in planning this type of DA research, Potter and Wetherell (1994), Wetherell et al. (2001), and Potter (2004) advise that *reading other discourse studies* is itself an important activity; firstly to help develop the

analytic mentality; and secondly because other studies often offer helpful insights for one's own work.

With regard to 'doing' FDA, Carabine (2001) offered the following general guide to data analysis in 'Foucauldian' work:

- 1) Identify possible sources of data related to your chosen topic, including those that might contain both discourses and counter-discourses.
- 2) Know your data. Read and re-read: familiarity aids analysis and interpretation.
- 3) Identify themes, categories and objects of the discourse.
- 4) Look for evidence of an *inter-relationship* between discourses.
- 5) Identify the *discursive strategies* and *techniques* that are employed.
- 6) Look for *absences* and *silences*.
- 7) Look for *resistances* and *counter-discourses*.
- 8) Identify the *effects* of the discourse
- 9) *Context 1*: Outline the background to the issue
- 10) *Context 2*: Contextualise the material in the power/knowledge networks of the period
- 11) Be aware of the *limitations* of the research, your data and sources.

(Adapted from Carabine, 2001:283)

3.6 Chapter 3 Conclusion: Beyond language...the world (and the Traveller site) as 'text'

Although the word 'text' is often used as a synonym for both 'written document' and 'discourse', within DA and related traditions, the general emphasis has historically been upon some linguistic sense of the word. However, in recent decades interest appears to have steadily grown in the analysis of discursive 'texts' with non-linguistic elements. Since Barthes' (1972) influential collection of essays, in which objects as diverse as wrestling matches and cars were subjected to 'readings', many have moved away from

the type of narrow definition of 'discourse analysis' as quoted from Hammersley (2002). The term 'text' has come to be applied to an increasing number of phenomena that transcend or lie entirely outside the strictly linguistic realm. In FDA, texts are not simply written documents, but are

“[...] delimited tissues of meaning reproduced in any form that can be given interpretative gloss [...]”

(Parker 1992:6, Cited in Wooffitt, 2006:148)

meaning that within this tradition practically anything can be analysed as a text, from visual phenomena like photographs (Sutton, 1992; Blaikie 2001) and art; to phenomena with both linguistic and non-linguistic visual dimensions, such as comics (Heggs, 1999), advertising (Pearce, 1999), television (Russell, 1999) and film (Aitken, 1998; Durmaz, 1999), and an even wider range of phenomena, for example, theme parks (Gottdiener, 1982), landscapes and gardens (Ford, 1999), architecture, cities (Middleton, 1999) organizations (Höpfl, 1999) and technologies (Grint and Woolgar 1997).

“Discourses are said to 'inhabit' texts; they are 'carried out or actualized in or by means of texts.’”

(Parker, 1992:7, cited in Wooffitt, 2005:148)

Taken in the context of the large body of more established, language-oriented work, discourse analysis researchers have only just begun to push the boundaries in the direction of three- (and more-) dimensional 'texts'. However, I feel that such studies are particularly significant with regard to my research interest in state-provided accommodation for Travellers, and that (in a decidedly postmodern interpretation of the above quotation), a carefully-designed DA research strategy, taking a social

constructionist epistemological position, is likely to produce interesting insight in relation to the discourses 'inhabiting', and 'being carried out or actualized in or by means of' the Local Authority Traveller Site as 'text'. After conducting the review of literature outlined in this chapter, I decided upon a research design that could combine the analysis of both spoken and written linguistic with other 'textual' data, and remained mindful of the potential for 'mis-empowerment'. In addition to facilitating a unique and academically sound PhD research project, the information generated by such an analysis might produce an *ad hoc* critique; and thus also have the potential to offer a thought-provoking new perspective upon Traveller sites, and issues associated with site provision, as they are 'constructed' in various ways by Travellers and non-Travellers alike.

The 'top-down' approach to DA- with its focus on power, ideology, discourses, texts and subject positions- is seen by many as incompatible with 'bottom-up' approaches, which concentrate on the organization of interactional activities in natural language. However, some argue that these different approaches, not only can, but should be combined for quality research with rich findings. While Potter (1996) begins with interaction at the level of the sentence, Carabine (2001) stresses the aim of getting an overall 'feel' for the data. I felt that a practical task, within the constraints set by a PhD programme and in view of my interests, would be to base my work loosely on the second of Carabine's suggested variants of FDA, i.e. a 'snapshot'-style account of a particular discursive 'present' (that of Local Authority Traveller Sites in a certain geographical area, from data collected between 2005-2009). My aim was to produce an FDA-influenced, stand-alone project, aimed at identifying and analysing 'discourses', but linked as robustly as possible to my data by close attention to more generic constructionist discourse analysis techniques (Potter, 1996), that could serve as a sound empirical starting point for later social constructionist work of various kinds.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH DESIGN, ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND FIELD WORK NARRATIVE

Relationships between epistemology and methodology, and in turn, methodology and method, are complex and too often appear to be poorly understood. However, the question of method is a vital one, since the careful selection of an epistemologically and methodologically compatible, appropriate, practical and comprehensive method for any academic research work is crucial to its integrity, and thus its success. The discussion in the first part of this chapter, based primarily upon Yin (2003) and Wetherell et al. (2004), is intended to justify and describe my choice of a Case Study framework and the use of social constructionist and broadly Foucauldian analytical techniques as the method for my PhD project. In the second part of the chapter, I will discuss the ethical issues considered and encountered in relation to this research. Finally, in the interests of 'reflexivity', in the third and final part of the chapter I will attempt to offer some first-hand 'narrative' detail regarding some of the challenges and opportunities encountered during completion of my field work.

4.1 The Case Study Approach

"The case study strategy begins with a logic of design [...] to be preferred when circumstances and research problems are appropriate, rather than an ideological commitment to be followed whatever the circumstances"

(Platt, 1992:42, cited in Yin, 2003:13)

Despite negative stereotypes of case study research as the 'weak sibling' or 'soft option' (Yin, 2003:xiii,17) among social science research methods, the approach continues to be used extensively in social science research and is a frequent mode for dissertation and thesis work in all disciplines and fields. Yin (2003) contends that stereotypes of the case study as a 'weak' or 'easy' method are inaccurate; that its

characteristics and potential applications have been poorly understood and thus poorly articulated in methodological texts; and that the approach is both challenging and uniquely useful when applied rigorously and appropriately.

In a discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of the main methods used for doing social research, Yin argues that, (contrary to belief that is still popular in many contexts) all of the common research approaches can potentially be used, whether the main purpose of the study is exploratory, descriptive or explanatory, but although there is overlap, some approaches are clearly more suited to some purposes than others. He gives three key conditions for consideration when ascertaining which approaches to consider for any specific piece of research:

- 1 The type of research question;**
- 2 The control an investigator has over actual behavioural events;**
- 3 Whether the focus is on contemporary or historical phenomena.**

(Yin, 2003:3)

An application where the case study can be considered a sound, if not superior, choice of approach arises out of, as in the case of my research, 'the desire to *understand complex social phenomena*', since the method allows the investigator to 'retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events'- useful particularly when the 'boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident' (ibid. 2003:1, 13). Yin concludes that the case study method is most advantageous over other approaches when all of the following conditions are present:

- 1 'How' or 'why' research questions are being asked;**
- 2 The investigator has little control over events;**
- 3 The focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within an everyday context;**
- 4 It is believed that contextual conditions are highly pertinent to the phenomenon of study.**

(Adapted from Yin, 2003: 5, 13)

The case study method allows the researcher to deal with a wide variety of evidence (e.g. in addition to documents and artefacts, observation and interviews), and in addition for a more complex array of variables (and relationships between variables) to be considered than other strategies, for example, experiments or surveys (Yin, 2003:1). It thus appeared to be the best method to facilitate my deliberate research aim of studying an everyday contemporary phenomenon within its own context, in which the distinction between phenomenon and context was likely to be blurred. A case study strategy is able to cope with this by recognising explicitly that there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and consequently relying on multiple sources of evidence with a focus on the convergence of data through 'triangulation'. In addition, Yin argued that the prior development of theoretical propositions and a 'research protocol' to guide data collection and analysis is crucial to the success and quality of a case study (making it thus distinctive from ethnography (Whyte, 1955³⁹) and grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967⁴⁰) approaches, with both of which it is frequently confused or conflated.

With regard to case study quality, three of four generally accepted tests of quality in empirical, including case study, research, discussed by Yin were relevant to the type of research I planned to undertake:

- **Construct validity**, which is concerned with the establishment of correct operational measures for the concepts being studied;
- **External validity**, or establishing the domain to which a study's findings can be generalised- in case studies, the type of generalisation possible is *analytic*, i.e. generalisation to the domain of theory, through replication, rather than *statistical*;
- **Reliability**, which is concerned with demonstrating that the same results can be obtained by repetition of the operations of a study, e.g. the data collection procedures.

³⁹ discussed in Yin, 2003, and Bryman, 2004

⁴⁰ discussed in Burgess, 1995, and Yin, 2003

With regard to social constructionist work the last of these can be applied, but in the sense of reliability again on the theoretical level. For example, a premise within this paradigm is that through following certain prescribed data collection methods, appropriate research material will be accessed, in which social constructions and discourse, *in general*, will be present; and that by following certain prescribed analytical methods, it will be possible to ‘work up’ and study these constructions and discourses. However by contrast to positivism, the conditions for reliability within a constructionist paradigm do not require that the same specific results are obtained, i.e. it is not expected that identical *specific* discourses and constructions will be present in or worked up from material collected or analysed by different researchers or in different contexts. In fact, it is actively expected that although sometimes related, these will be different.

4.1.1 Preliminary tasks in applying the Case Study Method

Once I had decided upon a Case Study strategy for a social constructionist, loosely ‘Foucauldian’ discourse analysis project, I turned to a careful consideration, firstly, of the general limitations of my specific circumstances, and secondly, the particular cases actually available to me for the purposes of fieldwork, before developing and refining my design. This was because, since the participation of respondents and active engagement on my part would be more crucial to this than to other research approaches I could have potentially chosen, the aforementioned two factors would have a strong influence over what could practically be achieved.

a) Considering single- versus multiple-case study design

“The unusual, critical and revelatory case are all likely to involve only single cases by definition.”

(Yin 2003:47)

I had originally considered, for primarily practical reasons, using a single-case study design, and with the problems, particularly of access, which are characteristic of my topic area, a single-case study could in principle have been justified. However, both Yin (2003) and Bryman (2004) recommend that where possible, although a multiple-case study can take a prohibitively large amount of time and resources for a student researcher, even a two-case design is generally preferable to a single-case design. The evidence from multiple-case study designs is often considered to be more compelling, and the overall study is thus regarded as more robust, due to the analytic benefits of replication, added 'external generalisability' of finding common conclusions from cases in two, (even slightly) different contexts, and the possibility of 'theoretical generalisability' between even two contrasting cases.

In view of this, even though the main rationales for a single-case study outlined by Yin and others were relevant to all of the Local Authority Traveller Sites I initially nominated as potential study candidates, the potential represented by my initial shortlist of *multiple* sites persuaded me that I should not initially limit my research to a single-case design, since I felt in this context it would be difficult to defend the deliberate design of a study exploring only a single case. However, due to my inexperience in conducting research of this type, the practical limitations of my project, and the level of academic rigour required for a successful PhD thesis, I decided to avoid an unnecessarily complex design.

The *two-case* design I produced thus represented the best compromise between academic rigour/defensibility and my limitations. Such a design could potentially incorporate many of the advantages of a multiple-case study, with minimal extra work and expense in comparison to a study involving many cases, but had the potential to be 'scaled down' to a single-case study in the event of unforeseen obstacles or problems, and thus retained the possibility of a PhD thesis successfully based upon

data from a single case.

b) Considering two-case design

In my particular circumstances, there were several ways in which a two-case study could have been designed, but some would have been vastly more difficult to achieve using the temporal and financial resources available to me for this particular project. I decided that the most practically feasible way to enjoy the benefits of a multiple-case design would be to select as individual cases two Traveller sites *within the same Local Authority area*, thus minimising the time, travel and expense involved.

c) Preliminary case ‘screening’

I did not underestimate the difficulties I might encounter in accessing Local Authority departments and staff, but since I had not had significant previous contact with any such personnel, I could not predict whether this difficulty would be greater in one of the Local Authority areas short-listed over another. By contrast, my professional work prior to doing my PhD had had the effect of making my face very familiar, and to varying degrees, already ‘trusted’, to Travellers on a number of Local Authority sites in different areas, as well as to some members of adjacent local settled communities, including Traveller Support professionals. Due in large part to my status as a fellow member of the settled community, and as a Housing Studies PhD researcher, I anticipated that the challenge of accessing individuals for interview in, for example, a Local Authority Housing department in which I was not previously known would be likely to be more readily met than the difficulty that might potentially be encountered in trying to access and interview Travellers who did not know me (and to whom that same ‘Researcher’ status might be at best meaningless, and at worst, set me at a distinct disadvantage with regard to access and encouraging participation). My previous experience of working with Travellers in various capacities and locations suggested that far more time

and effort than was available for this project might be needed in order for Travellers to whom I was not yet known to feel comfortable participating in the research. In an attempt, therefore, to somewhat diminish the 'double challenge', I decided to select the single Local Authority to be used for the research from among those responsible for the Traveller sites where I felt I had the best, and most 'direct', existing relationship of trust with site residents as well as other Gypsy and Traveller people in the area. Since such a relationship was due to my having worked in a professional capacity with the Travellers concerned for an extended period of time, this method of 'shortlisting' had the advantage of automatically including only areas where I already had Local Authority contacts (albeit not within Housing or Planning) who might be able to advise me about approaching colleagues involved in work more directly relevant to the study; and finally, where I had personal knowledge and experience of the local geography and contacts within the local Settled community.

By this initial 'academic' screening process I further narrowed the shortlist to only those sites in areas that might allow for such a two-case study. I had strong links with several sites in two separate Local Authority areas with multiple Traveller sites (hereafter 'Stramshire' and 'B-shire') and had been developing contacts in another (hereafter 'C-shire') to the extent that I felt that I could also tentatively include this area as a third possibility. This allowed two back-up options, and also left open the opportunity to do initial testing of data-collection instruments within a context similar to, but separate from, the one used for the final case study.

d) Further investigation of final case shortlist

With the primary concerns regarding the suitability of potential cases for study already satisfied through my existing knowledge of the areas and sites shortlisted, I continued to further investigation of feasibility beyond this initial potential. I prioritized 'Stramshire'

as my first choice of field work area, for the following reasons:

- **It had multiple Local Authority Traveller Sites within its borders, allowing more choice of cases for study, flexibility and possible back up choices of site 'on location' should complications arise,**
- **I had a more 'direct' and independent relationship with Travellers in the area, rather than being seen by them as primarily a 'representative' of a specific agency,**
- **On a practical level, Stramshire was closer to my academic base in Cardiff than B-shire, and offered more choice of suitable/affordable accommodation for the field work period.**

An initial site visit and further preliminary meetings with key Traveller community 'gatekeepers' (all conducted between May and June 2007) confirmed Stramshire's good potential for either single or multiple- case design.

In addition, during the same period I made telephone contact with former colleagues in B-shire to discuss the research, and felt satisfied that the B-shire area, although a second choice, also held potential as a fieldwork location. I did not make further investigation into the possibilities that C-shire might offer since I felt that the comparative weakness of my relationship with the Travellers in that area did not merit further pursuit in light of the two strong candidate areas already identified.

e) Final choice of cases for study

In light of the universal advice within the literature and after initial case study area

screening confirmed the possibility, as anticipated I designed a multiple-case study, but limited the number of cases to two located within the same general area; allowing me both to retain B-shire as a back-up option and to avoid moving too far from the practical advantages of studying a single case. I subsequently returned to a final refinement of my research question, objectives, and further development of my previous ideas regarding research design, based on the specific opportunities available in Stramshire.

4.1.2 Case Study area and case site characteristics: geographic, demographic and policy outline of 'Stramshire', 'Ivyhill Park site', and 'Gorsecroft site'

[REDACTED]

For ethical reasons, and at the explicit request of some research participants, this section is currently available only on personal application to and at the discretion of the author.

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4.1.3 Research-related maps, photographs and site plan

Please see Appendix 4.

[REDACTED]

For ethical reasons, and at the explicit request of some research participants, this section (at Appendix 4) is currently available only on personal application to and at the discretion of the author.

4.2 Developing the 'Site Under Construction' Research Design

4.2.1 Research Question

The final version of my research question was as follows:

'How is a Local Authority Traveller Site socially constructed through discourse and discursive interaction, and how are people and groups involved with the site both influenced by, and contributors to the maintenance of, such discourse and construction?'

4.2.2 Theoretical Propositions

Yin (2003) argues that a sound case study design should include pre-stated propositions about the findings expected from the work. As an exploratory, social constructionist, discourse analytical study of a sparsely-researched phenomenon on the specific topic of which very little work existed at the time, one of my main aims was *theory-generation*. I therefore purposely did not put forward any pre-study propositions regarding possible conclusions of the analysis proposed within this study. However, it was possible to make some general theoretical propositions; indeed, these are implicit within my epistemology and research question, and I articulated them as follows:

- It would be possible to construct categories and themes from the data collected, and build these into various distinct discourses of the Traveller site,
- The different construction and focus/i of these discourses would be directly related to the perspective and 'interests' of the person or group concerned;
- Since it is a human artefact, the physical, spatial and geographical aspects of the Traveller site would constitute a meaning-saturated discursive 'text', that is,

capable of being 'read' in various ways, depending on the discursive perspective;

- The different discourses would interrelate and interact in their contribution to and maintenance of the shared social construction of the site;
- Certain discursive perspectives would appear dominant over others within this shared social construction;
- Discourse would be seen to influence human behaviour, and vice versa, in the maintenance and/or transformation of the shared social construction of the site.

4.2.3 Research Objectives

- Objective 1)** For each of two Local Authority Traveller Sites, explore discourse, and develop a discursive account of the site, based upon the different perspectives of people and groups associated with it.
- Objective 2)** In each case, explore and construct a descriptive account of:
- a)** How the different discursive perspectives developed relate and interact in the ongoing creation and maintenance of the socially constructed Traveller site.
 - b)** How this social construction influences the way in which the Local Authority, Travellers, and the local Settled community manage/consume/experience the site, and vice versa.
- Objective 3)** Explore and describe the general (social, political, geographic etc.) context for the study, and the specific individual context for each of the two case sites.
- Objective 4)** Considering the propositions made at the beginning of the study, develop cross-case theory and draw theoretically generalisable conclusions on the topic level based on cross-analysis.

4.2.4 Methods

a) **Stage 1: Field procedures: initial contact and arranging access**

In my professional experience, the relationships and interaction of Travellers with other groups had always been an extremely sensitive issue. Many settled people I had encountered, (including people in positions of authority) had regularly behaved or spoken in ways that suggested fear, mistrust, or prejudice in relation to Travellers, with similar feelings frequently being reciprocated. The Traveller people I had known had generally preferred for settled people, and those in authority in particular, to know as little as possible about them. Likewise, the vast majority of what goes on behind departmental doors at the Local Authority or within the settled community remains inaccessible and unknown to Travellers.

Although always important when conducting this type of social research, the issue of trust therefore required particularly careful consideration within the context of this study, from the initial contact of the 'case screening' stage, throughout. I considered it crucial not only to achieve permission to access the necessary research opportunities, but in addition, to maintain the possibility of (meaningful) cooperation from participants. The trust factor alone could potentially spell the difference between success, or the complete failure of the research as it was proposed, as it is so common for all of the groups whose perspectives I hoped to include in this study to misunderstand and feel frustrated with or threatened by one another. Ironically, I felt that it was precisely my desire to conduct an investigation aimed at developing a better understanding of the role of interaction between parties in the maintenance of shared discourse, rather than having an agenda that firmly served one point of view over another, that could potentially lead both Traveller and other 'gatekeepers' to suspect that I held some 'other' allegiance, and to question whether it was in their best interests to participate. I felt that *informing* potential respondents of the type and scope of the research was thus

likely to be less of a challenge than securing their informed *participation*, and that for this reason even initially explaining what I was hoping to do and what would be achieved by it would need to be planned and carried out with care.

My original plan for initial contact to arrange access and participation was as follows:

- To make initial telephone contact, and arrange to meet in person with, key individuals from the Stramshire Travelling communities. I was prepared to explain as necessary within the meetings about the general nature of academic research, what I specifically hoped to achieve by the proposed research, and how I would need the attendees and others to contribute for it to succeed. I conducted these meetings very informally, as participant-led 'question and answer' discussions. I followed this up by confirming verbally any agreements made about interviews, participant observation opportunities or other activities, and a (flexible) proposed schedule, and offering to send a written record of this to a Traveller attendee with adequate literacy nominated by the group present at the meeting, and to any others who wished to have a copy. I then followed this up with telephone contact to ensure that the document had been received and understood, and answered any further questions.
- To contact, for any initial advice they may be able to offer about approaching relevant Stramshire Local Authority department/s, two individuals already known to me through my previous work with Travellers who have a long-term association with Stramshire Council (a local Councillor, and a senior Education employee). I also planned, with the informed agreement of the Traveller respondents, to write formally to any gatekeeper/s my initial contacts could identify in relevant council department/s to explain and request access to conduct the research, followed up as appropriate with face-to face meetings to

discuss a schedule for accessing documentary material and arranging interviews and participant observation activity.

- Since formal agreement with a 'gatekeeper' was not relevant with regard to accessing much of the data I would need in relation to the local settled community, I planned to wait until I had arranged access in the other areas involved and was resident in the area before attempting to identify respondents from the local settled community for interview. Once I reached this stage, I planned to initially advertise for respondents willing to be interviewed 'about their local neighbourhood and community' in local shops, other community venues, and on a local information web page. I planned to use local library and other archive facilities available to the general public to collect any documentary data available relevant to this perspective, and to explore the possibility of volunteering or working in some capacity at a local community venue as a participant observation activity.

Through these activities I intended to develop an initial 'purposive sample' of individuals, documentary material and participant observation opportunities, which I intended to further expand, once established in the field, by a process of purposive, theoretical snowball sampling on multiple levels and in multiple directions with the goal of *data saturation*.

b) Practicalities: time scale, geographical parameters, accommodation and work facilities

I originally anticipated a period of between 12 and 16 full-time weeks to be spent conducting fieldwork, to occur (not necessarily in one block) between June and October 2007, and possibly another, shorter period of 2-4 weeks early in 2008.

However due to various events (more of which later), the field work sample time-period

was eventually extended to intermittent sessions over a 24-month period between June 2007 and June 2009. The activities conducted during these periods included data collection, initial/ongoing analysis, and verification where appropriate. For the purposes of this research the definition of the 'local settled community' for the three sites in and around Stramington (city) was 'greater Stramington'⁴¹, extending to 'Deeston' in the north, 'Efford' in the south⁴², 'Geeston' in the west and 'Aitchden' in the east⁴³, with a smaller area around each site defined as the 'immediate local neighbourhood'. The reason for this distinction was that based on previous experience, local people living further afield than the immediate vicinity of a site invariably still have an awareness of it, (e.g. from visiting its immediate vicinity for various reasons, from media reports, discussions with friends, or from seeing Travellers 'encamped' nearby (which, when I lived in the north of the 'Greater Stramington' area years earlier, happened regularly near my then home). I planned to define similar areas for other sites in other parts of Stramshire depending upon which sites were chosen, should the sites nearest Stramington not be accessible, or be unsuitable for some other unanticipated reason. With regard to developing an account of current discourse of the site, I planned to limit the sample of documentary material used to that dated between twenty-four months prior to the beginning of the initial field work period (i.e. June 2005) and its end (June 2009), however, for background and context I left open the option to also include in the sample for review older material where relevant and appropriate.

During the fieldwork period/s I planned to stay as a temporary full-time resident within the 'Greater Stramington' area, using two of the sites within this area, 'Ivyhill Park' and 'Gorsecroft', as my cases for study, and living within easy reach of both. For mainly practical reasons, I did not plan to stay in the immediate neighbourhood of either the sites to be studied, but rather to wherever possible spend extended time during the

⁴¹ See Figure 38, Appendix 4

⁴² See Figure 39, Appendix 4

⁴³ See Figure 40, Appendix 4

day, and when safe and appropriate, the evening, in both. I identified suitable accommodation within the field work area, at a higher-education institute with residential and work facilities for students (including storage space for books and documents, computer, internet and telephone access, and A/V equipment) and arranged for this to be my home and work 'base' throughout the fieldwork periods, during which I planned to return to Cardiff only when absolutely necessary (e.g. to fulfil GTA⁴⁴ responsibilities).

c) Stage 2: Sampling, data collection and 'first level' analysis

Through initial review of the extant academic literature and other relevant material prior to the field work sample time-period, and Stramshire-specific secondary sources (such as local online resources (e.g. news and local government websites), policy documents, reports etc.), I constructed some preliminary categories to inform the design of my 'research protocol' and further data collection instruments (e.g. sampling technique, interview schedules⁴⁵).

i) Sampling

Bryman (2008) offers a comprehensive, comparative discussion of the range of sampling types and techniques generally used in social research. A straightforward *convenience* sample "...is one that is simply available to the [generally qualitative] researcher by virtue of its accessibility." (Bryman, 2008:183). However, in practice, most primary samples in qualitative social research have at least to an extent been narrowed down *purposively* from a broader convenience sample. In other words, from the range of those to whom access is possible and convenient for the researcher, the starting-point sample for the research comprises a small group of people *who are also*

⁴⁴ Graduate Teaching Assistantship

⁴⁵ For example of interview schedule, participant information sheet and consent forms sections of Research Protocol, see Appendix 1, Parts A and B

relevant to the research topic. A *purposive snowball* sampling technique begins from an initial, purposive, research-relevant sample, from which contacts are subsequently established outwards, with further individuals of the same or similarly-relevant types. Neither a simple convenience sample, an initial purposive sample, nor a snowball sample, from wherever generated, is in any sense 'random'. In the case of social research all are used in work where the drawing of a random sample is impossible, due to the exact nature and parameters of the population under study being unknown, as is the case in this research. Becker (1963:46, cited in Bryman, 2012:203) argued that for some populations no sampling frame is accessible, and the difficulty of creating one prohibits any other sampling approach. Bryman (2012) agrees, adding also that even were it possible to produce a sampling frame, due to the constantly changing nature and membership of many populations of potential social research interest, the accuracy of such a sampling frame would immediately become questionable and it could thus never be relied upon. Finally, Bryman argues that the very concept of a 'population' may be problematic in some social research settings.

A key criticism levelled at snowball sampling is that it is very unlikely that it will produce a sample representative of the population from which it is drawn. However, this criticism comes from the perspective of quantitative research, where this would generally be an essential consideration. Bryman (2008:185) argues that convenience and snowball sampling are not entirely irrelevant to quantitative work (for example, where relationships between people need to be traced and/or focused upon), but that the concerns typical to quantitative research, for example, about external validity or the possibility of generalisation render it a secondary approach. However, such concerns are not primary in qualitative work. This tends to incline generally not towards *random, statistical*, but *purposive, theoretical* sampling strategies, to which end, non-probability sampling approaches (including snowball sampling) are generally considered to be superior.

In *theoretical* sampling, cases or participants are sampled strategically according to their relevance to the particular research questions under consideration. Rather than *representativeness*, such researchers aim for *variety*, i.e. for sample members, whilst remaining relevant to the research question, to differ from each other as widely as possible in terms of perspective and/or key characteristics. As an alternative goal to *generalisation to a population*, the researcher samples with particular research goals in mind, and units of analysis (sites, organisations, groups, people etc.) are included or excluded as sample members because of their *relevance (or otherwise) to a social phenomenon*, based on clear criteria. Theoretical sampling is thus an *ongoing process* rather than a clearly-defined single stage, motivated by the development of ideas, rather than simply (increasing) the sample size.

Theoretical purposive sampling often involves at least two levels: that of the cases or contexts in which the research will be conducted, and that of the people or other objects within those cases or contexts. It continues not to a quota or particular percentage of a population, but until:

- no new information seems to be emerging about the category;
- the category is well developed in terms of its properties and dimensions,

and

- inter-categorical relationships are clearly established.

(adapted from Strauss and Corbin, 1998:212, as cited in Bryman, 2008:405-407).

This is known as *theoretical saturation* (Bryman, 2008:416), at which point sampling and data collection at this level or in this context end, and the researcher moves on to

generate hypotheses out of the categories that are building up, and further to sampling and collecting data in relation to these hypotheses. Bryman (2008) argues that there is a great deal of redundancy in statistical sampling, which can lead to wasting a great deal of time and resources, and advocates that qualitative social researchers should instead sample:

- in terms of what is relevant to and meaningful for their theory
- in order to test their emerging theoretical ideas.

ii) Data collection: methods and processes

The main methods I planned to use for data collection were:

- Documents and other secondary sources Semi-structured interviews (either individual or group)
- Participant observation.

Documents and other secondary sources

This category as a source of research 'data' is intended to imply material that has not been produced for the direct purpose of social research, and can include a vast range of material, including policy, reports, maps and other 'official' documents, personal material such as letters, photographs and diaries,, material intended for public consumption e.g. from newspapers magazines and other media, websites, and more.).Bryman (2008) warns that the fact that these are already 'out there' does not mean they are less time-consuming or easier to collect and work with than other forms of research data, and that indeed considerable care and skill is likely to be required on both counts in order for the relevance of such material to the concerns of the social

researcher to be recognized and drawn out towards their use in positive contribution to any given research project.

Scott (1990) suggests the following criteria for the assessment of the quality of documents in social research:

- **Authenticity** (is the evidence genuine and of unquestionable origin?)
- **Credibility** (Is the evidence free from error or distortion?)
- **Representativeness** (Is the evidence typical of its kind, and if not is the extent of its untypicality known?)
- **Meaning** (is the evidence clear and comprehensible?)

Atkinson and Coffey (2004:58) argue that contrary to the view of some other researchers, who unproblematically take documents and other secondary material as unproblematically representing 'reality', these are produced for a vast range of particular purposes unlikely to be related in any direct way, or even at all, to the researcher's concerns, and thus should never be taken as 'transparent representations' for research purposes. The most common method of interpretation of documentary and other secondary material is known as *qualitative content analysis* (Bryman, 2008:529), in which intrinsic themes and categories are produced from, verified, further sought, and developed within the material being analysed, in a cyclical process also sometimes labelled *ethnographic content analysis*.

Interviews

The interview is probably the most common data collection method in qualitative research. According to Bryman (2008:436), the types of interview usually associated with qualitative research are the *unstructured* and the *semi-structured* interview. By

contrast to the *standardized* and *structured* interviews used more usually in quantitative research, although to varying degrees, these *qualitative* interview techniques focus on the interviewee's point of view rather than the interviewer's concerns. Diversion from the question under discussion is often seen as useful and encouraged, and the interviewer may vary the order or wording of the questions, omit questions, or ask questions not included in the 'guide' or 'schedule', wherever they feel this is conducive to the primary purpose of the interview, namely, achieving a good understanding of the perspective and ideas of the interviewee. Qualitative interviewing thus flexibly follows the lead of the interviewee, encouraging rich, detailed discussion and even allowing for the respondent to be interviewed more than once toward this end. Although Bryman (2008) distinguishes two main types of qualitative interview, he acknowledges that these are theoretical extremes, and that in research practice, the distinction between them is generally blurred. According to Bryman, the difference seems to be simply that in the 'almost totally unstructured interview' (Bryman, 2008:438) the researcher uses at most a brief set of 'prompts' to him or herself to deal with a certain range of topics, and the interview resembles a conversation, whereas in the 'semi-structured interview', the 'prompts' are more likely to appear as a slightly more formalised interview 'guide' or 'schedule', comprising a list of topics or questions that the interviewer makes some attempt to cover. However, any such guide or schedule is not followed precisely, but rather the process remains flexible, focusing, as in the unstructured interview, primarily on the interviewee's point of view and understanding of the topic and questions. In multiple-researcher and multiple case study work, more structure is generally advisable in order to more easily enable cross-interview and cross-case comparison.

Qualitative interviews are usually audio-recorded where informed consent for this is given, however in some cases answers can be taken down in shorthand form, for example where the interviewee is uncomfortable with audio-recording.

Transcription of interviews

Transcription is the process by which research material in the form of talk, most commonly interviews, is turned into a document. Most authors recommend that, where possible, this is done from a video or audio-recording which can be replayed, rather than from life, since this allows the inclusion of more information than is possible in 'real time'. Wetherell et al. (2001) and others argue, that the process of transcription should be considered a further stage of data selection (or sampling), since there are multiple levels and types of information that can potentially be included, as well as various ways in which such material can be constructed, in committing it to text.

Decisions about the level of detail sampled and type of notation used are generally influenced by the focus of the study and the theoretical approach. In featuring characteristics that the analyst considers significant, and omitting others, a transcript cannot be considered to be a 'neutral' document, since it always constructs a particular version of the talk or interaction to be studied. The approaches used in most Constructionist DA and FDA work do not call for the kind of formalized, detailed transcription demanded by some other forms of DA (for example CA). Simple transcripts, recording the words spoken by consecutive speakers in 'script' style, perhaps with a limited amount of non-verbal detail (for example, emphasis, pause, laughter, interruption, etc.) included where these are noticeable, are generally considered to be sufficient, especially for the purposes of FDA.

Some researchers prefer to work from a full transcript rather than by listening to or watching recordings repeatedly. However, Wetherell et al (2001) note that working directly from recordings is an accepted alternative, especially for preliminary analytical tasks, such as coding. Some researchers therefore choose to analyse from recordings, and then later transcribe those short sections identified as particularly illustrative or significant for the purpose of presentation. Although transcription is often thought of as

a separate, preliminary stage, since it is a selective activity it is in fact intrinsic to the process of analysis and thus most authors again recommend that ideally, it is done personally by the researcher him- or herself. However, while transcription can be an extremely useful first stage, especially if carried out by the discourse analyst, it is generally expected that further analysis allows for the identification of features that were not apparent during transcription.

Participant observation

Participant observation comprises the active, practical involvement of the researcher in the social life of those he or she wishes to study, and involves the researcher 'immersing' him or herself in a group for an often extended period of time. During this participation in the typical activity of the group, the researcher listens to what is said both between others and in his or her own conversations with the other research participants; asks questions, and pays attention to behaviour and other phenomena within the research context, making ongoing records (usually written but sometimes audio-recorded) of his or her experiences and impressions.

Bryman (2008) states that many definitions of 'participant observation' are very difficult to distinguish from those given for 'ethnography'. It appears that the term 'ethnography' is sometimes preferred because 'participant observation' seems to imply nothing more than observation, though in practice participant observers do not simply observe.

Typically, both participant observers and ethnographers will gather further data through interviews and the collection of documents, but 'ethnography' is also sometimes taken to refer to a study in which participant observation is the prevalent research method, but where there is also a specific focus on the culture of the group in which the ethnographer is immersed. Frequently, 'ethnography' also simultaneously refers to *both*

a research process or strategy of the kind outlined above, *and* the final written product (i.e. not simply the field notes) of that research.

Regardless of the term chosen to denote the practice, Bryman (2008) suggests that 'time' and 'context' are two units that need particular attention in the context of sampling participant observation opportunities. He advises that the researcher must consider the possibility of needing to build up a sample of observations conducted at different times of the day and on different days of the week, in order to avoid collecting data that is valid only, for example, in relation to the morning, or to week days. The requirement to 'time sample' adequately may involve a change of regular routine on the part of the researcher in order to fit in with the cycle of the group under study.

Bryman goes on to note that since human behaviour is frequently influenced by contextual factors, it is also often important to ensure that observations are sampled from a variety of locations. Interaction with people in a range of different contexts is important to understanding the culture and world view of group members (for example, people behave differently when at home compared to when they are socialising or out in public in some other capacity).

Researcher roles in the Participant observation process

Gold's (1958) scheme for the classification of participant observer roles comprised four variants, each carrying its own advantages and risks:

- **Complete participant:** In this role the researcher behaves as a fully functioning member of the social setting. Their true identity as researcher is not known to other members, and he or she is thus a covert observer.

- **Participant-as-observer:** This role is similar to the previous one, the main difference being that the members of the social setting are aware of the researcher's status as researcher, and the role is thus overt. He or she similarly engages in interaction with other participants in the setting, actively participating in their daily activities.
- **Observer-as-participant:** In this role the researcher behaves primarily as an interviewer, with observation involving little active participation.
- **Complete observer:** Considered by Bryman to be the most unobtrusive of the roles outlined by Gold, in this role the researcher does not interact or participate in any active way in the setting, and other people in the research context thus do not have to take the researcher into account.

Gans (1968) devised an alternative method of classification, viewing the various researcher roles as coexisting in any project, and employed as appropriate within each given participant observation context. He offered an account of three roles:

- **Total participant:** In which the researcher becomes completely involved in events and has to resume a researcher stance once the situation has unfolded.
- **Researcher-participant:** In which the researcher is semi-involved in events, but remains able to function as both researcher and participant simultaneously.
- **Total researcher:** In which the researcher engages in no participation in the flow of events, remaining a passive observer.

The advantage of Gans's classification over Gold's is that, whilst reflecting similar degrees of involvement and detachment, it deals only in overt observation and recognises that researchers do not typically adopt a single unchanging role. Gans also recognised the great significance of the various roles taken by the researcher in relation to the different implications of these for field relationships within the range of

research contexts encountered, and that flexibility in these is generally crucial to the success of a qualitative research project.

Van Maanen (1978) raised the question of whether the researcher's involvement in the participant observation is active or passive, and the implications of this for the data collected. Some researchers address this by setting related rules in advance of entering the setting. However, depending on the nature of the research topic, it may be or become difficult or even impossible for the researcher to control the nature of their role or to choose to follow such rules, at least perfectly, without losing the opportunity to collect valuable data or even jeopardising the success of the whole research project. In such instances, a parallel may be drawn with qualitative interviewing and the necessity and/or desirability of following the interview guide or schedule over pursuit of an interesting or valuable 'tangent' in the the discussion.

Field Notes

Because of the imperfection of human memory, Bryman (2008) advises that note-taking is a crucial aspect of participant observation of any kind. Further, in order to allow the researcher's presence to be as fully manifest in the research as possible, He argues that field notes should be fairly detailed summaries of contexts, events, conversations and behaviour, and should also routinely include the researcher's initial impressions and feelings in relation to key dimensions of whatever is observed /heard.

He offers the following general principles:

- Write down notes, however, brief, as quickly as possible after seeing or hearing something interesting.

- Write up full field notes at the very latest at the end of the day and include such details as location,, who is involved, what prompted the exchange or whatever, date and time of the day, etc.
- Nowadays people may prefer to use a digital recorder to record initial notes (but this may create a problem of needing to transcribe a lot of speech).
- Notes must be vivid and clear (you should not have to ask at a later date ‘what did I mean by that?’).
- If in doubt, write it down. Field notes may be of the following different types:
 - Mental notes
 - Jotted (scratch) notes
 - Full field notes.

(Adapted from Bryman, 2008:420)

It would be ideal, of course, to be able to take notes down straight away. However, since it is rarely appropriate to continuously carry a notebook and pencil in hand, the development of a strategy that allows regular short periods of ‘time out’ for recording is advisable. Most qualitative research adopts an approach of beginning with general research questions, but there is considerable variation in the degree to which this is the case. Taylor (1993) and Armstrong (1993) (discussed in Bryman, 2008) both began their research with a period of very broad open-endedness, however, it is usually impossible for this to last long, because recording the details of absolutely everything is invariably very time-consuming. For this reason, researchers usually try to fairly quickly begin matching their observations to the emerging research focus, refining their research questions and relating their emerging findings to the social scientific literature, in order to narrow down the focus of their research to a manageable and productive level.

In relation to my own participant observation experience, I found that this followed Gans's description most closely, as I took on a range of roles between very passive total researcher and very active total participant, and many points between these two extremes, frequently changing my role 'tempo' multiple times even within the same participant observation experience (for example at the public meeting that I attended with permission of the organisers in the double capacity of 'researcher' and 'local stakeholder' (adult learning tutor) I made no active contribution whatsoever during the formal part of the meeting, instead taking detailed notes on others' contributions and interactions throughout, but switched to the other extreme in taking very 'active' and at time 'total' participant role during the coffee breaks, when I chatted and listened in to the conversations of various other participants without simultaneous note-taking, and during the immediate period following the meeting, when I accompanied (as the sole non-Traveller) the group of Travellers who had been in attendance into the local town to go shopping.

With regard to recording my experiences, I developed a habit of constant mental note-taking when immediate written recording was not possible, followed up as quickly as possible with 'scratch note' recording, which I most often undertook in my car, especially after site visits. I would follow this up as soon as possible with more detailed notes. Although I agree that expansion of mental and scratch notes to a fuller record on the same day is an ideal to be pursued whenever possible, in my case, especially when multiple opportunities arose on the same day I could not always do this, and I developed a strategy on such days of taking an extra few minutes at times that on quieter days I might have simply made a few brief scratch notes to be returned to after a few hours, of aiming to produce what I came to think of as 'interim notes', a type of handwritten recording style falling, in relation to clarity and level of detail, somewhere between brief 'scratch notes' and a fully developed account of events. I would attempt to return to and elaborate upon these within a few days at most wherever possible, but

I always aimed to make them detailed and clear enough that on days where, due to tight time constraints, I had to move on without 'writing up', they could serve adequately as field notes at the later analysis stages.

Through the use of the above-discussed instruments (and possibly others, e.g. photography), I planned to collect both qualitative and quantitative data related to any aspect of the case sites, (e.g. location, design, construction, facilities, tenancy, management, maintenance, condition, residence, community etc.), beginning with a purposive sample of possible case study areas suitable for the research, from a wider 'convenience' range of areas and sites known already to me through my work. Once a single area for study had been purposively selected, two case study sites from within this were sampled, again purposively within the context of prior knowledge and relationship 'convenience'. A range of third-level purposive sub-samples of individuals for interview, initial participant observation opportunities, and documentary material relevant to each of the two case study sites (or both of them) was subsequently used to generate further interview and participant observation opportunities and to identify further useful documentary material, through a process of 'snowballing' in a range of directions according to the contacts and connections I was able to make through the initial sub-samples.

This process of sampling and data collection became somewhat cyclical as in Taylor (1993:16), as through developing my participant observation opportunities I periodically returned to further initial purposive sampling from within further convenience domains newly-created through direct contact with new 'initial' individuals and groups (for example beginning my adult learning role on Gorsecroft site produced a new initial purposive sample of students there, and from this I was eventually able to 'snowball' out for research purposes to other residents with whom I had not been and never became involved in my education capacity). Bryman states that the practice of

combining convenience and snowball approaches within a purposive sampling strategy is very common in ethnographic work, especially with 'hard-to-reach' groups:

“Much of the time ethnographers are forced to gather information from whatever sources are available to them. Very often they face opposition or at least indifference to their research and are relieved to glean information or views from whoever is prepared to divulge such details.”

(Bryman, 2008:414)

This resonates with my own experience of field work and data collection for this PhD project, and I would thus make the same argument for research following a qualitative case study research strategy (Yin, 2003), since this shares many aspects of its approach with ethnography.

iii) Data Analysis

I planned to take a social constructionist, loosely Foucauldian discourse analytic approach to my analysis of the data collected through the sampling methods outlined. This plan for analysis was based primarily on the approaches of Potter (1996) and Carabine (2001), in developing, by identification and triangulation of patterns of linguistic devices, categories and themes produced from the data, a broad account of both the main devices used in actually constructing the discourse, and the overarching 'messages' of the discourse itself.

4.2.5 Methodological Limitations

The overall rationale for this work as proposed was that it would be a '*revelatory*' two-case study, making use of a very broad range of data collected by means of a cycle of purposive and snowball sampling techniques, with a strong emphasis on qualitative *exploration and description*, and with the goal of enhancing *understanding*, through the

application of existing social theory, of the Local Authority Traveller Site as a socially constructed discursive phenomenon. Although, as discussed in the Introduction and Chapter 2, I was thus attempting through my choice of epistemology to take an epistemological 'step back' in my approach to this topic, it was not an attempt to do so 'objectively', and this is reflected in my chosen methodology and its limitations. By taking an interpretivist approach to a close 'case study' focus, the findings of this work could not be considered 'generalisable' in any direct way to a broader population, and in fact were restricted from the outset to *direct application only* to those people within the single Local Authority area in which I conducted my research who were good enough to participate, and to the particular Traveller sites and surrounding areas, time period and local social/political context in which it took place. However, as also previously discussed, I hoped that, to some extent at least, I would be able, to generalize my findings theoretically.

Although the fieldwork as it was originally planned was divided into sections corresponding with the research objectives, in practice the sampling process, data-collection activities and initial analysis were expected to (and did) take place concurrently and/or overlap.

4.3 Ethical considerations

4.3.1 Reflexive self-assessment: personal identity and the research process

I feel that in order for the narrative content of this chapter to be more than superficially 'reflexive', it must first be acknowledged that extracts from this, and all of the previous chapters could be used to illustrate the discursive mechanisms commonly used to 'build the facticity' of academic work (for example, the 'actively voiced' help I have employed from a range of 'ventriloquized' academics in including citations from previously published work in support of my arguments). Within the epistemological

context of this thesis, in planning this section I set myself the task of essentially writing a 'reflexive narrative' that must be acknowledged from the outset as simply one of many possible constructions of a reflexive narrative... However, that confronted, in keeping with the epistemological spirit of my work I pressed on in my attempt to explicitly consider:

- The influence of my own 'pre-existent' self, personal identity, circumstances and relationships with others within the particular research process undertaken, and the impact of this upon the appropriateness and possibility of following my original research strategy and plans;
- The various unexpected conditions, events and processes external to myself that also, either independently or in combination with my particular self, circumstances and relationships, impacted on the appropriateness and possibility of following my original research strategy and plans;
- The decisions and adjustments I made in order to adapt and modify the strategy in conjunction with these specific, research-influencing, pre-existing conditions and changing circumstances in my own life and in the field.

a) 'Deconstructive analysis' of my 'self' as researcher

i) Ethno-socio-cultural Background and identity

Although seldom called upon to do so, I would describe myself as being from a *mixed*, white minority-ethnic (and minority-religion) family and social background, and one of a small number within the first generation of my still, most essentially, white British 'working class' extended family to be born 'middle-class' (i.e. to parents from working class families who had, during their adulthood, 'worked their way up' to that status occupationally and economically) and to attend university. Intrinsic to such a background are several 'cultures' that frequently 'clash'. I have personally experienced

prejudice and discrimination in direct response to various dimensions of my identity, and having had a highly fluid and changeable social, educational, cultural, linguistic and socio-geographical life (partly as a result of the complex background, and partly in addition to it), I am accustomed to having to 'put myself in the shoes' and 'speak/interpret the language' of others different from myself. Often having several genuine and often conflicting personal viewpoints on many issues, I am thus very familiar with conflict management and negotiation, even before I attempt to interact with anyone else. From the outset I could quite readily produce this particular set of characteristics as having been responsible for my arrival at an institute of Higher Education to attempt a PhD at all, and as already having had, and being certain to continue to have, particular and ongoing impacts upon my my choice of and approach to my topic, the work that I had produced thus far, and that which I would produce as I continued the project. As discussed in Chapter 2, the use of a social constructionist epistemology is much more likely to produce and maintain in the researcher the reflexivity required to avoid "ethnocentric [and class- etc. centric] taken-for-granted assumptions" (Haworth et al., 2004:160); and in a post-research design, pre-field-work re-consideration of my own position or "being" (see Allen, 2009:72) in the field and in relation to the analysis that I would be attempting to produce, as well as throughout the rest of the research process, I remained confident that my choice of epistemology was particularly appropriate to myself and my research circumstances.

ii) Gender identity

As a woman, collecting data within a particularly, and differently 'gendered' community than any of my own, the access I had within the Gypsy and Traveller communities that I worked with for this project was gender-limited, mainly to women as primary interviewees, and women's activities as participant observation activities. I was however also able to conduct some joint interviews with couples, interview or less

formally interact with men with female relatives or other 'chaperones' present; and passively observe some male activities, especially during my second field work session in 2009 (further explanation in section 4.4.5 of this chapter).

iii) Previous experience with the topic and field work area under study

As mentioned in the introduction I have a history of working with Travellers in various locations and capacities, as a result of which, over a period of years, I have developed relationships with various individuals in Stramshire that by the time of conducting the research I had long considered to be personal friendships.

Being known well to the group I began the research with, and thus also 'known of' by others in their vicinity, 'situated' me socially as something other than simply 'researcher'. This produced both advantages and disadvantages, and certainly profoundly influenced not only data collection but also the research in general, and the way in which its final product, this thesis, has been produced. I have absolutely no doubt that a differently 'situated' researcher, even with the same epistemology, research questions and research strategy, would have had quite a different research experience, collected different data, and probably produced a quite different analysis and thesis to this one. In fact, another PhD researcher did appear at one point during the field work period at a Traveller education group meeting, seeking Traveller interviewees (but was refused). However I do not consider that my position and privileged access to some areas of the research field necessarily make this a 'better' piece of work than someone else's might have been, since, as I will shortly explain in more detail, my privileged access in one domain had the effect of closing off opportunities in others. I would describe my status within the Traveller community as that of 'outsider with privileged access' but by no means 'access all areas', and extremely careful management of this status was required at all times in order to

maintain it.

This was especially true when I began to interview Travellers from within my 'snowball' sample, to whom I had been introduced for the first time during the field work period, and who, although they were aware of my history of being known and trusted by other Travellers, thus knew me primarily as a researcher. It was noticeable that fewer Travellers from the snowball sample were willing to be audio-recorded or even to be interviewed formally (even though my interview strategy was to keep things as informal, flexible and relaxed as possible, including by the use of such techniques as allowing interviewees/participants to decide both time and venue, 'talking whilst walking' (Anderson, 2004), group interviews, and interviewing both individuals and groups in 'stages'). My 'privileged' status in this area also caused dilemmas- from the Traveller point of view, mistrust of the Local Authority in general, and particularly the Site Management team and Police, was profound' no apparent 'fence-sitting' or 'neutrality' was allowed without risking complete loss of my privileged status. From the non-Traveller point of view I was seen as someone with particular stakes and interests (i.e. in some cases as a known, and committed, Gypsy/Traveller 'sympathiser') and thus my opportunities in other directions were limited by this construction of me by others (another reason, apart from as a precautionary measure designed both for my own safety and to avoid doing inadvertent harm to relationships between Traveller groups and local Settled people in the area, for a certain level of (ethically approved) covertness to my work when dealing with previously unknown members of the Settled community and Local Authority representatives). In addition to this, my participant observer 'roles': variously, 'tutor'; 'friend'; 'colleague'; 'wider local settled community member/resident', all both produced opportunities and limited others.

The 'other' PhD researcher may well have successfully, and quite ethically, accessed opportunities I was unable to, or chose not to for ethical reasons, had she been doing

my research, and I consider this thesis to be simply one partial and unique reading of this topic of the many that are theoretically possible.

4.3.2 Key Ethical Considerations

a) Trust and the issue of '*informed consent*'

My status as 'Researcher' afforded me 'authority' in some circles, but not in others. Some groups, including in this case, Travellers, are very vulnerable to exploitation, and being aware of this they are usually extremely difficult to access. However with my 'privileged access', the people who participated in my research were generally extremely trusting and thus much more vulnerable to exploitation, with some willing to do anything I wanted without an explanation, consent form etc. Very careful and sensitive explanation was required of what 'research' actually was, what I was going to do, where the information given would go and what would be done with it, and the wider potential implications of participation. I found that *informed consent* is a slippery concept when you are dealing with very different paradigms. For example, for many (although by no means all) Traveller people, the signing of a form, for whatever purpose, is a culturally sensitive issue. Literacy cannot be assumed (but neither should literacy problems be expected) and additionally there are powerful associations between printed 'forms', especially when these call for personal information, and authorities perceived to be hostile. For similar reasons, many people were not comfortable with being audio-recorded (but generally did not mind my taking shorthand notes). The method of 'walking whilst talking', explored academically by Anderson (2004), was also extremely useful in participant observation.

b) Confidentiality and the problem of *internal* anonymisation.

Political tensions in the field work area reached a personally never-before seen height

during the second field work period, and as a result I was essentially forced to choose, from between all of the social groups I had originally planned to approach directly and hopefully interview, which to 'keep' and which to 'lose'. Traveller gatekeepers were unhappy about participating at all or recommending participation to any other Traveller, should (any) Local Authority employees other than the Traveller Education workers even have knowledge of the research (and thus potential eventual access to any part of their responses, even if fully anonymised). They felt (probably correctly) that anyone with a good knowledge of the area and especially the local Traveller sites and their residents would be able to guess 'who might have said what' even if no names were mentioned.

When I explained the research, Travellers were particularly not happy to participate if I would also be directly approaching site management to talk about the sites, but also were unanimous in their disquiet about any Local Authority employee other than TES or Adult Education workers being approached directly (including Planners and Site management personnel), as their perception was that including even one person from such a category in the study would give them knowledge of and access to the final thesis, that this would probably then be passed on to all the others, and that some people, particularly site management staff, would be able to guess which sites had been used for the research and most likely 'who had said what'.

I returned to my supervisors and after some discussion gained ethical approval to interview planners and possibly other Local Authority employees semi-covertly in a similar way to that planned for local Settled people. However I eventually abandoned even this plan due to the rising political tension and wishes of the Traveller community gatekeepers. My rationale for this was that whilst Local Authorities produce plentiful documentary material as a matter of course Travellers generally do not, therefore possibly the only way to access any aspect of Traveller discourse was to prioritise

interviews, and participant observation opportunities, with Travellers. To jeopardise this would have been to risk entering a situation in which I could collect a full complement of interview, participant observation and documentary data from the Local Authority, and local Settled perspectives (or not, as the case may be), but practically no data from the local Traveller perspective. I thus decided that using relevant documentary material already in the public domain (a wealth of which was easily available without any need to approach non-Education Local Authority employees directly), in combination with covert participation observation or non-participant observation, as appropriate, in public and at public events, whilst not ideal, would be acceptable. After arranging for myself the participant observer role of Adult Learning Tutor via Education contacts, in this capacity I was subsequently, and ideally under the circumstances, invited to a local 'Gypsy and Traveller Forum' meeting, where members of all my data collection 'starting point' social categories, including several Local Authority employees, would be present and interacting. After confessing my 'double' role to the organisers in advance of the event and explaining that the final product would be fully anonymised, I received official permission to attend, where it concerned the panel and other delegates, overtly as a 'Tutor', but (semi-)covertly as 'Researcher'. I planned an approach that resulted in my role at the meeting ranging flexibly between participant-as-observer', observer-as-participant', and 'complete observer' in Gold's (1958) terms, or alternatively, between Gans' (1968) 'researcher-participant' and 'total researcher'. In practice, during the talks by the various professionals on the 'panel', and related discussion between them and the approximately 100 Traveller and non-Traveller attendees, I simply stayed silent, taking shorthand notes of proceedings as fully as I was able. Under the circumstances, I felt that audio-recording would have been ethically very problematic even had I asked (which I did not) and been granted permission by the organisers, unless this was announced to the whole group in attendance; which then, even if nobody objected, I felt might influence proceedings in a way that would be undesirable for research purposes. Most importantly, I was very concerned that doing anything that would lead to being

fully overt in my role of researcher would produce much more serious ethical problems regarding the internal anonymity of Traveller interviewees, and thus possibly derail the entire project. Happily, this activity provided me with a wealth of valuable first-hand data without needing to compromise ethics or my agreement with other participants.

Following the part of my research protocol reproduced at Appendix 1, Part A, I conducted seventeen semi-structured interviews, involving twenty-four participants, either individually, in pairs or in one case, a group of four. The participants contributed to varying degrees (from simply 'listening in', to taking the lead in joint or group discussions). See Appendix 1, Part B for a list of the interviews conducted, including broad participant characteristics, venue, and method of recording). Throughout the remainder of this thesis, in excerpts taken from these interviews, 'Participant' will be abbreviated as 'P(number)' (e.g. 'P1'), and 'Researcher' as 'R'. The numerous participant observation experiences (within the context of being resident in the casework area, which I treated as 'ongoing' participant observation at all times) that I was able to achieve were recorded as a diary: I visited each case site and/or its neighbouring villages at least twice a week (and often more often) during my periods of residence in the field, on different days, at different times, and variously in the role of member of the wider local community, adult learning tutor, informal visitor and/or interviewer. I also made five visits to the local Fairground as it moved from venue to venue around Stramshire, and a wide range of single visits, including to a Romani Gypsy woman living roadside, Local Authority-organised events (including the Forum described earlier), local history centres, libraries, local colleges, parks, community centres and shops. These, and the documentary material I collected, are summarised in Appendix 2, according to perspective type, and venue where relevant.

4.4 “O’ Mice, an’ men... [an’ PhD researchers]”⁴⁶: A reflexive field work narrative

4.4.1 Changing Circumstances

Although due to ever-changing circumstances and events, both personal and external, I had to abandon plans and modify my research strategy several times as a result of events and changes in the field, I took the positive approach that, especially within the epistemological paradigm I was working, it could all be considered ‘grist to the mill’. I remained as flexible as possible and was consequently able to collect a wide variety of data from different sources, which I eventually felt was ample and suitably varied for the research task at hand.

4.4.2 Natural Disasters

Unfortunately, my field work area was one of many areas in the UK hit by severe flooding at the very beginning of my first field work period. ⁴⁷Thankfully, my accommodation was unaffected and the local library was not flooded. I spent a lot of time in the library seeking out documentary data manually and via the internet, but apart from that, as a ‘participant’ in the local area, I ‘observed’ an awful lot of rain, and then lots of standing water everywhere; and for several weeks mostly spoke to people about the water, and which supermarkets and petrol stations were still open/accessible/stocked, since that was all anyone, understandably, was very interested in. It was not a productive situation for data collection; I was physically cut off from most of my ‘data collection opportunities’ (and the ones I could access were too busy bailing out their offices/trailers/homes to have time for me). To make matters worse, my key Traveller community gatekeeper, who had been ill, had planned surgery, and due to this became unavailable, just as the water began to subside and

⁴⁶ Burns, 1865:9 (paraphrased)

⁴⁷ Summer 2007

things began to get back to normal. Mainly out of courtesy, but also because attempting to do so could have severely 'backfired', I did not attempt to go over her head. However, since my accommodation was (non-refundably) paid for, I made the best of the situation, and did manage to both collect a good amount of secondary documentary material, start some thinking and initial analysis, and also enter into a few more academically productive participant observation situations towards the end of the period.

4.4.3 '(When) *Life* (takes over)'...

Much as my instinct is to draw a veil over a certain period between late 2007 and mid-2011, the avalanche of significant life events that took place during this period had a massive impact on my PhD work and indeed halted it completely several times. It would therefore feel epistemologically disingenuous to offer no explanation of the fact that I completed my PhD work over a longer period of time than is now considered 'normal' within the current system, that my field work was conducted in two separate periods 18 months apart, and that this thesis is being submitted a considerable amount of time later. I finally came back to my PhD work feeling quite differently to the way I had in early summer 2007, and with a very different set of priorities and responsibilities after a series of personal events⁴⁸ that also had a profound impact upon me, the way in which I 'construct' myself, and the way in which I am 'socially constructed' in my interactions with others; and thus, upon the way in which I conducted my work, and eventually produced this thesis.

⁴⁸ a serious road traffic accident, significant periods of ill health, becoming a home owner, marriage, parenthood, other (still-ongoing) familial 'carer' responsibilities, fighting a medical negligence case, multiple bereavements, the personal effect of the global financial crisis, and further to all this another extended period of ill-health during 2012.

4.4.4 Social/Political Disasters

As a result of the circumstances outlined in the last two sub-sections, most of the active field work for this research project therefore took place in 2009 rather than as originally planned in 2007, but since I had already begun collecting usable data during the earlier fieldwork period, my supervisors agreed that it was acceptable to extend the data collection period rather than simply shifting it forward, in order to not lose the option of using otherwise good and still-relevant research data. By the time I returned to complete my field work (or begin it, essentially, with regard to interviews and participant observation) not only I, but also the political situation in the field had changed dramatically. One of my initial field work activities once I returned in 2009 was to visit the Traveller Education Service team with whom in 2007 (before it started raining) I had arranged to conduct interviews, site visits and participant observation in the role of play worker, and also hopefully use as a snowballing tool to other interviewees. I arrived to conduct my first interviews with the team, only to be asked to wait for some considerable time, before being called into the manager's office. I was then informed, in hushed tones, that she could not be seen to be allowing me access or even accept emails from me as she was, as of the previous week, under investigation for 'misuse of funds', being monitored and feared losing her job, that the jobs of her entire team were 'under threat' as a result, and that I must leave immediately. I did have a chance for a quick unofficial chat on the way out with one Traveller Education worker of some twenty years standing with whom I had worked previously; he was extremely angry, stating that he did not consider the manager to have done anything wrong (she had spent the funds in question on a highly successful Gypsy and Traveller History Month event), and that in his opinion a local political 'shift' was taking place and she was deemed to be too 'independent' in her views on Traveller needs and services. His reading of the situation was that there was an obvious, but unspoken and unofficial as yet, move towards amalgamation of Site management and Traveller Education

Services under another manager, and that for this reason the TES manager was superfluous to requirements but would have been extremely difficult to remove by overt means. His parting words as I left the building were that he felt as though he was 'working in a police state', and I departed in a state of slight shock, with my new digital voice recorder untouched and empty (and while nevertheless, having the above-reproduced participant observation experience to record, feeling somewhat at a loss, as this had been the key remaining opportunity I had been counting on to collect some first-hand 'Local Authority' data, and also possibly 'snowball' to both Traveller and local Settled resident interviewees).

4.4.5 "Just keep goin' on..."⁴⁹: Reflexive 'in-field' management of change and instability

Returning to active completion of data collection now with a family 'in tow' held its challenges, not least finding suitable, affordable accommodation within the field work area (the collective 'I' no longer fit into the single student room I had stayed in during 2007). However, it also had its benefits. In my new additional identity of 'wife' and 'mother of a young child', I had unwittingly become a member of a category that was much more readily understood and accepted by the Traveller people I was working with, and thus while no longer 'fitting' into single student accommodation, I found that I did 'fit' much more easily into informal, social 'participant observation' situations within their families and communities, particularly on the second of the case study sites, where I had been less well known prior to the research. I felt very noticeably more warmly and comfortably welcomed when I did not arrive for participant observation alone, especially when accompanied by the more diminutive of my two 'research assistants'. However, I noticed a similar effect during site visits with my 'other half' (who also did some part-time on-site work as an 'Adult Learning' tutor during the field work period), when I noticed that the men of the community became and/or remained more

⁴⁹ Bibb, 1999:5

visible, and often willing to 'chat' to an extent unimaginable when he was not present). I also felt that when I, or we, went out with our daughter in the local Settled community of which we were temporarily a part, that I/we had a more natural, 'immersed' role as 'parent/s of a young child' or as a 'family', within the context; and I 'blended' (and thus participated), much more easily when in my family's company⁵⁰.

I was further able to access some Adult Education workers with experience of the sites and with whom the Travellers were happy for me to speak openly, and was eventually able, through remaining flexible in the face of all the changes and challenges, creative about the research process, and a variety of sampling methods, to produce what I felt was 'good enough' quality interview, documentary and even participant observation data pertinent to *all* of my main 'starting-point' social categories.

4.5 Chapter 4 Conclusion: From research design and data collection, to data analysis

In the first and second parts of this chapter, I have discussed and justified my research design, and also discussed the issue of ethics, outlining some ethical issues with particular relevance to this research. In the final part of the chapter, I have offered a 'narrative-style' account of some of the key challenges and opportunities I encountered whilst attempting to collect primary data 'in the field', and how I approached and managed these. With perseverance, and by taking the flexible approach described in this chapter, I eventually succeeded in collecting a wealth of data more than adequate for my research purposes (although, as also discussed in this chapter, not all by the methods or of the types I had originally planned). Over the next four chapters, I will now move on to describe and discuss the process of analysis of this collected data, beginning, in Chapter 5, with an account of how I organised and structured my initial collection and analysis, drew out broad themes and categories, and produced an initial

⁵⁰ See Appendix 4 for photographs taken during 'collective' participant observation.

analytical framework to aid further analysis towards the ultimate goal of addressing my research question.

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS I. Justification of data-collection starting-point; initial development of key themes, categories and theoretical framework

This chapter will begin, by reference to the extant literature reviewed and the conclusions of my own deconstructive analysis of everyday English language words and terms key to this research⁵¹, with a discussion of the social categories used to initially organize data collection, in order to clarify and justify this starting-point. It will then show how key analytical themes of ‘residence’ (lifeway) and ‘culture’ (ethnicity) were developed from the empirical data; how, through a process of discursive deconstruction and reconstruction of the ‘starting-point’ *social* categories in relation to these themes, I produced alternative *socio-discursive* categories for use in further analysis; and how this informed the initial development of a ‘bi-modal’, socio-discursive analytical ‘framework’, according to which I worked in further stages of my analysis of the data (to be covered in later chapters).

5.1 Discussion of rationale for the social categories used for data collection and initial analysis ‘starting point’

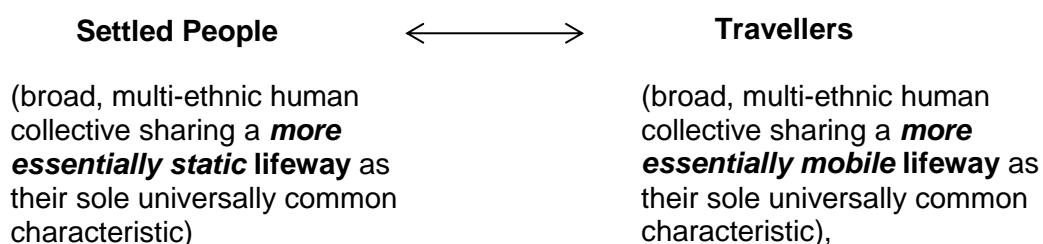
As touched upon in my introductory chapter, I found the commonly recognised and usually ‘bottom-line’ general sociological categorisation binary of

hegemonic/dominant (group) \longleftrightarrow non-hegemonic/marginal (group)

to be universally reproduced throughout the ‘Traveller-focused literature I reviewed. More specifically, in the case of my work, and regardless of the academic perspective taken or the particular Traveller ethnic sub-group or groups focused upon in individual texts, this binary, generally produced as a dichotomy, was consistently and

⁵¹ Summarized in the Introduction (Chapter 1) to this thesis

strongly represented across the whole range of Traveller-focused material considered,
as



For example:

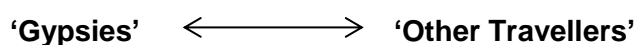
“...Travellers’ occupation of marginal space (both physical and cultural) within the sedentary society [...] may be open to renegotiation by either side [...]”
“[...] space [...] is a concept which is open to reinterpretation spatially and temporally by both [...] dominant and marginal groups.”

(Kendall, 1997:87)

“[...] accommodation [of nomadism is] difficult, especially in a society where settled 'sedentarist' interests are paramount and other lifestyles may be viewed as deviant.”

(Niner, 2004:141)

The individual sub-groups and collectives of groups (further sub-divided variously in social, cultural and/or ethnic terms) corresponding with the generalised definition of ‘Travellers’ adopted in this thesis, were universally produced as ‘non-hegemonic’, ‘marginal’ etc. However, differentiation between different ‘Travelling’ sub-groups occurred, depending on the field, topic or epistemological perspective taken, in a range of often conflicting ways. For example, the contrast



appeared very commonly in some of the literature, but I could not strictly categorise this as a 'pair' due to the suggestion that at least the latter category is apparently a collective of ethnically and/or culturally distinctive sub-groups (each of which may be individually counterpart to 'Gypsies'), and thus more than a single contrasting category. Further, the category 'Gypsies' may also comprise multiple ethnically/culturally distinct sub-groups, and as discussed in the introduction to this thesis, there is a lack of clear consensus, and often overlap and blurring, regarding who comprises either category.

In work in which 'Gypsies and Travellers' appeared explicitly in the paired form, although the suggestion of a particularist, racialised definition of ethnicity was implicit I was unable to find any explicit, satisfying discussion of or justification for, either the linguistic primacy in this binary of 'Gypsies' over presumably its counterpart 'Traveller' sub-categories, or the frequent consignment of (*all*, equally 'ethnic', in the terms adopted by this thesis) 'Other Travellers' to membership of a collective of either anonymous, or comparatively vaguely defined, groups. I thus rejected this distinction as useful for the purpose of data-collection.

A further category pair that I noticed in some literature and thus also spent some time considering, was that of

'born'/'traditional' Travellers \longleftrightarrow **'elective'/'New' Travellers.**

However, in the words of Niner (2003):

"It is likely that small numbers of the settled community have adopted a nomadic lifestyle throughout history, and that New Travellers represent the current manifestation of a long-term historical trend. Some New Travellers may settle into houses, others may continue to travel and transmit a travelling lifestyle to their children."

(Niner 2003:20).

Niner and other authors further present 'elective/New Travellers' as a socially, culturally and ethnically very diverse collective whose motivations for 'electing' to Travel, and their Travelling way of life itself, appear to overlap greatly with those of 'born/traditional Travellers':

"New Travellers are extremely varied and are on the road for a wide variety of **economic, environmental, social and personal reasons** [...]."

(Niner 2003:20, emphasis added),

"[For some] New Traveller[s...] the lifestyle is through **choice** or **birth** whilst for others it is due to **social or economic reasons**."

(Clark and Greenfields, 2006:17, emphasis added).

Most authors agree that Travellers, whether 'traditional' or 'elective', thus need similar resources in order to sustain a similar 'lifestyle'/identity:

"[...Historically,] tensions have arisen between different groups of Gypsies and Travellers [...] often centred on competition for scarce resources between the groups, competing for employment activities or sites. [...] new enforcement measures against nomadism [were introduced] in the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994, which [whilst directed at 'New Age Travellers',] impinged on [...] all nomadic groups. [...]."

(Richardson and Ryder 2012: 7-8),

and some appeared to collectivise, rather than contrast, these two categories, especially when writing in general terms. For example:

"[Prior to 1960] enough common land survived the centuries of enclosure to provide enough lawful stopping places for **people whose way of life was or had become nomadic** [...]."

(Bowers, 2007: 25 (emphasis added))

Consequently, after similar consideration I again decided to reject this further distinction as useful for structuring my data collection, and simply retain the main category 'Travellers', intact, as a 'starting-point' category for the purpose of data collection; feeling that the risk in prematurely sub-dividing it, would be unnecessary and potentially unjustifiable advance 'prediction' of the way in which 'Travellers' might actually be sub-divided or sub-divide themselves within my particular field work locale.

Within the same literature, the 'hegemonic' or 'dominant' category 'settled people' was by contrast very commonly (and relatively consistently) sub-divided into a further, generalised binary contrast pair:

'State' ←————→ 'non-State'

I found examples of this category contrast, represented in a taken-for-granted, unproblematic way, in both the general mainstream academic work reviewed for this thesis with no particular focus upon (or even mention of) Travellers:

“[...] the state must be treated as one of the agents in the embedding of housing and residence in social structure, with a degree of autonomy and its own interests [...] representatives of **the state** do have broader concerns [...] that go beyond the sponsoring of **sectional social interests.**”

(Kemeny 1992: 160),

and across a range of variously-located and -focused work on or including consideration of Travellers:

“[...]There were repeated [attempts to evict a small group of Travellers], sometimes initiated by **the council** and sometimes in response to complaints from **local residents** [...]”

(Sibley, 1981:130, emphasis added)

“The unrestrained prejudice [...] of **the settled majority** [...] may prevent the possibility of meeting **the government’s** wish that [Gypsy planning] applications should be treated ‘on the same grounds as any other development’ ”

(Hawes and Perez, 1996:162)

“[...] Gypsy responses [to processes of change in wider macro-society] provoke counter-responses, in various forms, of **society** and **state institutions**.”

(Marushiakova and Popov, 2001:46)

“Providing [accommodation] for Gypsies and other Travellers is often contentious and unpopular with **the settled community**, and [...] does not sit very easily within **local government** [...]”

(Niner, 2003:213)

“Conflict has arisen between **urban settled denizens, local authorities** [...] and Irish Travellers [...]”

(Power, 2007:85)

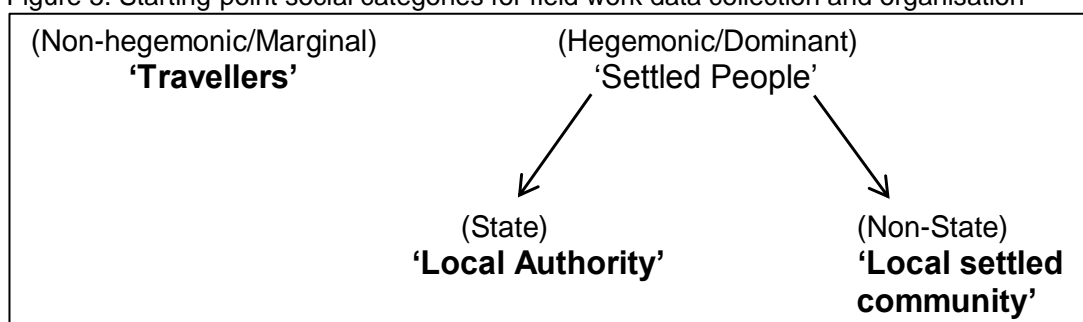
Although more rarely discussed explicitly, some authors also recognised a fourth influential group distinct enough to merit separate mention:

“Four parties are, in principle, involved in the process of arriving at a definition of Gypsies: those being defined, i.e. Gypsies, the authorities [...], **academics**, and – however vague it may sound – the population at large.”

(Willems, 1998:7, emphasis added)

Recognising in addition my own position as primary representative, in my field work context, of this distinct 'academic' category (within which context I planned to apply my previously discussed commitment to conscious reflexivity and full acknowledgement/ explicit inclusion of my own personal, situated perspective in my work), I thus settled upon the other three key categories for use as a starting-point for collecting and organising data produced by others (represented in bold type below):

Figure 5. Starting-point social categories for field work data collection and organisation



From early on during my first period of active field work, I noticed versions of these three categories recurring in easily visible ways in the empirical research material collected. A particularly clear example was in an interview conducted towards the end of my second period of residence in the field work area:

*P22: The Local Authority are under pressure(...) to keep [Traveller Sites] away from people that might complain... **The Council** is stuck between **the Travellers** and **Settled people** (...)⁵².*

I felt that such pre-analysis appearances of the three categories chosen in research material drawn directly from the field provided further triangulatory confirmation of the soundness of my selection of these as initial 'starting point' categories. However, from

⁵² Excerpt from Interview 15, with Settled female Stramshire Local Authority Adult Education worker, direct experience of both case sites and residents, and of other Travellers in Stramshire, 2009 (emphasis added).

the outset I remained prepared to deconstruct and reconstruct these as my analysis progressed, according to the way in which, from my perspective as a 'local' representative of the additional, distinct 'academics' category, I perceived them to be produced in my data. Essentially, rather than as any kind of unquestionable 'bottom line' or 'objective reality', I accepted these three 'starting-point' categories as 'real' on a limited, temporary basis, for practical purposes only; as a first point of reference, anchored within the extant literature, from which to organise my initial data collection and analysis.

5.2 Deconstruction of main 'starting point' social categories

Once satisfied that the three discursive categories outlined in the previous section were represented consistently as distinct, key 'bottom line' entities within the various broader Traveller- and Traveller site- related literature I had accessed, and having successfully triangulated these with initial research material collected in the field, for the local level I formulated these as

Travellers Local Authority Local Settled Community,

to use as a simple data-collection/production framework.

I developed my 'academic' account of the 'Traveller site' from each of these category perspectives by exploring data collected from, or commenting directly upon, however broadly, any of these perspectives in relation to Local Authority Traveller Sites in the general case context and the individual case sites. The data, as planned, came from interview and/or non-participant observation of individuals or groups, documentary material, and participant observation⁵³.

⁵³ A summary of all research material collected, by relevance to sites, main initial category, and deconstructed subcategory, can be found at Appendix 2.

Early in the data collection period, and long before I attempted more formal analysis of the data, through processes of triangulation across material collected from different sources, I was again as expected able to begin 'deconstructing' my general starting-point categories into further, locally-produced sub-categories, based on both people's and groups' own self-descriptions, and their descriptions of others.

5.3 Analysis of social sub-categories and development of themes

Most of the social sub-categories identified whilst in the field were neither neat nor discrete, with much overlap and blurring between them. A notable exception to this, though, was that while almost all of the deconstructed sub-categories produced from my data overlapped to some degree with other sub-categories, I was able to construct no local overlap whatsoever, from my material on either case site or from the general case study context area, between any Local Authority sub-category and any Traveller sub-category.

As with the main 'starting-point' categories, I continued to recognise the socially constructed nature and inherent instability of the categories and descriptive terms with which I was working, with all of the sub-categories produced remaining, in principle, entirely 'problematizable'.

5.3.1 The construction of Local Authority and local settled resident sub-categories

Whilst retaining the notion of two distinct 'hegemonic/dominant' sub-categories, I have returned these to a single 'settled people' category for discussion here. This is because during the initial stages of my field work I found that individual Non-Travellers (whether or not associated occupationally with the Local Authority) tended to describe themselves and other settled individuals in the same way: primarily, in terms of name and/or job/occupation:

'This is Jenny, she's a Traveller Education worker'⁵⁴

'John is a charity fundraiser'⁵⁵

and/or according to the geographical location of their ('permanently static) home':

'I am from/live in Stramington'⁵⁶.

but rarely in terms of ethnicity/culture. By contrast, in general, Traveller participants described almost all non-Travellers in terms of their sedentary lifeway/residence mode:

'she was a country woman... you know, a settled person'

'the people who live in houses, in the village...'⁵⁷

and/or in terms of their name and/or job role:

'This is James, he does Driving Theory with our young'uns'⁵⁸

'A Doctor came on to the site'.⁵⁹

Ethnicity was mentioned by Travellers when describing Settled people, but generally only when their perception was of an ethnicity typically recognized as a *minority* by the

⁵⁴ Excerpt from P/O notes made periodically during, and after, Local Travellers' Education Group "Gypsy and Traveller History Month" Event: Introduction of another previously unknown Settled person (name has been changed) made by a Settled individual (who became P22 of Interview 15) already known to me.

⁵⁵ From P/O notes made after brief conversation with the individual who later became P5 of Interview 2, when setting up a time for her to be interviewed (after local Traveller Education Group meeting). We chatted about her family and the above is how she described her husband (name has been changed), who at that point I had never met.

⁵⁶ E.g. as recorded in P/O notes from conversations with various Settled individuals whilst going about the business of daily life as a resident of 'Greater Stramington'

⁵⁷ Both excerpts from group interview 1, with 4 adult female Irish Traveller Ivyhill Park site residents, 2009.

⁵⁸ Excerpt from P/O notes made periodically during, and after, Local Travellers' Education Group "Gypsy and Traveller History Month" Event: Introduction of a previously unknown Settled person by a Traveller known previously to me (name has been changed).

⁵⁹ Excerpt from group interview 1, with 4 adult female Irish Traveller Ivyhill Park site residents, 2009.

majority population, e.g.

*'a Black woman'*⁶⁰

*'my Pakistani friend'*⁶¹

5.3.2 The construction of 'Traveller' sub-categories

Travellers generally categorized themselves and other Travellers primarily in terms of name *and* family or extended family/kinship/'clan' relationships:

*'She's married to my dad's cousin'*⁶²

*'This is Mary's Joe, and Winnie's Christy'*⁶³

*'My mother was a Price'*⁶⁴

and/or social/cultural/ethnic group:

*'I'm (a) Romany (Gypsy)'*⁶⁵

*'She's a(n Irish) Traveller'*⁶⁶

*'They are all Showmen'*⁶⁷.

*'I've parked up with New Travellers before'*⁶⁸

⁶⁰ Excerpt from P/O notes of an informal conversation on-site with an Ivyhill Park site resident (describing a local BME support worker who had visited the Traveller Education Group)

⁶¹ Excerpt from group interview 1, with 4 adult female Irish Traveller Ivyhill Park site residents, 2009.

⁶² Excerpt from P/O notes made after informal visit to Gorsecroft, from conversation with Housed Traveller visiting relatives on site, 2009

⁶³ Excerpt from P/O notes made after informal visit to Ivyhill Park, when two young boys knocked on the trailer door on an errand (names have been changed), 2009.

⁶⁴ Excerpt from P/O notes made after informal conversation with Romany Gypsy woman on visit to trailer at roadside stopping place, 2009. Name has been changed.

⁶⁵ Excerpt from P/O notes made after informal conversation with Romany Gypsy woman on visit to trailer at roadside stopping place, 2009.

⁶⁶ Excerpt from P/O notes made after conversation with Irish Traveller woman (later P2 in Interview 1) during informal visit to Ivyhill Park, 2009.

⁶⁷ Excerpt from P/O notes made after informal conversation with P10 (Interview 5) during post-(recorded) interview walk together around residential area of temporary Fairground site. 2009.

⁶⁸ Excerpt from group interview 1 (P1), with 4 adult female Irish Traveller Ivyhill Park site residents, 2009.

Explicit representation in terms of mode of residence was generally secondary to this, and often mentioned explicitly only if the person/people concerned were either actively nomadic or housed:

*'they're on the road'*⁶⁹

*'she's in a council house now'*⁷⁰

*'we're all from the Ivyhill [site]'*⁷¹

By contrast, descriptions of Gypsies and Travellers collected from 'Local Authority' (especially documentary) sources generally categorized them by name if a specific individual, but then primarily with reference to their residence mode and/or location:

*'...occupants of unauthorized developments...'*⁷²

*'...residents on the permanent council owned sites...'*⁷³

*'...Gypsies/Travellers... camped on council land...'*⁷⁴

*'...I worked with one family of Housed Travellers...'*⁷⁵

Explicit construction of 'ethnicity' or 'race' in descriptions from this perspective was inconsistent, but on closer analysis, it seemed that both or either 'ethnic'/'cultural' and 'lifeway'/'residential mode' category descriptors were used variously by the Local Authority to describe actively nomadic people, whereas 'resident' or 'occupant' were

⁶⁹ Excerpt from P/O notes made after informal conversation at Gypsy and Traveller History Month event with Settled Traveller Education worker (later P5, Interview 2), 2009

⁷⁰ Excerpt from P/O notes made after informal conversation during social visit to female Irish Traveller resident of Gorsecroft, 2009

⁷¹ Excerpt from P/O notes made after attending public 'Gypsy and Traveller Stakeholders Forum' meeting, from conversation witnessed between Irish Traveller women and a Settled professional attendee, 2009.

⁷² As in Regional GTAA (Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Assessment) document with direct relevance to Stramshire, 2007:168

⁷³ Excerpt from P/O notes made during Gypsy and Traveller Stakeholders Forum meeting, 2009 (From talk given by representative of the Traveller Services Team)

⁷⁴ As in 'Stramshire' County Council web page entitled 'Problems with Gypsies or Travellers encampments'

⁷⁵ Excerpt from P/O notes made after informal conversation with Settled Traveller Education worker at local Traveller Education group meeting, 2009

the primary descriptors used for people living on unauthorized developments, authorized private sites, or permanent Local Authority sites.

There were no Local Authority-run 'Transit sites' in the case study area, and references to these in my locally-produced data appeared rarely. However, in other locally-relevant (but regionally or nationally-produced) material considered⁷⁶, 'lifeway'/'residence', or 'ethnic'/'culture'-related terms were often replaced by the term 'User' or similar as a descriptor for people on such sites. References to Travellers living in conventional housing were also less frequent in my local material, but in their case, 'lifeway'/'residence'-related and 'ethnic'/'cultural' terms tended to reappear, where the descriptors

'Housed Travellers' or *'Housed Gypsies'*⁷⁷,

combining 'lifeway'/'residence' mode with 'ethnicity'/'culture', were used almost universally in 'Local Authority'-generated descriptions.

The descriptors used by members of the Local Settled Community for Travellers also often combined 'ethnicity'/'culture' and 'lifeway'/'residence' components:

*"...travelling gypsies... camped on the roadside..."*⁷⁸

*"the ones... who live on the gypsy caravan site"*⁷⁹.

As I kept case-specific track of the sub-categories produced in both my site-specific and more generally case study area-relevant data, I found that, to the 'depth' of

⁷⁶ E.g. the Regional GTAA (Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Assessment) document with direct relevance to Stramshire; the Housing Act 2004

⁷⁷ E.g. as in the Stramshire GTAA document

⁷⁸ Excerpt from Interview 10, with female Settled resident (P17) of Efford (village geographically nearest to Ivyhill Park site), 2009.

⁷⁹ Excerpt from Interview 10 with female Settled resident (P17) of Efford (village nearest to Ivyhill Park site), 2009.

deconstruction required by the design of this project, I was almost immediately noting identical or very similar sub-category variants, which I was able to organise consistently according to certain sub-categorical themes. Any distinction I could produce as academically significant between the case sites and the general area in this respect fast disappeared, and as I continued to collect and produce data from across my range of sources, I was able to increasingly triangulate the accounts I had been constructing of subcategories in each individual case both with each other and with my account of sub-categories derived from material with more general relevance to the case study area. As I began to feel confident of the 'saturation' of this dimension of my data, and its general congruence, I also began to notice features at the level of the triangulation that were analytically interesting and, I felt much more significant than the obvious, direct differences that I was aware of between the cases. For example, I felt that, given my research strategy, variation in the numbers of examples of descriptions of different social sub-categories I had collected in relation to each site was predictable and analytically uninteresting. I thus decided that to aid further analysis of other dimensions and aspects of the site-specific data, it would be most useful to simply create a general account, applicable equally to both case sites and the wider local area, of the thematic sub-categorical organisation of the three initial social person/group categories, which, due to its length, I have included here at Appendix 3).

5.3.3 Key themes derived from the analysis of sub-category construction

Using the account of my main 'starting point' social categories deconstructed into sub-categories found at Appendix 3, whilst continuing to collect data I arranged the individual sub-categories thematically into groups, gradually constructing through a process of triangulation a pair of accounts, one from the material relating to each individual site, and a further independent but near-identical account of the same main sub-categories from material relating to the general case study area. From triangulation of data in this respect between the sites, and between each of these and the general

context area, I eventually produced the following generally applicable summary:

Figure 6. Summary of key initial analytical ‘themes’ derived from deconstruction of initial social sub-categories.

Initial category: ↓	Traveller ↓	Local Settled Community ↓	Local Authority ↓
Sub-categorical Themes:	Lifeway/ residence mode Ethnic/cultural identity Family or Clan relationship	Residence Location Occupation/ community role	Geo-political area Department Job role

In relation to ‘Travellers’, two sub-categorical themes recurred most strongly and repeatedly in people’s descriptions, neither of which I could reduce to the other, and which I summarized as:

‘Residence’ and **‘Culture’**,

recognising these as a local representation of Traveller identity corresponding with one element of the essential, internal residence/subsistence ‘lifeway’ binary, and the generalised (or specific, but non-racialised) formulation of the set of socially inherited characteristics comprising ‘ethnicity’, identified through my analysis of lay language and its use within the relevant literature summarized in the introduction to this thesis.

5.4 ‘Residence’ and ‘Culture’: further exploration of two key locally-produced descriptive themes

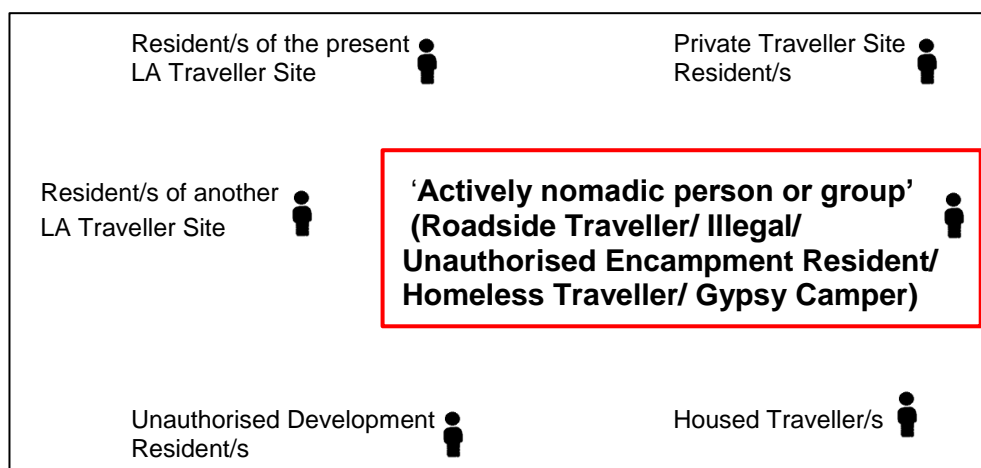
At the level of the triangulation during the process of initial analysis described above, I had repeatedly noticed an unusual and distinctive feature of one particular Gypsy/Traveller sub-category in comparison to all of the other sub-categories. Due to

this it was to closer consideration of this sub-category, in the context of these two general themes developed, that I next turned.

5.4.1 'Normal' or 'abnormal' residence?: The social construction of the residential aspect of active nomadism ('Travelling')

Although the overarching focus of my PhD work remained the Local Authority Traveller Site, from a discursive perspective, a counterpart social sub-category to the one corresponding directly with this main focus was by far the most distinctive and interesting during this first stage of my analysis:

Figure 7. Lifeway/residence modes of Travellers in the field work area, with the 'actively nomadic person or group' emphasized (adapted from Appendix 3, Diagram 1)



As seen above, in relation to the Traveller 'residential mode' sub-categories there had been general cross-main social category consensus with regard to the descriptors used to identify them, with the exception of one that stood out as uniquely distinctive in that I had collected multiple, equally strong, and conflicting, constructions of what nevertheless appeared to be the same entity. This was to such an extent that I was unable to settle upon a single category descriptor agreed to any extent between the different individuals and groups doing the describing, and thus, for analytical purposes (and thus from the fourth, 'academic' perspective (which, as discussed, in my view

remained simultaneously and unequivocally 'personal') that I myself represented within the research context), although this descriptor did not appear explicitly in any of the data I had collected produced from other perspectives through a triangulation of what I felt was the only common feature of the differing constructions, I eventually termed this category the 'actively nomadic person or group'.

That I had been unable to triangulate my way to a common or even partially agreed/strongest descriptor for this category, and had thus needed to produce my own 'neutral' or 'unifying' term as an alternative to those that appeared in my data, suggested to me discursive contestation between social perspectives with regard to the accepted nature of the 'reality' of this entity. I thus set myself the preliminary analytical task of focusing in on this phenomenon, to consider more closely the different constructions that I had produced in relation to it whilst in the field and how these, and this category, might relate to the seemingly less-controversial Traveller 'lifeway'/'residential mode' categories I had produced as its counterparts (including that related to the main focus of my project, the 'Local Authority Site resident').

I was able to broadly divide the different descriptions I observed in my data into two distinct ways of constructing the sub-category under scrutiny, plus a third, 'hybrid'-type construction, which corresponded closely with my three 'starting-point' social category perspectives. To illustratively summarise this, both 'actively nomadic' Travellers themselves, and other Travellers describing them, universally built the facticity of their descriptions with specific detail such as:

*'Out travelling'*⁸⁰

*'Roadside [Travellers]'*⁸¹

⁸⁰ Excerpt from Interview 16, with adult female resident of Gorsecroft (P23) and 12-year-old daughter, 2009

*[Travellers] (living) on the Road*⁸²

However, in National, Regional and Local Authority documentary data, the facticity of descriptions of people engaging in this same activity was produced using quite different details:

*'Those living or present on an unauthorized encampment'*⁸³

*'Illegal campers'/'trespassers'*⁸⁴

*'Homeless Travellers'*⁸⁵

Explicit reference to ethnicity and/or active nomadism was frequently omitted, except when the phenomenon was produced as 'homelessness'.

Local settled residents used a wider variety of details to build their descriptions of the same type of people and activity:

*'Campers'*⁸⁶

*'Trespassers'*⁸⁷

*'Travelling families'*⁸⁸

*'Gypsies'*⁸⁹,

⁸¹ Excerpt from Interview 3, with Irish Traveller married couple (husband, P6, and wife, P7), residents of Ivyhill Park site, 2009

⁸² Excerpt from Interview 5, with adult male Fairground Traveller (P10) living roadside and in private (authorized and unauthorized) developments

⁸³ Excerpt from 'Stramshire' Police Policy Document: 'Unauthorised Encampments', 2005:2

⁸⁴ Excerpt from 'Stramshire' County Council web page: 'Problems with Gypsies or Travellers encampments' [Accessed 2009]

⁸⁵ Excerpt from P/O notes made during 'Stramshire' Gypsy and Traveller Stakeholders Forum meeting, 2009 (From comment by Local Authority employee attendee to the Panel)

⁸⁶ Ref. 'Stramshire' Local Newspaper online article with 'Readers' Comments', 2007, [Accessed 2007]. Also Ref. Interview 10, with female Settled resident (P17) of Efford (village geographically nearest to Ivyhill Park site), 2009.

⁸⁷ Ref. 'Stramington' Local News online article 2007 [Accessed 2007].

⁸⁸ Ref. Interview 14, with female Settled resident (P21) of Efford (village geographically nearest to Ivyhill Park site), 2009.

⁸⁹ Ref. Interview 10, with female Settled resident (P17) of Efford (village geographically nearest to Ivyhill Park site), 2009.

or some combination of the above, sometimes, but not always, also adding the detail *'illegal'* to the description.

a) Traveller sub-category constructions of active nomadism

Travellers I spoke to and observed often described their own and other Travellers' culture and/or ethnicity, using detail similar to that used by Settled people for this purpose (for example, 'Romany' or 'New Age Traveller'). However, no such person self-identified, or identified any other person, in the 'residential' terms used by non-Travellers to describe people or groups I have termed 'actively nomadic', (i.e. they would describe themselves or others as 'Travellers' or 'Gypsies', but never 'illegal encampment residents'; and although the word 'camp' was occasionally used (in descriptions of the temporary 'stopping places' of actively nomadic groups), never as 'campers'). I did however find the type of descriptive detail (e.g. 'Roadside', 'gone off (travelling)') universally used by Travellers sometimes also used by non-Traveller individuals whose work (whether Local Authority employees or otherwise) brought them into direct contact with Travelling people in a support role, e.g. health, education or advice workers, or who knew the Gypsies or Travellers in question on a personal basis, e.g. through association at their childrens' school.

The detail used in descriptions of 'actively nomadic people' produced by members of 'Traveller' sub-categories to build the facticity of this category (generally termed by such people as 'Roadside Traveller'), such as:

*'Pulled over'*⁹⁰

*'Stopping/stopped'*⁹¹

⁹⁰ Excerpt from P/O notes made after conversation with adult female Fairground Traveller during informal site visit to temporary fairground venue

⁹¹ Excerpt from Interview 1, with 4 adult female Irish Traveller Ivyhill Park site residents, 2009.

*'Staying by/on the side of the road'*⁹²

constructed the defining characteristic of the activity under scrutiny as a *'stillness'*, by means of an implied binary counterpart of *motion*:

<i>'Pulled over'</i>	↔	<i>(moving off)</i>
<i>'Stopping/stopped'</i>	↔	<i>(going/moving on)</i>
<i>'Staying by/on the side of the road'</i>	↔	<i>((in motion)on the road)</i>

The particular detail employed also implied orientation of these descriptions to a generalised, essential contrast between the residential modes of

<i>'Travelling people'</i>	↔	<i>'Settled people'('gadže'/'country people'/'house dwellers'/'buffers'),</i>
----------------------------	---	--

which, from my 'academic' perspective I reproduced as corresponding with the contrast between

<i>(essentially) mobile residence</i>	↔	<i>(essentially) static residence.</i>
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In the field data, 'Traveller' and 'Settled' were the terms most often used to denote 'mobile' and 'static' lifeway/residence categories, but (mostly in material from the Local Authority, and never in material from Travellers) 'nomadic' and 'sedentary' also sometimes appeared, used generally as synonyms for 'Traveller' and 'Settled' as in the literature discussed in the introduction to this thesis.

In the data I collected, Traveller sub-group members also talked about hegemonic 'Settled' ways of living in, from and to 'permanently static' bricks and mortar dwellings, and I was able to triangulate this as an

⁹² Excerpt from Interview 4, with with two teenage female Irish Traveller Ivyhill Park residents P8 and P9), 2009

Essentially still/static ('Settled') 'mode of residence', permanently fixed in a socio-geographical *place* (in its sense of a specific position or location).

This residence mode was constructed by the Travellers I interviewed or observed as 'normal' *for the non-Traveller majority population*. Concurrently, they constructed their own and/or other Travellers' 'active nomadism'-contextualised temporary 'stillness', in, from and to 'permanently mobile' dwellings, intertwined with the implicit counterpart of temporary 'motion', or an

Essentially mobile ('Travelling') mode of 'residence', permanently mobile on regular roads or routes in areas (thus in a *place in its subsense of an area or region*).

In the data I collected from Travellers this mode of residence was constructed as alternatively 'normal' in comparison to the (equally accepted, for 'others') dominant norm, generally in terms of desirable/harmless 'difference':

P2: *...but I can honestly say that it's lovely, lovely out travelling. It is lovely.*

P1: *It really is.*

P2: *There's one town, W----, remember the big field?*

P1: *Yeah...*

P2: *Oh it was lovely. And we used to keep it really clean, and we were left [alone] there for a while...*

P3: *We used to give anything, give anything to go off travelling. Anything, we'd give.⁹³*

P4: *...I remember our J---... we went to Appleby... and it was all... this side, we had trailers and pickups. And across the, the flyover, was the wagons and horses, now, they were English- Gypsies, right? And they didn't know we were there, and we didn't know they were there, 'til you drove the bypass, when you drove over the flyover, and you'd look, and*

⁹³ Excerpt from group Interview 1 with 4 adult female Irish Traveller Ivyhill Park site residents, 2009

you'd see the two different, sort of, 'ways', it was. And our J--- used to cook outside, so he did, and it was absolutely lovely, so it was, the eating outside, and cooking outside. I mean, people do it now on barbecues and that's... that's al... that's great, 'cause that's acceptance... so it is... it's absolutely... it is nice... ⁹⁴

P10: "...We are, we live in, you know, Great Britain, we work and we're taxpayers, we're not ... you know... foreign... I mean I'm not... I've got nothing against anyone coming in, but we're British people, the fifth generation of our family travelling in the same area, I'm not sort of, travelling all over the country...so, you know, I'm based in Stramshire...⁹⁵

The 'Traveller' mode of residence was thus characterized by most people from Traveller sub-categories as 'alternative' but equally 'normal' to that of the 'Settled' majority population, with *both*, produced in a binary contrast relationship as qualitatively different but *equally normal* (to one or other segment of the population) lifeway/residence mode categories, intrinsic to a more broadly defined 'Traveller' lifeway paradigm. Some blurring was also apparent, with aspects of the 'Settled' residential mode also produced by some Travellers as not incongruous with their own:

R: What about the mobile homes you live in, tell me more about those...

P8: Chalets.

P9: I don't like the chalets. I wouldn't want a house, not a house with stairs, but a bungalow, like, properly built bungalows from stone or brick would be good. Warmer in the winter. They're [houses/bungalows] cosy...⁹⁶

b) 'Local Authority' social sub-category constructions of active nomadism

In both nationally and regionally-produced material with general relevance to, and

⁹⁴ Excerpt from group Interview 1 with 4 adult female Irish Traveller Ivyhill Park site residents, 2009

⁹⁵ Excerpt from Interview 5, with adult male Fairground Traveller living roadside and in unauthorised developments in the general Stramshire area, 2009

⁹⁶ Excerpt from joint Interview 4, with 2 teenage female Irish Traveller Ivyhill Park residents, 2009

Local Authority material specific to, the field work area, I located parallel descriptions of people corresponding with my category of 'actively nomadic people'. However, by contrast, in data collected from these perspectives, that which was constructed by Travellers as a (temporary) 'stillness', counterpart to (temporary) 'motion' in the context of a permanently mobile mode of residence, was constructed quite differently:

Accommodation needs of gypsies and travellers

225 Duties of local housing authorities: accommodation needs of gypsies and travellers

(1) Every local housing authority must, when undertaking a review of housing needs in their district under section 8 of the Housing Act 1985 (c. 68), carry out an assessment of the accommodation needs of gypsies and travellers residing in or **resorting to their district.**⁹⁷

'[...] The types of accommodation used by Gypsies and Travellers fall into four broad types:

Authorised Sites- are **sites** owned by local authorities where Gypsies and Travellers may rent or buy a **pitch** on which to **park** their trailer or caravan[...]

Unauthorised Developments-are developments that occur when Gypsies or Travellers buy a **piece of land** which does not have planning permission for a dwelling and **place a chalet, trailer or caravan on it**[...]

Unauthorised Encampment- is the term used to describe the **parking of a caravan or trailer on land** which is not owned by the Gypsy or Traveller and which does not have planning permission for a dwelling.

Housing- there is no specific housing reserved for Gypsies and Travellers in the[...] Region, but **it is estimated that around 50% of Gypsies and Travellers nationally live in housing.**⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Excerpt taken from 2004 Housing Act Chapter 34 Part 6 Chapter 5: MISCELLANEOUS, emphasis added

⁹⁸ Excerpt from Regional GTAA (Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Assessment) document with direct relevance to Stramshire, 2007

Code of Conduct

The code of conduct is handed out to unauthorized Traveller sites in Stramshire. It sets out standards of expected behaviour.

Any **unauthorized stay on land** is limited in time and is dependent on Travellers complying with the code.

Travellers should:

- treat **the land they are occupying** with respect
- respect the rights of other people who also wish to use the area
- keep the same standard of behaviour that is expected of the settled community (those **living on** permanent council-owned or private sites) [...]⁹⁹

It appeared to me that the alternative descriptive detail in Local Authority documentary material, for example:

'Encampment'

'Place (a chalet, trailer or caravan)'

'Site'

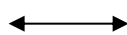
'Park (a caravan or trailer)'

'Resort to'

'Unauthorised'

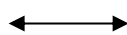
also appeared to construct the same phenomenon as 'still'. However, the similarity appeared to me to be only superficial, since the particular constructions suggested a different kind of 'stillness'- 'impermanent' rather than 'temporary', by reference to an implied, 'permanently' still, binary counterpart:

(Temporary, residential)
Encampment/camp



**((Permanent, residential)
built Development)**

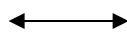
Resort to



(Reside in)

And further, as 'out of place' and in violation of accepted social 'norms',

Unauthorised



(Authorised)

⁹⁹ Excerpt from 'Stramshire' Traveller Services Team website, [Accessed 28/05/2009]

The constructions produced from many of these perspectives used descriptive detail that represented 'residence' in strictly static terms, and although the concept of 'travelling' did appear, this was in the personal, occasional/action 'core sense' of the word, identified in the introduction to this thesis, of a temporary act of 'transit' between two places (positions or locations), rather than in the habitual, group 'lifeway'-related formulation of either of its subsenses.

As shown in the following example, the entity constructed by Travellers as a 'stopping place'- the fixed geo-physical location in which the stillness intrinsic to the mobile mode of residence temporarily takes place- was alternatively constructed within most Local Authority material as an 'encampment', reproducing the same 'stillness' as an impermanent but equally static 'living place' (in the 'fixed position/location' sense), counterpart to an implied, more permanently fixed, static 'living place':

"4. Issues and Choices

4.1 The main issues to consider are:

- The number of proposed new residential pitches... across the region[...].
 - The most suitable way of distributing these pitches across the region. The consultation document offers four options as follows:
 - Option A – new pitches would all be provided as close as possible to **where Gypsies and Travellers currently live**.
 - Option B – new pitches should be in the same general areas **where Gypsies and Travellers currently live**.
- [...].

4.6 [Some options] would spread the provision across the region and allow opportunities in areas currently lacking provision. **However this may lead to Gypsies and Travellers having to travel further afield to find authorised sites.**" ¹⁰⁰

By means of description employing further contrast structures, the Local Authority

¹⁰⁰ Excerpt from Partial review of the Regional Plan with direct relevance to 'Stramshire', 2008, emphasis added.

constructions categorised temporary nomadic 'stillness' not only as impermanently static, but as 'abnormal' (static residence in an *inappropriate* and/or *unapproved* 'place' (in the fixed position/location sense) , through contrast with implied 'normal'/'approved' counterpart entities:

S2: “[...]We have Traveller site managers... who are responsible for the day to day management of **sites**... but who are also responsible for the movement of **unauthorised encampments**...” [...]

[...]The press have often produced pictures of **unauthorised encampments**... perhaps a few caravans in a field... giving the impression that is what a new site would mean...the reality is very different... on **permanent sites** people are able to take pride in their surroundings...it might generally be very clean and tidy, residents look after their **itches**[...]”¹⁰¹

Code of Conduct

[...]

Any **unauthorized stay on land** is limited in time and is dependent on Travellers complying with the code.

[...]

What should I do if someone breaches the code?

Travellers should contact the council's Gypsy and Traveller Services when anyone breaches the code. The above information relates to **unauthorized encampments** where criminal activity is not involved. Where there is suspicion of criminal activity, the police should be notified in order that appropriate action can be taken.

[...]”¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Excerpt from P/O notes taken during talk by Stramshire Traveller Services Team representative at Stramshire Gypsy and Traveller Stakeholders Forum, 2009, emphasis added

¹⁰² Excerpt from Stramshire Traveller Services Team website, accessed 28/05/09

Online Forms ¹⁰³

Report an Unauthorised Encampment

Please use this form if you wish to report a Gypsy or Traveller encampment which you believe to be unauthorized.

Details of the encampment

Location of the encampment:
Please give as much detail as you can

Number of caravans/vehicles:

Date/time of arrival if known:

Has any damage been caused?

Has the landowner asked the Travellers to leave?

Is the caller aware if the Travellers have been abusive or threatening?

Additional information:

Please indicate if there is anything else you would like us to know about, e.g. is the encampment on the highway, or blocking or preventing a business from operating

These descriptions thus construct the same social entity that I have termed the 'actively nomadic person' as an entirely different entity to that outlined in section 5.4.1 a) above: a Traveller who engages in an abnormal, inferior/illegitimate *permanently static* type of residence, in a *parked caravan* on a *physically fixed site* in a specific socio-geographic

¹⁰³ Excerpt from West 'Stramshire' District Council website, accessed 28/05/09

place(in the fixed position/location sense)), contrasted with Travellers who engage in equally *permanently static* residence of the same or a similar type, which is implied to be normal and legitimate by reference to a broader, ‘Settled’ (hegemonically permanently static) residential, legislative and policy context. However, while in ‘official’ constructions of ‘active nomadism’ produced in the data I collected from Local Authority sources were exclusively as above, some individuals who were identified, or self-identified, as belonging to a Local Authority sub-category, produced constructions in informal talk that were much more similar to those seen in section 5.4.1 a):

P5: “...as a family, you know, June, come June, they have... until the kids got to GCSE age, they would just.....from half term they would be off and they would be travelling, and going...you know, in the trailer, travelling...”¹⁰⁴

c) ‘Settled Resident’ social sub-category constructions of active nomadism

Rather than building a third alternative construction, I found that the detail employed in descriptions produced from a self-identified ‘local settled resident’ perspective overlapped variously with the two contrasting perspectives already outlined:

‘Travelling people’

‘Camping’

‘Trespassers’

Implying again, contrasting categories in binary pairs:

¹⁰⁴ Excerpt from Interview 2, with female Stramshire Local Authority Education worker, direct experience of Ivyhill Park site and residents, 2009

'Travelling people'	↔	('Settled people')
'Camping'	↔	('Residing in a permanent built environment')
'Trespassers'	↔	(People present with authorisation)

Descriptions of the 'actively nomadic person/group' from within Settled Community sub-categories therefore varied between the two above alternative constructions:

P19: *...when I first came to know them they were quite often going off a lot... doing a lot more travelling then... I think they settled down a lot more because of the kids being in school... and stuff... uhm... but at first they would be popping backwards and forwards to L---(town) to go and live for a bit, and then pop back, and then... or up to M---(town) for a bit...*

R: *Still very much an actively travelling lifestyle then...*

P19: *Yeah... yes... [but now] I'd say it's a... a lot more settled lifestyle...*

R: *Right...*

P19: *Yeah... but they still don't want to lose it...*¹⁰⁵

P21: *We did have some travelling families as well, that used to... camp along the, sort of erm, track, the cycle track...*

R: *Right...*

P21: *umm...and they couldn't erm, they couldn't read or write... they didn't even recognise their own names...*¹⁰⁶

P17: *[I sold a car to some Gypsies] ...and then a few days later the police phoned us and said, this car registered in your name has been used in a robbery... [laughs]... so... [laughs]...*

R: *Gosh...was that a different... was that the same group [as the local site residents already discussed earlier in the interview]...?*

¹⁰⁵ Excerpt from Interview 12, with adult female Settled resident of 'Greater Stramington' area, direct experience of Ivyhill Park site and residents, 2009

¹⁰⁶ Excerpt from Interview 14, with adult female Settled resident of Efford (village nearest to Ivyhill Park site), no experience of the site; limited, general experience of Gypsies and Travellers, 2009

P17: *No, no. This was different Gypsi... this was travelling Gypsies.*

R: *Right...*

P17: *...the first lot...*

R: *Ok...*

P17: *...that were actually just camped on the road side.¹⁰⁷*

There were thus multiple and diverse descriptions in both talk and text, but two main conflicting constructions of the actively nomadic person or group when in the ‘pulled over’/‘encamped’ (still/static) state, depending on the type of detail used to build the facticity of the entity of; either:

‘Traveller (essentially mobile) resident,

temporarily in a normal, legitimate state of stillness on a permanent route or road’

or

Impermanently/inappropriately ‘placed’, abnormal, illegitimate, ***Settled (essentially static) resident’***

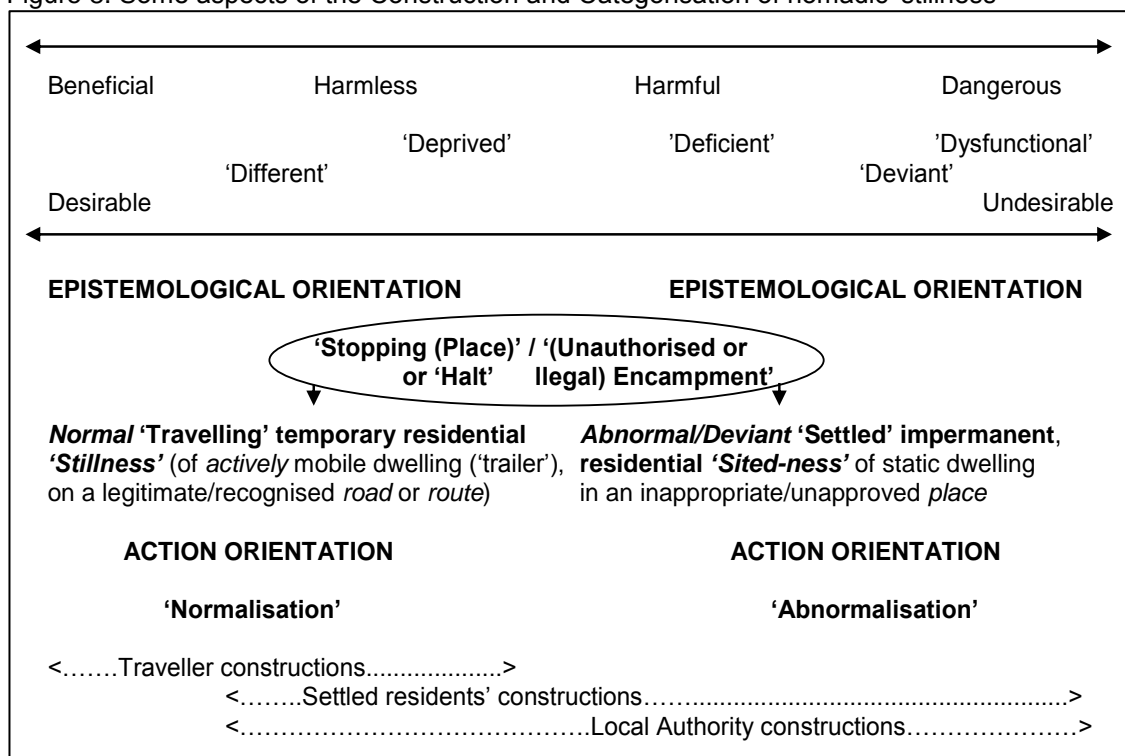
d) Action orientation of sub-categorical constructions of active nomadism

As previously mentioned, I had been unable to construct any overlap at all between any subcategory of ‘Traveller’ and ‘Local Authority’. However, as illustrated, I was able to produce some, albeit limited, overlap between the constructions of the ‘stillness’ of the actively nomadic person or group produced by sub-category members of all three of the original social categories. Although the line between the social categories had

¹⁰⁷ Excerpt from Interview 10, with adult female settled resident of Efford (village geographically nearest to Ivyhill Park site), no experience of the site; limited, general experience of Gypsies and Travellers, 2009

become somewhat blurred, and multiple descriptions and constructions produced, I nevertheless felt that the 'work' being done by each individual construction corresponded broadly with one of only two main, and again, conflicting purposes: either to 'normalise' or, by contrast, to 'abnormalise', the entities of the stopping place/encampment and thus the mobile residential mode of the 'actively nomadic person/group'. Due to the partial overlaps in the descriptions produced from different social sub-categories, and their complex nature, I felt that initially the most useful way to express the relationship between the descriptions and constructions would be by means of a multi-layered continuum. I attempted to express this as follows:

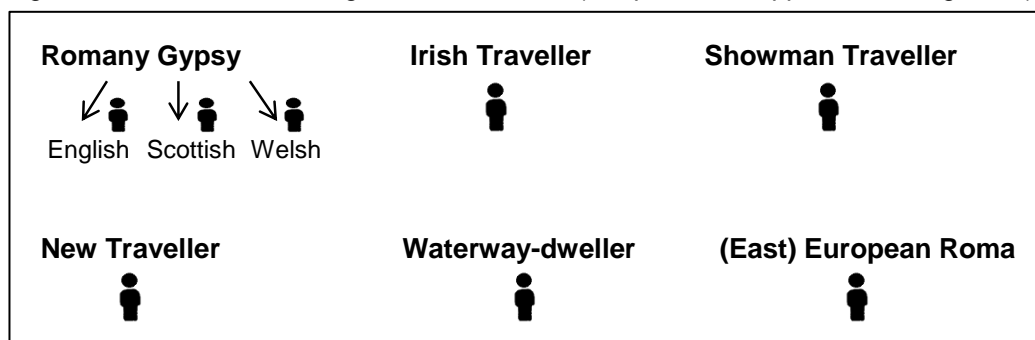
Figure 8. Some aspects of the Construction and Categorisation of nomadic 'stillness'



5.4.2 'Practice' or 'Paradigm'? The social construction of Traveller culture and ethnicity

The general sub-categories I had identified from my data in relation to this initial category were as shown in the diagram overleaf:

Figure 9. Ethnic/cultural categories of 'Traveller' (Adapted from Appendix 3, Diagram 2)



a) Traveller constructions of Traveller cultural/ethnic practices and identity

As previously touched upon, all who identified themselves or others as 'Travellers' fundamentally, categorized themselves, and others they recognized as belonging to a wider 'Traveller' collective, by means of the primary contrast between:

Traveller ↔ Settled person.

However, all also acknowledged 'Traveller' sub-categories and difference between these. When describing their 'cultural/ethnic' practices and identity, they produced constructions that intrinsically bound both up with their 'essentially mobile lifeway/mode of residence and their broader corresponding 'Traveller' paradigm:

P8: The plots are close together, so the chalets are too close together. There should be more of a space... they are wood, so if one went up in flames, the next one would easily go up in flames too.

R: Are you afraid of fire breaking out on the site then?

P8/P9: Yes, yes {simultaneously, nodding, exchanging glances} [...]

P9: Yes the plots should be bigger, if there was a fire it would be safer. [...]

P8: The plots are much too small, we [referring to her family] tried to make it bigger, we moved the fence back but they made us move it back where it was...it was only fields behind, now they've put a hump in.

R: Do you know who owns the field?

P8: I don't know. I think it's the council.

R: Did they say why you had to move the fence back again?

P8: I don't know why. We needed more space. There was nobody using that bit of field, we could fit more trailers with the fence moved. When we get bigger we need our own small trailer, when girls get bigger they can't be in with the boys no more.

R: So was that the reason you tried to move the fence [...]?

P8: Yes. But they wouldn't let us do it... if they won't make a new site, and they won't let us put trailers on the side of the road, and we can't have more trailers on the site, where are we meant to go?¹⁰⁸

In the talk about everyday life of Travellers that I was able to collect, they constructed their residence-related practices (for example, in the excerpt reproduced above, dwelling in trailers/other mobile structures, gender-segregation of childrens' sleeping quarters, arrangement of domestic space) with descriptions that represented these as 'common sense' and 'normal'/'ordinary', i.e. not particularly as 'cultural'/'ethnic' (in the same way that members of the UK majority 'Settled' population, would not usually describe their own comparable practices as such). There was also a sense, difficult to illustrate in this format (due to my having experienced it as permeating whole interviews, rather than being clearly apparent within short interchanges), of these 'practices' as dynamically inter-related within, and collectively inter-related with, the 'framework' of the mobile lifeway/mode of residence, as intrinsic to the whole alternative 'Traveller' paradigm. However, I hope the above-reproduced example gives at least a partial sense of this; I found this interview particularly interesting, since although the young people speaking stated earlier that they had lived on the site all their lives and had never been 'actively nomadic', the interlinked 'living in trailers/mobile dwellings', 'gender-segregated sleeping quarters', 'arrangement of domestic space' that they produced are very closely followed by an explicit reference to being 'on the side of the road'.

¹⁰⁸ Excerpt from joint Interview 4, with 2 teenage female Irish Traveller Ivyhill Park residents, 2009

Individual Traveller 'practices' were occasionally alternatively constructed: as discrete, isolated, explicitly 'cultural', and directly referenced to the 'practices' of either the 'Settled' majority, or 'Settled' ethnic/cultural minority groups. This happened frequently in descriptions strongly oriented to building the facticity of Gypsy and Traveller 'ways' as 'normal'. A particularly common discursive phenomenon that I noticed employed a binary structure to describe Traveller cultural/ethnic practice and/or identity in terms of **equivalence to, and not difference from** dominant norms. To return to two examples reproduced earlier:

P4: "...and it was absolutely lovely, so it was, **the eating outside, and cooking outside**. I mean, **people do it now on barbecues** and that's... that's al... that's great... 'cause that's acceptance... so it is. **But yet when you cook on a fire outside on the floor...**

P3: [feigning 'posh' accent] **'How dare you!**

P1: **...no, that's a 'Gypsy carry-on'...you know...**

P3: [still feigning 'posh' accent] **'How dare you!'** [dropping 'posh' accent] **No?**

P4 **They're taking our... ways...an' just... modernisin' it for their own use (laughing)...** [looking towards and addressing Researcher] **sorry'n all... but you know...it's absolutely... it is nice.**¹⁰⁹

P10: "...We are, **we live in, you know, Great Britain, we work and we're taxpayers, we're not ... you know... foreign...** I mean I'm not... I've got nothing against anyone coming in, but **we're British people,[...] travelling in the same area, I'm not [...] travelling all over the country...so, you know, I'm based in Stramshire...**"¹¹⁰

Travellers' own practices or identity were thus in such cases presented as representative of the **dominant norms** of the recognised alternative, 'Settled' paradigm, rather than as *either abnormal, or* accepted as equivalent to the **internal**

¹⁰⁹ Excerpt from group Interview 1, with 4 adult female Irish Traveller Ivyhill Park site residents, 2009

¹¹⁰ Excerpt from Interview 5, with adult male Fairground Traveller residing roadside and in private sites (authorised and unauthorised) in the general Stramshire area, 2009

norms of any *cultural/ethnic (but nevertheless 'Settled') minority group* accepted within the dominant paradigm.

b) Local Authority and Settled Residents' constructions of Traveller practices and identity

The 'Settled' constructions of Traveller practices and identities that I found in my collected data were quite different from those represented in part 5.4.2 a) above. Travellers (usually as 'Gypsies and Travellers') were constructed at every level with reference to Settled conceptions of culture/ethnicity, 'race relations', and the equality and protection of Settled racial and ethnic minorities and related 'culture':

[National level]

"Relations between **Gypsies and Irish Travellers** and other members of the public are a particular cause for concern... **Gypsies and Irish Travellers** have the poorest life chances of any ethnic group today... In October 2004, the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) launched an inquiry to examine local authorities' arrangements for planning, providing and maintaining sites, in the context of their statutory duty to **promote race equality and good race relations.**"¹¹¹

[Regional level]

"The two largest communities of Gypsies and Travellers are the **English Gypsies and Irish Travellers**. Both groups have a long history of living in Britain. The two communities are distinct, but share: a history and cultural preference for a nomadic way of life; their own distinctive language and social identity (which is unique to each community and not shared); and strong family bonds and desire to live in extended family groupings."¹¹²,

¹¹¹ Excerpt from CRE, 2006:2, emphasis added

¹¹² Excerpt from Regional GTAA (Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Assessment) document with direct relevance to Stramshire, 2007

[Local Authority level]

About the travelling Community

Information about Gypsies and Travellers.

[...]

There are **two distinct ethnic minority groups** within the travelling community in this country. **Roma Gypsies** form one group and **Irish Travellers** form another group. New Age Travellers do not form a distinct ethnic group.

[...]

Gypsies and Travellers are protected from discrimination by the Race Relations Amendment Act 2000 and the Human Rights Act 1998, together with all ethnic groups who have a particular culture, language or values.¹¹³

[informal Settled talk (from both Local Authority and wider community sources)]:

R: *Um, so can you tell me what your impression, what you, you think of Ivyhill Park site, when you've visited it?*

P5: *First time I visited it... um... I th... I was struck by... all the wonderful, um, er... wonderful decorations... by... the strong cultural tradition that was there... um... I was scared of the dogs... um... [pauses, smiling]*

R: *[laughing] They can be quite...*

P5: *[laughing]... 'cause somebody said to me...*

R: *[laughing]... the 'Ankle-biters'!*

P5: *[laughing] Yeah! ... "wear Wellingtons, be careful of the dogs... and, um... I ... what I particularly ... liked about the Traveller site is the fact they are all, the community is... all the community is together, and the families are all together...*

R: *Mm... [...]*

P5: *...and that the children are so strongly part of the community and that they can, they are free to go from one trailer to another... and that everybody takes up the collective responsibility*

R: *Mhm... [...]*

¹¹³ Excerpt from Stramshire County Council website, accessed 28/05/2009

P5: ...I think, also, it doesn't do them any favours to have the rubbishy area... as you go in... because it just perpetrates the myth that, you know, Travellers are dirty, that kind of thing, which is obviously not, you know, my perception at all, but how people speak about them... [...] you go inside someone's trailer and it's immaculate...

R: Pristine...

P5: ...pristine... even down to you know, plastic on the seats... and... and the wonderful ornaments, and everything¹¹⁴

R: ...There's some things you've brought up that are great... you talked about, you sort of touched on ethnic minorities [living in the village]...

P17: Yeah, I was just gonna say actually, if you're still talking about that, that... d'you... are you aware that there's a gypsy caravan site, a traveller site? At the other end of D---?[village geographically closest to site...]

P17: ...boys joyriding... and... bikes stolen by them[...]

P17: a group of the girls come up... usually all in a big group, with all the babies, loads of babies, all together [...] and they never cause any problems[...]

P17: and um... the [Gypsy men] drive round [the industrial estate] and sort of... sift through all the skips and see if they can get anything out...

R: Yeah...

P17: ...but then, they're not doing any harm[...]

P17: ... and there's sort of like an area at the front [of the Site], and they um, just dumped all their [work-related] rubbish in it, and then denied all knowledge, said it wasn't them [laughs] [...] ¹¹⁵

The 'difference' of some Travellers was thus formally 'racialised', with some groups constructed as (particularistically) 'racially'/'ethnically' different to the ['Settled'] majority population, similarly to the construction of the 'difference' of Settled 'racial/ethnic'

¹¹⁴ Excerpt from Interview 2, with female Stramshire Local Authority Education worker, direct experience of Ivyhill Park site and residents, 2009

¹¹⁵ Excerpt from Interview 10, with female Settled resident of Efford (village nearest to Ivyhill Park site), no experience of the site; limited, general experience of Gypsies and Travellers, 2009

minority groups from the majority population. However as can be seen from the above examples, not all Travellers were constructed as equally 'ethnic'/'racial', with 'Irish Travellers' and 'Romany Gypsies' explicitly separated out and constructed formally as sub-groups of the wider 'Traveller' collective who are different in this further respect both from each other and as a direct 'racial/ethnic' minority counterpart to both the Settled (non-ethnic/racial) majority population, and to Settled 'racial' or 'ethnic' minority groups **in addition to being 'residentially' different** from these latter two; whilst also, in both being produced explicitly as ethnic/racial, represented as distinct from 'other' sub-categories within the 'Travelling Community', who were represented, whether implicitly or explicitly, as 'non-ethnic/racial' (or as, racially/ethnically, no different from the dominant Settled majority population in its broadest sense, i.e. inclusive this time of its Settled racial/ethnic minorities). Depending on other aspects of the construction, however, such groups were sometimes represented as 'culturally' (by contrast to 'ethnically'), 'different' from each other and the Settled population.

In my data, in relation to the above-described referential framework, notional representations of 'a *nomadic/Traveller* way of life' often appeared as a sub-component of 'Traveller ethnicity/culture'. However, there was frequently a noticeable 'disconnect' between *abstract* representations of an alternative '*Travelling* way of life' and 'world view' (implying a binary contrast relationship with the dominant ('*Settled*') way of life' and paradigm), and the often immediate subsequent construction of 'nomadism' (usually with a focus on the element of this described in this context as 'unauthorised encampment') as simply one of a range of Traveller 'cultural'/'ethnic' practices. These in turn were frequently described using detail oriented towards a series of contrast relationships referencing *not* the abstracted 'alternative' paradigm, but the *dominant* '*Settled*' paradigm:

About the travelling Community

Information about Gypsies and Travellers.

Why do Gypsies and Travellers pursue a travelling lifestyle?

A nomadic way of life has been followed by groups of people all over the world for many, many generations.

This way of life involves travelling the country staying for various periods of time in different locations. A Gypsy or Traveller life is not illegal in this country.

[...]

How is the Council involved with the travelling community?

[...]

It deals with the sometimes-contentious issue of unauthorised encampments and manages the county council owned permanent sites... **Additionally it acts as agent for the Stramshire district councils, and can do so on behalf of private landlords.**¹¹⁶

In these constructions, Gypsy and Traveller practices were represented variously as collections of *Settled* 'cultural' and/or 'ethnic' behaviours, contrasted with the 'normal' practices of the dominant majority population and equivalent to the 'different' cultural practices of Settled ethnic minorities, all referenced solely to the Settled paradigm. Constructions of Gypsy and Traveller practices in this context suggested little, and often no, inter-relationship between individual practices, and did not reference these to any broader integrative 'framework'. 'Nomadism' or the practice of mobile residence was thus constructed as a minority 'cultural/ethnic' practice equal to other discrete Traveller cultural/ethnic practices, equated with Settled minority cultural/ethnic practices and with no additional significance. This was often achieved by the representation of 'nomadism' or a 'travelling way of life' as one discrete component of a (three-, or more-, part) 'list'; again:

¹¹⁶ Excerpt from 'Stramshire' County Council website, accessed 28/05/2009, emphasis added

“... the English Gypsies and Irish Travellers... share:

- (1) **a history and cultural preference for a nomadic way of life;**
- (2) **their own distinctive language and social identity (*which is unique to each community and not shared*); and**
- (3) **strong family bonds and desire to live in extended family groupings.**¹¹⁷

This last example was again of particular analytical interest since, as I have attempted to show by altering the layout and adding numerical markers and emphasis, although ‘nomadism’ is superficially given the primary position in the list, the construction then includes comparatively more complex descriptive detail that builds more fully the facticity of the subsequent two of the list’s ‘three parts’. The positioning of the first, more simply described, component, in the context of these other two, can therefore be seen as a very subtle mechanism of ‘interest management’, combining discursive effects akin to a combination of both ‘stake inoculation’ and ‘stake confession’ (Potter, 1996), that ‘backgrounds’ ‘nomadism’ in relation to the other two components, despite its ‘top’ position within the construction.

Such descriptions represented the manifestation of Traveller culture/ethnicity as a number of separate practices and preferences, with no meaningful relationship between them and no reference to any ‘framework’ within which they might have integrated ‘sense’. Entities that appear in the Travellers’ descriptions of their own (‘ethnic’/‘cultural’) practices, including ‘Travelling’ or nomadism itself, were generally absent from Settled descriptions, for example, as in Participant 17’s ‘list of practices’ of the Gypsies/Travellers from the Local Authority Traveller Site near her home:

¹¹⁷ Excerpt from Regional GTAA (Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Assessment) document with direct relevance to ‘Stramshire’, 2007: emphasis, altered layout and numbering added.

P17: Yeah, I was just gonna say actually... talking about [Gypsies/Travellers as an ethnic minority in the village]:

(1)...boys joyriding... and... bikes stolen by them...

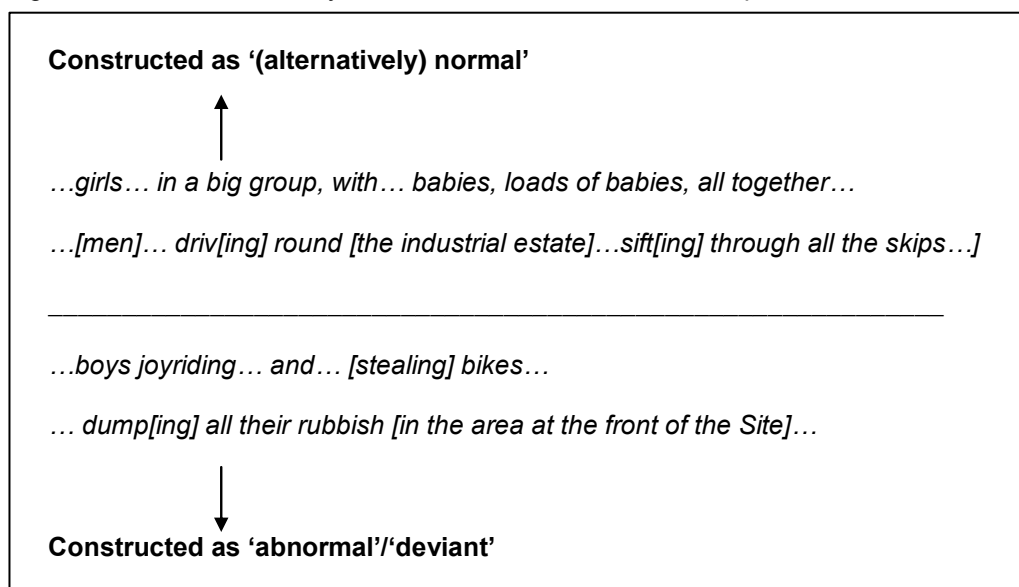
(2)...girls... in a big group, with... babies, loads of babies, all together...

(3)...driv[ing] round [the industrial estate]...sift[ing] through all the skips...]

(4)... dump[ing] all their rubbish [in the area at the front of the Site]...¹¹⁸

As already touched upon, separated from the 'Travelling' framework and from their relationships with each other, and represented in alternative referential relationships within a Settled 'framework', individual Traveller practices were, generally implicitly, produced variously as either 'abnormal'/'deviant' by means of binary comparisons/contrasts with the dominant practices of the 'non-ethnic' majority population, or as 'alternatively normal' by reference to the 'cultural' practices of Settled ethnic minority groups:

Figure 10. Settled/sedentary constructions of Traveller 'ethnic' practices



¹¹⁸ Excerpt from Interview 10, with adult female Settled resident of Efford (village nearest to Ivyhill Park site), no experience of the site; limited, general experience of Gypsies and Travellers, 2009

5.5 Reconstruction of the social sub-categories into two alternative socio-discursive main categories

The initial exercise of deconstructing my 'starting point' categories according to the detail of their representation in the data I collected/produced, thus allowed me to identify and explore the key analytical themes of 'residence' and 'culture' in relation to 'Travellers'. Closer consideration of a clear point of conflict and contestation between the various sub-category perspectives (the 'actively nomadic person or group') allowed me to further explore the internal complexity and relationship between these two themes. In a specific analytical exercise, I arranged the multiple overlapping discursive constructions of Traveller 'stillness' in a way that supported my developing account of two distinct, general discursive paradigms with correspondingly different constructions of 'residence' and 'culture'.

Within the first of these, which I decided to term, for this stage (from the fourth 'academic' perspective, for the purpose of analysis and to relate my data to the literature), the non-hegemonic '**Nomadist** paradigm, Traveller 'race'/'ethnicity'/'culture' and practices were constructed as 'normal' in explicit reference to each other within, and to, the integrative framework of a 'Travelling', (in literary terms, 'nomadic'), lifeway/mode of residence. This in turn was constructed, as 'different' but as simultaneously having dominant cultural and practice norms referenced to an equally accepted (for non-Travellers) counterpart 'Settled' (or in literary terms, 'sedentary') lifeway/mode of residence, existing within an alternative, hegemonic paradigm, with its own alternative, but equivalent, dominant cultural and practice 'norms'.

Within this, which I termed the '**Sedentarist** paradigm, beyond abstract notions, only the Settled lifeway/mode of residence was recognized. Travellers were explicitly constructed as variously 'racial'/'ethnic', or as non-racial/ethnic, according to their particular identity characteristics, and their 'culture(s)' as collections or 'lists' of discrete

practices (including 'nomadism', unprivileged), referenced exclusively to the Settled lifeway/residence mode. Contextualised and referenced in this way, Traveller practices were discursively produced as discrete and disconnected from each other, and as 'normal' (either in terms of the dominant Settled ('non-ethnic') majority, or recognised Settled ethnic minority groups), or 'abnormal', again in 'Settled' terms, as due to either 'deprivation' or 'deviance' (Sibley, 1981:26-29).

At this stage I felt that the theoretical framework I had developed, which as an integrated whole I termed '**Bi-modal**', although still interim, was sufficiently strong to allow me to proceed to notional reconstruction of the 'social' sub-categories derived from my three main 'starting-point' categories. My new formulation comprised a new binary pair of two contrasted main 'socio-discursive' categories corresponding with the above-described discursive paradigms, that I felt would be potentially much more useful for the next stage of my analysis. I thus culminated the series of exercises described in this chapter, calling these new main categories:

'Sedentarists' - Individuals or groups who construct lifeway/residence as having a single sedentary mode, and construct Traveller 'culture' as a collection of practices that are sometimes (but not always) 'racial' or 'ethnic', always referenced to the Settled residence mode, and sometimes (but not always) to other (Settled) 'racial' and 'ethnic' minority 'cultures', and which may be represented as 'normal' or 'abnormal' within the Settled context;

and

'Nomadists' - Individuals or groups who construct lifeway/residence as having two distinct but equally accepted (according to the identity of the person or group concerned) variants, the 'Travelling' and the 'Settled', and construct Traveller 'culture', and Traveller practices (whether or not constructed as 'ethnic' or 'racial'), as primarily referenced as dominant norms to the mobile lifeway/mode of residence but also as *alternatively* or *comparatively* normal by reference to the lifeway/mode of residence of (generally) the dominant Settled majority ('non-ethnic') population.

As I have attempted to show in Figure 8 (pg. 206), by 'mapping on' the conclusions of

the latter series of analytical exercises described in this chapter to the initial conclusions drawn from the initial ones that preceded them¹¹⁹, within my 'Traveller'-sourced data, constructions of the 'stillness' of the 'actively nomadic person/group' corresponded overwhelmingly with a 'Nomadist' perspective, while constructions of the same entity that I located in 'Local Authority'-sourced data generally corresponded with a 'Sedentarist' perspective. However, in some of my Traveller data I found what appeared at this stage to be moderately Sedentarist constructions; in some Local Authority material, constructions that appeared to be somewhat Nomadist; and whilst I sorted most representations of the same found in data sourced from my third original social category, Settled local residents, to my new socio-discursive 'Sedentarist' category, in some cases I was able to characterise these as alternatively 'Nomadist'.

My three original main social categories were thus absorbed totally into my two new socio-*discursive* categories, and, while members of the former 'Local Authority' and 'settled resident' categories most heavily populated the 'Sedentarist' category, and Travellers, the 'Nomadist' category, each of the two newly constructed categories contained some members of all three of the individual 'starting point' categories.

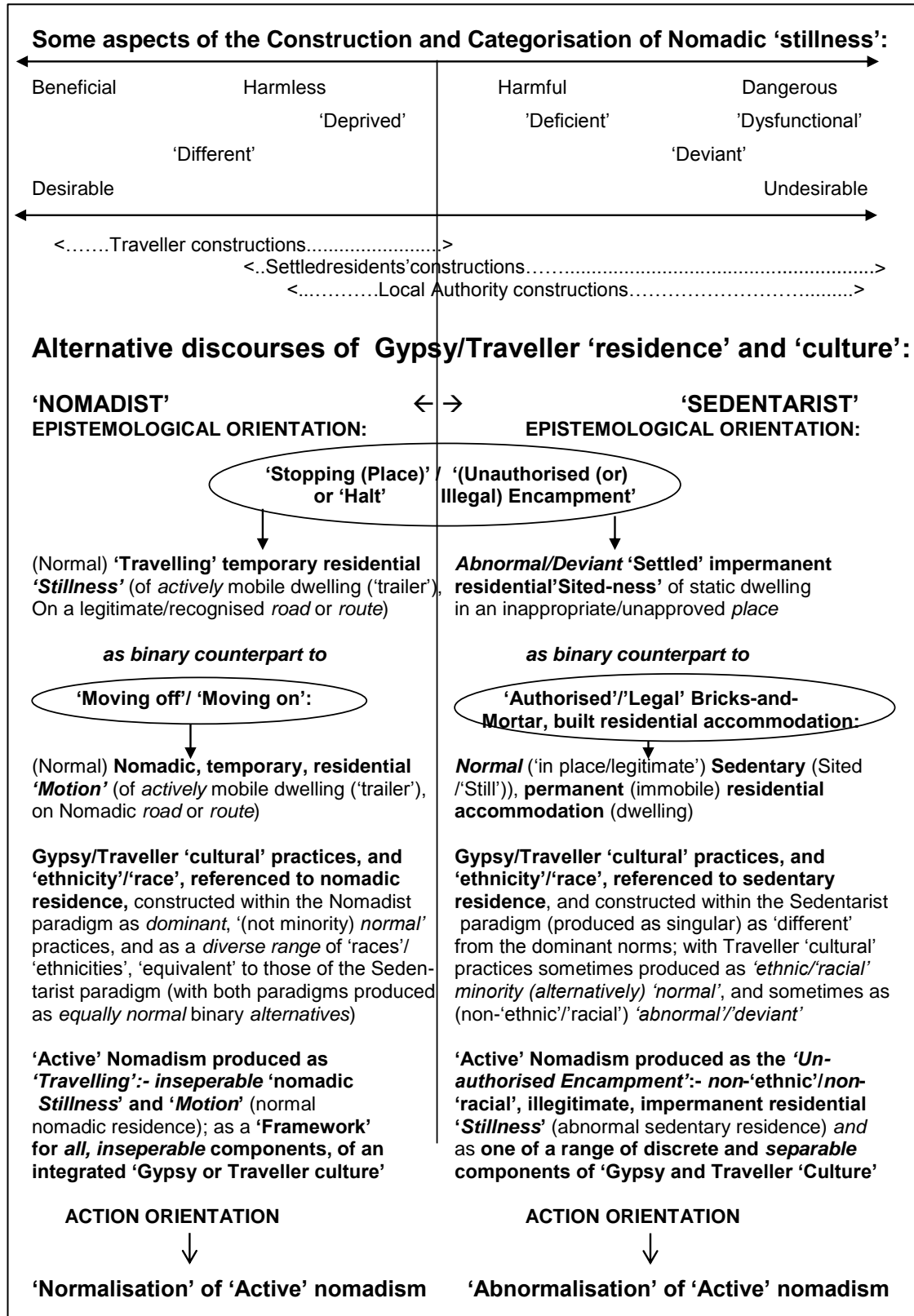
Using the two conflicting constructions of the residential 'stillness' of the 'actively nomadic person or group' discussed in this chapter as an illustrative vehicle, I finally produced the following diagram to summarise my now more fully developed 'academic' representation of the dichotomous (*Nomadic or Sedentary*) concept of the human lifeway that I had initially identified, as discussed previously¹²⁰, through my preliminary review and linguistic analysis of the extant literature. The diagram attempts to show how, through my reconstruction of social sub-categorical representations of Traveller 'residence' and 'culture' into the new socio- *discursive* main contrasting categories of

¹¹⁹ See diagram at the end of section 5.4.1, pg. 207, re interim conclusions

¹²⁰ See Chapter 1: Introduction

'Nomadist' and 'Sedentarist', I could represent the social construction of the human lifeway as socio-discursively 'bi-modal', as shown in Figure 11:

Figure 11: A representation of the socio-discursive, bi-modal construction of one sub-sub aspect of the 'dichotomous' concept of the human 'lifeway': Contrasting 'Nomadist' and 'Sedentarist' constructions of the 'residential stillness' of the 'actively nomadic group'.



5.6 Chapter 5 Conclusion: Summary of first stage analysis

In this chapter, I have described and justified the process by which, referencing the extant literature, my own deconstructive analysis of relevant everyday terms, and some initial empirical data collected, I decided upon the initial organisational 'starting-point' for data collection and analysis of three *social categories*: '**Travellers**', '**Local Authority**' and '**Local Settled Community**'. I then illustrated how, through processes of discursive analysis and triangulation, I firstly developed two key *discursive analytical themes*, '**residence**' (lifeway) and '**culture**' (ethnicity), and secondly, by using these in a continuation of the same analytical process, two alternative *socio-discursive analytical categories*, '**Nomadists**' and '**Sedentarists**'.

The broad 'division' between the new socio-discursive categories appeared to me to be comparatively 'clear', in relation to the 'blurred' relationship between my original three social categories. However, internally, both seemed to have the potential, again, for conflict, and deconstruction into multiple sub-categories. In the social constructionist spirit of acknowledging this representation as a further 'construction' of potentially many, I recognized that I had produced it, via my initial focus on the twin themes of 'residence' and 'culture', with a range of other possible 'bottom line' concepts and discursive aspects 'bracketed out'. Nevertheless, I felt I had confirmed my new account of the discourse through sufficient multiple triangulations of the data, and of the data with the literature and my own linguistic analysis, to use this account to inform development of the initial version of the **broad, socio-discursive, bi-modal analytical 'framework'** shown on the previous page.

I refined and worked with this framework during all subsequent stages of my analysis, in which I turned my attention back to the same data from which I had generated it as well as considering further empirical data collected after its initial development. The

process and conclusions described in this chapter were thus those by which I began direct exploration of my main research focus, **the *Local Authority Traveller Site as a discursive entity***. It is to description and discussion of the further stages of 'bi-modal framework'-influenced analysis through which I subsequently progressed that I will now turn in the following three chapters.

CHAPTER 6: ANALYSIS II. The production and maintenance of constructions of Travellers and Sites at the National level

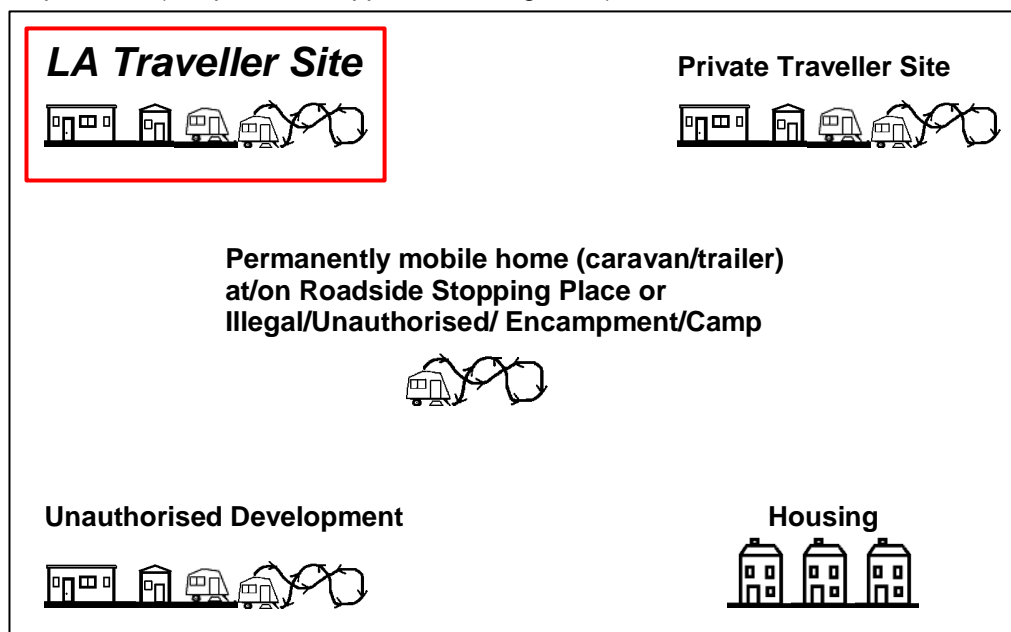
In this chapter, I will show how I initially tested and began using the bi-modal (Sedentarist/ Nomadist), socio-discursive analytical framework developed previously (as discussed in Chapter 5), by attempting a 'bi-modal' consideration of the social construction of Travellers and Sites in national-level discourse. I will firstly describe how I began this task with a consideration of some national-level data, including the *Housing Act 2004* (HMSO, 2004), that I had collected prior to conducting field work due to its direct relevance to local Traveller accommodation policy and practice nationwide. Through this process I was able to identify additional documentary material with relevance to the task. I will then explain how, through further analysis of this national-level data and continued processes of triangulation, I was able to refine my understanding of 'Nomadist' and 'Sedentarist' discourses at the national level during the time period under study, and the way in which these discourses influenced, interacted and conflicted with each other. I will further describe how I used the developed understanding of the discourse I gained from this exercise to refine my analytical framework. Finally, I will show how, using the refined version of the analytical framework, I produced a more detailed and complex 'bi-modal' description of the 'dominant' and 'muted', 'Nomadist' and 'Sedentarist', discursive accounts of 'Travellers' and 'Sites' that I could identify as present within the nationally-relevant texts analysed.

6.1 Constructions of 'Gypsies', 'Travellers' and 'Sites' in National-level discourse

In preparation for further exploration of my data in the context of my new analytical framework, this time in direct relation to my main topic, I firstly returned to the small range of residence-oriented constructions of Traveller people and groups that I had

identified as sub-categories of my main 'starting point' social category 'Travellers', adapting these to my next purpose by shifting the focus in each case from the 'resident' person or group, to the corresponding (place or type of) 'residence' (in the sense of 'home'), and moving my main focus to the discursive entity of the Local Authority Traveller Site:

Figure 12. Places/types of Traveller residence ('home'), with the Local Authority Traveller Site emphasised (Adapted from Appendix 3, Diagram 1)



Drawing from the same research material, I now organised my entire database as far as I was able according to my newly-constructed 'Sedentarist' and 'Nomadist' categories. I found that I could most easily sub-categorise all of my research material in terms of socio-geographical (e.g. 'Gorsecroft Site', or 'South Stramington Methodist Church Hall') and/or geo-political (e.g. 'East Stramshire District Council', or 'Office of the Deputy Prime Minister") location, and I thus next organised each of the two sub-databases according to this commonly geographical dimension. Organised in this way, with regard to research material, the 'Sedentarist' database was 'top-heavy', with a wealth of documentary material at the national and general local levels, and (largely due to the data-collection limitations brought by my personal and socio-political

characteristics¹²¹, less research material at the level of the individual case-study sites. By contrast my 'Nomadist' database consisted of a much smaller amount of 'national-level' documentary material, no material at all at the regional level, again only a very small amount at the level of the general context area, but numerous interview transcripts and extensive notes from participant observation produced at the level of the individual case-study site.

On further reading of the documentary material produced at sub-national levels, I repeatedly found that 'Sedentarist' constructions of Travellers and Traveller Sites explicitly referenced particular constructions in previously-produced, national-level 'official' documentary material, much of which I had been able to observe in use and copies of which I had been able to collect at the local level. I therefore decided to focus my bi-modal analysis firstly on this national-level material in order to access more directly, and thus better understand, these constructions in their source material before continuing to explore their manifestations at the local/individual case site levels.

Due to my particular pre-PhD practice background, I had, long prior to my data-collection phase, identified the recently-passed 2004 Housing Act as national-level documentary material with direct relevance to my general research topic, local area and time period within which I was conducting my case study research. During this second reading of my research database, I had noticed numerous both explicit and implicit references to the content of this Act, and further official documents related to it, in the regionally- and locally- produced documentary material in my 'Sedentarist' sub-database. I felt that in combination with the previously-identified general relevance these relationships were strong enough to provide methodological justification for use

¹²¹ discussed in Chapter 4

of this document as a starting point for my exploration of national-level social constructions of 'Local Authority Traveller Sites' in effect during the field work period.

I began with a close analysis of the 2004 Housing Act itself (summarised later in this chapter), and then sought out and explored as wide a range as possible of related national-level documentary material *both* current to the main period during which it was produced and passed (2004-2006), *and* directly related to both Act and research topic. The material that I considered at this national level was all secondary and documentary, but of varying kinds, for example formal Parliamentary reports, transcripts of consultation talk, media articles, and textual records of less formal 'online discussion' between individuals. During my preliminary consideration of this material, although I was able to categorise each document I had collected as broadly either 'Sedentarist' or 'Nomadist' in orientation (based on the Traveller 'residence'-related description contained within them and the general conclusions produced), documents in both categories contained constructive components that appeared to be drawn from, or more typical of, the contrasting perspective.

In the research material I initially collected at this level, I located an abundance of 'Sedentarist' constructions of Local Authority Sites but very few I could categorise as predominantly 'Nomadist'. For example, in the period in 2004 during which the preliminary Housing Bill was being prepared, the main National-level Traveller print and online media at the time, 'Travellers' Times', paid little attention to it, its headline reporting instead remaining largely focused on Traveller evictions from either temporary ('unauthorised') encampments or privately-owned ('unauthorised') developments. These accounts were frequently constructed in explicit reference to the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994, which at the time remained in force¹²².

¹²² E.g. see articles '*More Sites, More Rights*', '*Stop the evictions*' and '*Essex*', Travellers' Times, 19:2 (Spring 2004); '*Halt Evictions, says Priest*', '*New Stop Notices*', '*Transit sites need*',

It is beyond the stated scope of the research presented in this thesis to attempt a full Foucauldian 'genealogical' analysis of this document. However, the 1994 Act was still in effect, and mentioned regularly and explicitly in research material in my collection produced, from 2004 onwards (and thus constructed within my primary research material as relevant to the field work period). I therefore, in a brief 'genealogical tangent', explored the discourse of this 1994 Act, drawing some broad conclusions of which the following is a short summary:

The 1994 Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (hereafter, 'CJPO 1994') made several redefinitions of law, which simultaneously:

- (re)constructed 'trespass' as a public and social nuisance whose manifestation required the attention of the police in a 'pest control'-type approach, including in its definition the '*stillness*'/'*stopped*' element of actively nomadic Gypsy and Traveller residence except when taking place in a location 'authorised' by sedentary authorities.
- conferred powers upon the police to 'move on' 'trespassers' (including "gypsies and travellers (uncapitalised)"), and (re)constructed the refusal or failure of such to move on once instructed to do so by the police as 'criminal';
- constructed nomadism as a Settled 'lifestyle' choice, and 'gypsies' (uncapitalised) as a minority from within the Settled population, and thus as having no special need for or automatic right to 'alternative' social accommodation.
- removed the duty upon local authorities to provide publicly-funded 'gypsy sites', leaving those who wished to legally practice nomadism and/or reside in caravans rather than conventional bricks and mortar housing with full

'Criminal Injustice' and 'Cases will change UK Law', Travellers' Times 20:2, 4-5,10 (Summer 2004); *'Monitor evictions- call, 'Bishop lends support', 'Promises, promises', 'Warwickshire' and 'Travellers' Talk Extra'*, Travellers' Times 21:1-3, 5 (Autumn 2004); *'Another day, another eviction', 'Gypsies and Travellers speak out', 'Gloucestershire', 'Somerset', 'Stop evictions', 'On the verge of a breakthrough', 'No fun at the fair and 'Cops and Travellers'*, Travellers' Times 22:1-5, 10.(Winter 2004/2005)

responsibility both for funding and creating places to 'nomadically' stop or stay, and for arranging official authorisation of these (through private engagement with the planning system).

Accounts produced during 2004 in 'Travellers Times' in relation to the ten years that had followed the passing of the 1994 Act, constructed the Act as having (re)produced nomadic Travellers as an object of direct, hostile scrutiny and controlling and/or punitive action for/by the dominant Settled majority population, and the sedentary planning system as having frustrated the vast majority of Traveller attempts to obtain planning permission for the authorised private sites, recommended in light of the 1994 Act, as an alternative to 'trespass' for actively nomadic people. The 'Traveller media' accounts published from 2004 that I accessed foregrounded the implicit re-definition of active nomadism as 'trespass' within the 1994 Act, the actions of sedentary authority against Travellers considered to result from this redefinition, and problems experienced by Travellers in relation to planning permission for private 'sites', as maintaining a negative cycle: That of private Traveller residential developments remaining 'unauthorised', despite the best efforts of their owners to comply with the law; their residents consequently remaining under perpetual threat of eviction, and thus of returning to a state in which their lifeway/mode of residence was again constructed as 'trespass'; related further police action, and potential/actual criminalisation; and so on. The only accessible, 'authorised', escape from this cycle was often represented as to conventional Settled housing. However, in these Nomadist texts, this was produced as a 'forced' and undesirable outcome for Travelling people.

In these Nomadist accounts, the explicit removal, in the same 1994 legislation, of the duty to provide *Local Authority* Traveller Sites, and the new 2004 Housing Bill/Act that was at the time constructed in contemporary Sedentarist material as at least a partial solution to this removal (through its production of a new duty on Local Authorities to assess 'Gypsy and Traveller' accommodation needs), were 'ontologically

gerrymandered' into a backgrounded position. In the Nomadist media, The 2004 legislation, and 'Local Authority Sites' in general were vaguely represented in comparison to the detail produced in descriptions of the explicitly CJPOA 1994-related (unauthorised) 'encampments', (unauthorised) 'private developments', 'evictions' 'control' and 'criminalisation', and where they were mentioned this was generally only as part of the description building the facticity of these foregrounded issues. For example, constructions that I identified of evictions of Travellers as 'unjust', sometimes included constructions of 'lower-income' Travellers, who *primarily* lacked the financial means to create and organise authorisation of their own private site, and *secondarily*, to whom socially-provided authorised Traveller accommodation was also not available.

In general, in these Traveller media articles¹²³ Local Authority Sites were categorised as contrasting with both traditional stopping places and the authorised private Traveller sites that Travellers developed (or were attempting to develop) themselves. Local Authority Traveller Sites were produced in these descriptions as 'less desirable' and even as a '(last) resort', *only* suitable for desperate Travellers unable to develop their own private sites, and desirable *only* in comparison to conventional housing. These constructions appeared significant, but the absence from the discourse of foregrounded, more detailed explicit accounts of Local Authority Sites prevented me from identifying a clearer, more detailed national-level 'Nomadist' (media) construction of these from this data source.

In seeking further representations/discussions at this level specifically of Local Authority Traveller Sites, I returned to the much larger body of material in my database that I had categorised as 'Sedentarist'. However on beginning to explore this with a view to developing an account of Sedentarist construction of the Local Authority

¹²³ See *Travellers' Times* articles listed at footnote 127 (p. 227), and also, more generally, *Travellers' Times* Issues 19-29, Spring 2004 – Autumn 2006

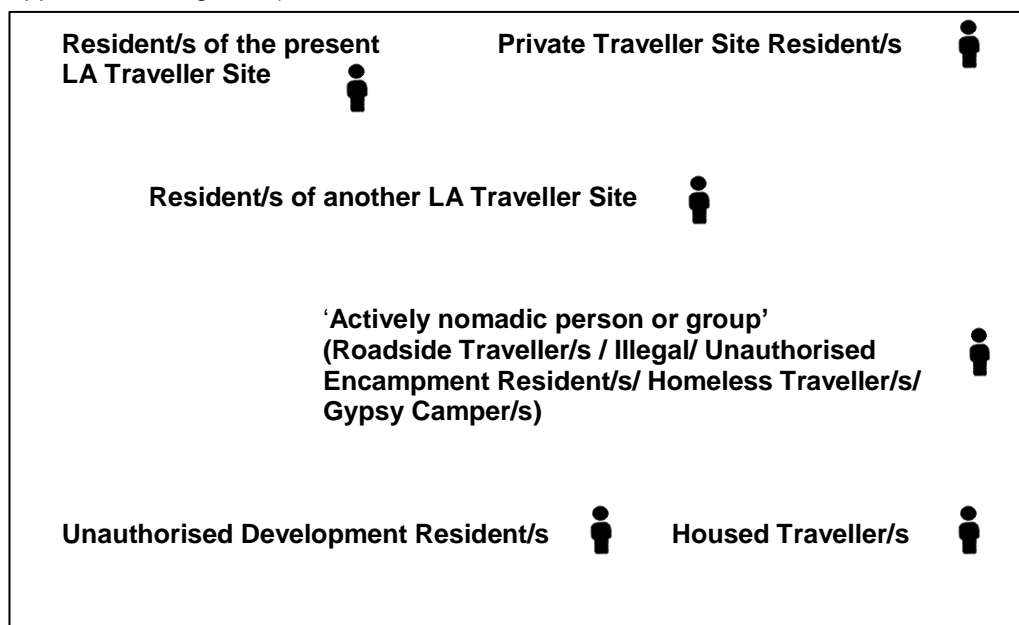
Traveller Site, in the 2004 ODPM Report, 'Select Committee Final Report of a Government Consultation on Gypsies, Travellers and Accommodation (Volume I)' (ODPM 2004a), undertaken for the explicit purpose of informing the eventual construction of the Act, I located some fragmentary, but directly relevant, 'quotations' from a range of Traveller 'community representatives'. Within the Sedentarist discourse of this report, otherwise constructed in a typically 'empiricist' style, the information from these individuals had been presented in a way that clearly attempted to represent them as 'entitled' consultation participants. The fragments of transcribed talk were presented, stylistically, as 'direct quotations', embedded in the structure of the report in a cumulative, 'actively voiced' way that constructed the 'participants' themselves as either leading the document authors to, or supportive of, their Sedentarist conclusions. However, when considered in isolation from the rest of the report, I was able to 'read' these fragmentary quotations as examples of the alternative 'Nomadist' perspective on the phenomena, particularly 'Traveller Sites', presented in the 'Sedentaristic' report in which I had located them. Since even as fragments, when isolated these 'quotations' were analytically very interesting regarding further clarification/detail of the Nomadist account of the Local Authority Traveller Site that I had tried to develop, I returned to this task, and on further investigation, was able to trace the 'quotations' to published transcripts of the 'talk' from which they had been taken, in a companion document, Volume III of the same 2004 ODPM report entitled 'Oral and Written Supplementary Evidence' (ODPM 2004b). This contained transcripts of dialogue between and written submissions from a range of 'Gypsy and Traveller' 'community spokespeople', representatives of Settled communities, professionals, and Government officials. Although, since these were transcripts, I did not assume that they represented a 'full' or 'unedited' record, I felt confident that this document represented a 'more complete' and 'less edited' account of the various 'Nomadist' and 'Sedentarist' constructions and interaction than the fragments I had initially located in the final report.

I was again able to 'sort' the various constructions accessed in this text as either Nomadist or Sedentarist. However, whilst I was able to produce more general parallels between the different examples of construction within each of these two broad categories, and consistent differences between them, I was unable to construct either category as internally homogenous. Focusing closely upon this matter alerted me to some inconsistencies in the 'framework' I was now attempting to apply, and I thus returned to this to refine it before continuing to analyse the various constructions of the Local Authority Site I had located.

6.1.1 Further refinement and development of a 'bi-modal' representation of the construction of Travellers and lifeway/residence, from analysis of national-level transcripts of talk

One initial theme by which I had originally deconstructed my main social 'starting-point' category 'Travellers', was that of 'lifeway/'residence mode' (see also Figure 7, pg 191):

Figure 13. Lifeway/residence modes of Travellers in the field work area (adapted from Appendix 3, Diagram 1)

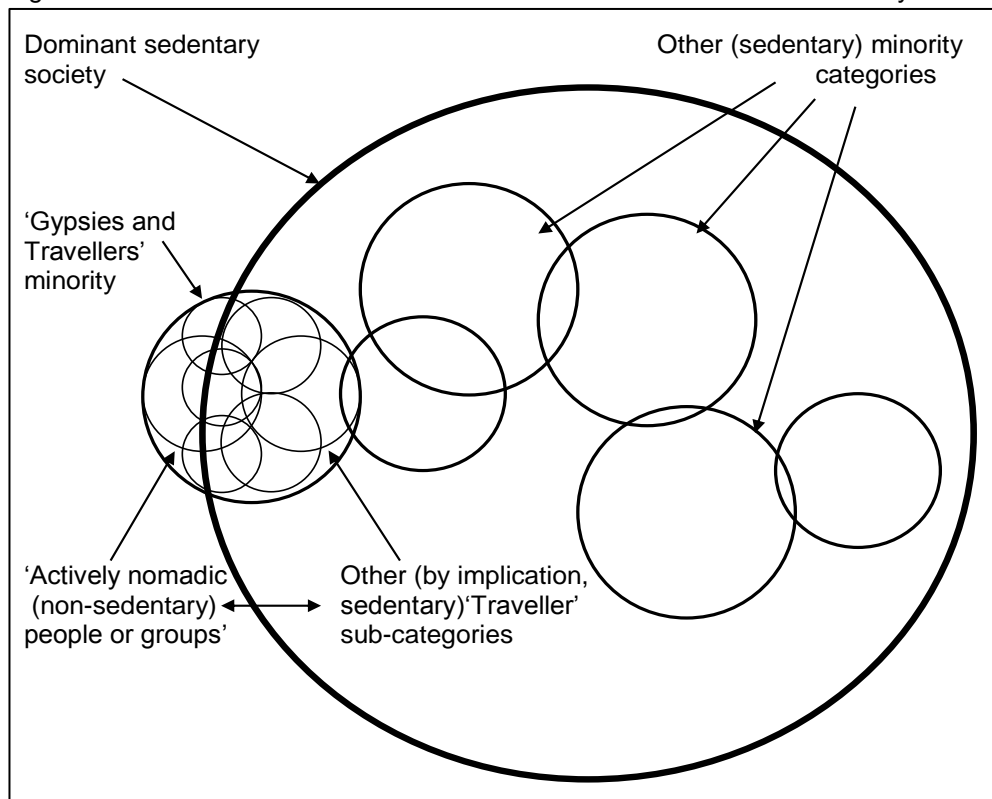


This initial deconstruction was based on my particular (non-Traveller, academic) reading of material gathered in relation to my research focus. From this I produced

(and have thus far in this thesis presented) an entity that I further identified as a 'social sub-category', the '**actively nomadic person or group**', which, as shown above, *I had placed in a contrast relationship with a collective of other social sub-categories*. These other categories formed, by binary implication, a '**non- actively Travelling/nomadic**' collective, which I had, again implicitly, constructed as '**Settled/sedentary**'.

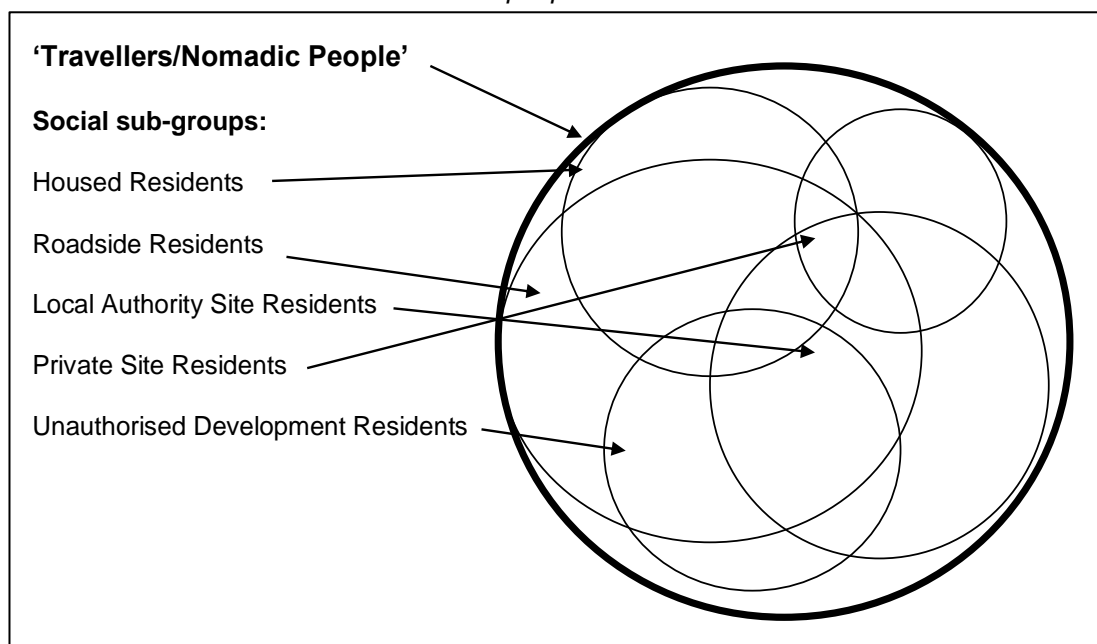
However, as previously mentioned, as I carried out the initial deconstruction exercise, I had also noticed that my constructed sub-categories overlapped/blurred with each other. In particular, I had produced multiple constructions within the main category 'Travellers' of people who self-identified, simultaneously, as members of a group or groups that I had categorised as 'Settled/sedentary', such as 'Local Authority Permanent Site Resident' or 'Housed Traveller', *and* as being a (in my initial reading, '*part-time*') 'Travelling' or 'actively nomadic' person. The following diagram is an attempt to visually express my initial version of this construction:

Figure 14. Initial construction of 'Traveller residence' in relation to 'Sedentary residence'

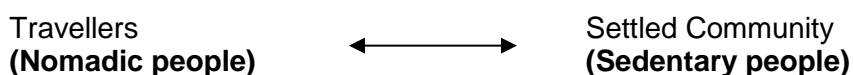


During my reading of the new national-level material I had located, I noted descriptions of Travellers and sites that I could now identify, with the help of my analytical framework, as coming from socio-discursive perspectives that I had termed 'Nomadist'. In their descriptions of Traveller life and accommodation needs, the way in which 'Nomadist' contributors to the discussion represented the 'actively nomadic person or group' (which, from my original reading, I had produced as one of a number of 'Traveller' *sub-categories*), appeared to me to frequently blur this category into my original *main* social category 'Travellers', and vice versa. This was to such an extent that from this perspective the two entities appeared to be, implicitly, constructed as synonymous. Furthermore, *within* this 'merged' main 'Nomadist' social category of **'Travellers/Nomadic People'**, sub-categories which appeared very similar to those that I had implicitly produced within my original 'Travellers' main category as *sedentary* (by placing them in contrast to the 'actively nomadic person/group'), were alternatively represented, not *in binary contrast to*, but as *sub-categories of* the collective Travellers/*nomadic* main category or group:

Figure 15. Alternative representation of all 'Traveller' residential style sub-categories as members of the main 'Travellers/*nomadic people*' collective



Also as noted during my initial analysis, from national-level material that I had produced as 'Nomadist' I consistently placed this 'merged' *main* category of (all) 'Travellers/Nomadic People' as the contrasting binary counterpart to a merged *main* category of (all) 'Sedentary/Settled people':



By this further, socio-*discursively* sensitive, reading, I read the Nomadist constructions I was able to identify within the transcripts in question as contrasting *every* sub-category of Traveller included therein with the main category '*Settled/Sedentary People*'. I thus now alternatively saw this as constructing *all* of these as residentially 'nomadic'; *even those who had appeared, from my non-Traveller perspective, to be 'Settled/Sedentary'*, for example those living long-term in houses, or who had lived all their lives on one residential site. Since many of the Travellers included in this category were not residentially 'nomadic' in the 'active' sense in which I had initially constructed this phenomenon, this further socio-discursive reading produced a sense of an alternative 'nomadism' or way of 'being nomadic' that could remain 'active' in some *broader, less immediately visible, sense*, even when the people in question appeared to be residentially Settled/sedentary.

As before, I found the above idea difficult to illustrate or evidence with any individual excerpt from the particular discussion under scrutiny; the contributions of the 'Nomadist' participants recorded in the national-level transcripts of talk that I reviewed, suggested to me collectively and implicitly rather than individually and explicitly this merging of all 'Traveller' categories (even when appearing to be 'Settled'/'sedentary' for long periods or even all their lives) as 'Nomadic people'. However, the following statement, included from a secondary source in the original report, neatly summed up the construction I had identified as 'inhabiting' the transcripts:

“When Travellers speak of Travelling, we mean something different from what country people [Settled people] usually understand by it [...] For Travellers the physical fact of moving is just one aspect of a nomadic mind-set that permeates every aspect of our lives. Nomadism entails a way of looking at the world, a different way of perceiving things, a different attitude to accommodation, to work, to life in general.”

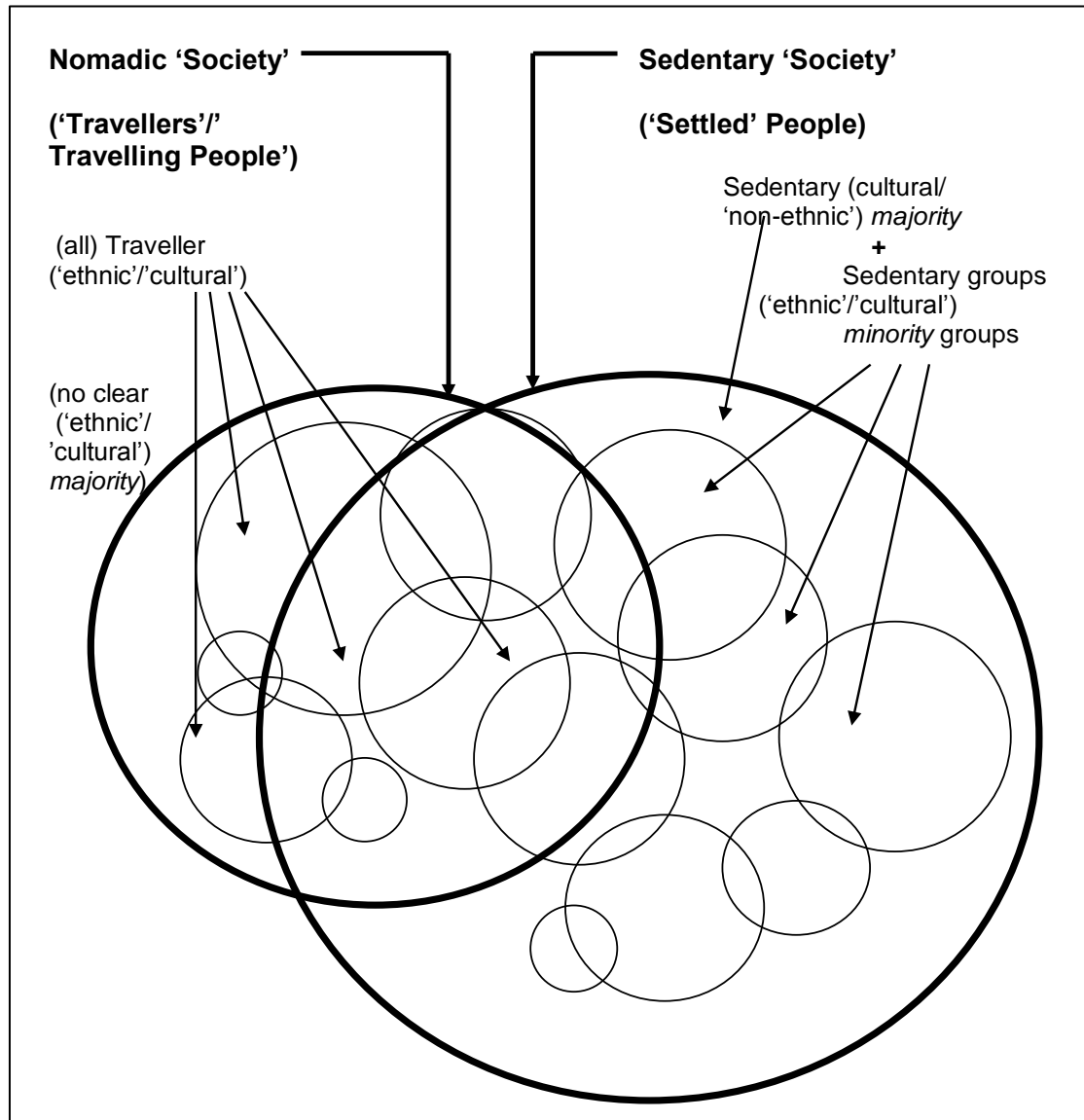
(Irish Traveller, quoted in Power, 2004:15)¹²⁴

I felt that within the Nomadist paradigm, the category ‘Nomadic people/Travellers’ was constructed not as any kind of sub-group of the mainstream population, but rather as a full and equal counterpart entity to the sedentary construct ‘**Society**’ as this is generally understood (i.e. as ‘*all* Nomadic/Traveller “*Society*” ’ as a counterpart to ‘*all* (Sedentary/Settled) “*Society*”). This produced an interesting parallel to the findings of some research on religious groups (For a housing-focused outline, see Flint, 2007. It is also interesting to note that Hancock (2012), offers a comparison between the ‘Romani people’ and a list of alternative, primarily *religious*, rather than *ethnic* or *cultural* (minority, in the West) groups in his discussion of the meaning of ‘gadže’ and ‘romani’; see Hancock, 2012:xxii).

The diagram overleaf is an attempt to visually illustrate this ‘shifted’ version of my construction of relationships between the categories and entities:

¹²⁴ Also reproduced as a citation from Power, 2004, in ODPM Select Committee Report, 2004a:22

Figure 16. Alternative construction of 'Traveller/Nomadic Residence' in relation to 'Settled/Sedentary Residence'



From the particular transcripts of talk that I analysed, I identified various examples of 'Nomadist' deconstruction of 'Nomadism'/'Travelling'. In addition to being able to reproduce all of the 'Traveller' sub-categorical themes identified in Chapter 5 (ethnic/cultural group, family/clan connections, lifeway/residence mode), I noticed further complexity, particularly, constructions describing additional sub-categories, most prominently corresponding to the further themes of Gypsy and Traveller 'economic class', and type of (nomadic) route/road and/or geographical area.

By my reading of these transcripts in light of my newly revised research framework, therefore, within Nomadist discourse *all* Travellers appeared to be constructed, not necessarily as ‘actively nomadic’ in the physical, literal sense adopted in my initial construction of social sub-categories, but as *existing and participating actively within a socially shared paradigm characterised as ‘Travelling’, or ‘Nomadic Society’, rather than as a ‘Settled cultural/ethnic minority with an (actively) nomadic sub-minority’ within ‘Sedentary Society’.*

Within this refinement of my research framework, I produced the ‘actively’ mobile mode of residence, integrally inclusive of all its various ‘on-road/route’ practices, but most essentially underpinned by its permanent ‘stillness/motion’ cycle, as the *collectively* constructed, shared and maintained dominant ‘norm’ of a broad ‘Nomadistic’ paradigm, in relation to which Traveller individuals, families, clans and broader groups represented variously as ‘racial’, ‘ethnic’, ‘cultural’ and/or ‘social’, are *all* permanently interconnected with each other, albeit to varying degrees and in varying ways. Within this paradigm, even when individuals or groups ‘pull over’/‘stop’ and remain ‘still’ in a single ‘place’ for long periods of time, or permanently (in both the geographical and temporal sense) they are constructed as ‘settled’ not in a single ‘place (in the ‘fixed position/location’ sense)’ but *on-route/road* in a nomadic area (or ‘*place* (in its first *sub*sense¹²⁵, as ‘an area on a larger surface’)), and are thus produced as remaining ‘*active*’ members of the ‘Nomadic society’ (within which actively mobile or ‘Travelling’/nomadic residence remains the dominant norm, and continues to be practiced physically/literally by others, thus always remaining an option, however notional, for the ‘settled Traveller’) rather than having become ‘Settled’ in the sense of having become members of Sedentary society.

¹²⁵ See dictionary definition of ‘place’ (under ‘residence’) on page 10

Within the research material available to me, such Travellers were not constructed from the Nomadist perspective as having become 'sedentary' 'Settled people' ('Country People'/Gorjios' etc.), but to remain *most essentially* Travellers/nomadic people regardless of the length or permanence of their on-route 'stillness', in the same way in which a Settled/sedentary person would be considered to remain essentially so, even if engaging in what could be termed 'travelling' or 'nomadic' behaviour (for example, a young Settled person who goes 'travelling' as part of a 'gap year', or a Settled academic who 'travels' and changes residence regularly, even over several decades, between multiple work-related socio-geographical locations, is considered to remain a member of (and primarily, their original socio-geographical) Sedentary society, rather than to have become a 'Traveller').

In the Nomadist construction I was thus able to produce from this material as a whole, physically 'active' nomadism remained centrally implicated in the 'difference' of Travellers from members of the dominant Settled/sedentary society. Within the 'Nomadist' paradigm, the distinctive practices of Travellers' residential 'stillness' which, regardless of its length, location or appearance, continue to distinguish them as an ethnic/cultural 'minority' within the Sedentarist paradigm, are inseparably intertwined with residential 'motion' within the stillness/motion cycle of the nomadic lifeway/residential mode. Thus although taking place during periods of Traveller 'settledness', such practices, whilst they may be constructed as 'ethnic/cultural' and equated with those of other distinct 'ethnic' and/or 'cultural' groups, are not 'Settled/sedentary'. Essentially, practices that remain distinctively 'Traveller' during periods of nomadic stillness or settlement are the same as the practices of those who remain (physically/literally) 'actively nomadic' and thus even when carried out in a single place for many years, such practices permanently remain 'actively nomadic'.

As already discussed, to effectively present empirical evidence of this in the present medium is a challenge, since reproduction and detailed annotation/cross-referencing of whole, and in some cases extremely lengthy, texts within the body of a PhD thesis is not possible. However, the following is my attempt at a partial illustration of this discursive phenomenon using the text in question, through the juxtaposition of several constructions produced by representatives of different Traveller sub-groups, of the social category:

'Traveller who, due to old age or infirmity can no longer actively travel'

R1: *Could I please say, I have something very desperate to tell this committee about the structure of the traveller and gypsy community. The reason that housing terrifies us so much is because we do not put any of our elderly into homes [...] We keep our family units together. We keep the oldest [...] to the youngest member of the community within that family group. It is our very existence. To be put into housing is a deep threat to us [...]"¹²⁶*

R2: *"[...] Let me tell you, there is nothing wrong with this little bit of land that [a Traveller family] bought. It was perfect. It had got planning permission on it for an office block and a disabled toilet. We thought, "Great, that is perfect for the mum"—because we were wanting a disability block for the old woman—and they failed it."¹²⁷*

R3: *"...Our old people do not want to have to move into a house when they are ailing; they need their family even more so at this time of their lives. Where there is housing there should be the possibility of a caravan site..."¹²⁸*

¹²⁶ Excerpt of Gypsy/Traveller representative to the ODPM Consultation, in ODPM, 2004b:8

¹²⁷ Excerpt of Gypsy/Traveller representative to the ODPM Consultation, in ODPM, 2004b:10

¹²⁸ Excerpt of Gypsy/Traveller representative to the ODPM Consultation, in ODPM, 2004b:91

I have attempted to represent above the way in which Nomadist descriptions of this category of person construct him or her as permanently 'stopped' and 'still', but remaining *nomadically* present/resident *on a route, or road*, on or around which their still (physically/literally) 'actively nomadic' family and/or community *continue to travel*. The person is thus constructed as continuing to be a member of an alternative 'society' *in which actively nomadic residence is the dominant norm*. The Nomadist constructions I located not only contrasted the type of 'permanently stopped' but no less 'nomadic' residence mode of this person category with being 'housed' or going into a '(residential) home' in the sedentary, permanently 'Settled' sense, but explicitly constructed these as unthinkable or intolerable forms of profound 'off-road/route' separation and isolation, *away from* their family and community, *outside* Nomadic society (and by implication, *within* 'Sedentary society').

6.1.2 Further analysis of cross-paradigm construction in 2004 ODPM consultation- related transcripts and reports

a) The accommodation of 'Post-nomadic' Travellers: Development of Nomadist-influenced Sedentarist constructions

In my attempt to (re)produce a solely nomadist description, I deliberately removed the excerpts used as illustrations in the last section from their textual context, that of a transcript of a discussion with sedentary officials that took place within an official sedentary venue, as part of an official Sedentarist consultation exercise focused on Travelling people and 'residential accommodation'. Back within the transcript, certain components of Nomadist construction, such as those used to build up the example reproduced above, regularly reappeared in the responses and submissions recorded as coming from Settled professionals and officials. However, this reproduction was within (de)constructed Sedentarist 'versions' of Traveller cultural/ethnic identity similar to those described in Chapter 5. To attempt to illustrate this, I will include a further excerpt from the same document, in which a similar person category to the one

presented above (a 'disabled or elderly' Gypsy or Traveller) is produced, this time by a Settled professional:

“...One reason Gypsies wish to live in caravans is because they would feel lonesome in flats or houses as this would separate them from their extended family and force the disabled or elderly into “homes”[...]”¹²⁹

In this construction, the wish of the Gypsy or Traveller to remain resident within *Nomadic 'society', on roads or routes*, upon which more vulnerable family or community members may remain permanently 'still' *at stopping places* and be cared for 'internally' in accordance with the dominant norms of the alternative Traveller paradigm, is thus deconstructed and reconstructed with no reference to 'Travelling' or active nomadism. It is rather represented as a wish to *live in caravans* in order to *remain near to extended family*. By my reading, this account constructs the ('Gypsy') Traveller as simply desiring to live sedentarily, but in closer physical proximity than would generally be possible in conventional housing, in order to facilitate the ongoing companionship and care of the vulnerable within the extended family.

In the final official government report to which this consultation document contributed, various Traveller participants are reproduced as 'community spokespersons' and thus as 'entitled witnesses' (Potter, 1996), and positioned by the inclusion of 'quoted' fragments from the original transcripts as a cumulation of 'actively voiced' 'experts' in the construction of a 'collective' account of a generalised social category- which I termed the '**post-nomadic' Gypsy or Traveller**'. This is a notional Gypsy or Traveller individual or group whose lifeway/mode of residence is conventionally

¹²⁹ Excerpt from a submission to the 2004 ODPM Consultation from a female Settled professional with experience of working with Travellers, ODPM 2004b:106

Settled/sedentary, but who remain/s distinct within the ('ethnic'/'non-ethnic') majority population through the continuation of certain minority 'cultural' practices that are, superficially, separable from visibly, physically active mobile residence, and thus compatible with the accepted 'norms' for ethnic/cultural minorities within the Sedentarist paradigm. Some minority practices (that may be further characterised variously as 'ethnic' and/or 'cultural') that I frequently noticed in descriptions of this 'post-nomadic Gypsy or Traveller' category, include:

- Living in (permanently 'stationed'/'parked') caravans
- Living in close physical proximity to, or with, extended family
- Speaking a distinct minority language
- Distinct minority ethnic customs (e.g. associated with hygiene, gender relations etc.)
- Occasional 'cultural' travelling in caravans, in the sedentary sense of temporary 'trips' away from their permanent, socio-geographically fixed 'home' (for example, to attend a wedding or funeral, or to go travelling as a 'holiday').

This type of construction appeared to me to have the action orientation of simultaneously '*normalising*' and '*racialising*' Gypsies and Travellers as a *Settled 'cultural/ethnic minority'* of the dominant Sedentary society, as in this example:

"While there are exceptions, the general picture built up of residential Gypsy/Traveller sites is that they are stable, with long-term residents who travel little during the course of a year. It may be that, for many residents, the attractions of a site lie in the possibilities of living within a culturally distinct community among friends and family. This is not necessarily the same as meeting the needs of a nomadic or semi-nomadic population. For many residential site residents, nomadism appears to be a spiritual and cultural state of mind rather than a day-to-day reality"¹³⁰

¹³⁰ Excerpt from Report of the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies at the University of Birmingham, cited in ODPM Consultation Report, ODPM, 2004a:22

In the Sedentaristic constructions of Gypsies and Travellers and their accommodation that I produced from the same supplementary document, two distinct types of 'Local Authority Traveller Site' were regularly represented, often together in a binary contrast pairing. I generally produced the **'Permanent, Residential Local Authority Traveller Site'**, an account of which features in the excerpt above, as constructed with richly detailed, sedentaristically 'normalising' description; produced as 'authorised', permanently socio-geographically fixed/static ('sited') residential accommodation ('home/s') for 'minority-ethnic' Gypsy and Travellers; whose residential practices are constructed as essentially sedentary, but having 'cultural' and 'spiritual' reference, to a *former*, and/or a *contrasting current counterpart of*, active nomadism. I regularly produced the **'Local Authority Transit'¹³¹ Site'** as a contrasting counterpart site 'type': constructed by means of less detailed descriptions as an 'alternative' form of provision for an 'other' kind of person/group category, described in the example above as a 'nomadic or semi-nomadic population' in a corresponding contrast relationship with a '[long term/permanent] residential [Gypsy/Traveller] site resident' population (such representations rarely make explicit mention of ethnicity or any other identity dimension, or of what 'other' type of provision would meet the needs of such people).

In general, the Sedentarist constructions that I located in my data of this 'nomadic or semi-nomadic population', 'other' type of site '(Local Authority) Transit Site', and of active 'nomadism' itself, did not represent these as 'ethnic'/'cultural', or even always associate them with 'residence'. They were, generally, constructed using comparatively vague, sparsely detailed descriptions and contrasted in ways that backgrounded and

¹³¹'Travelling', constructed from within the 'Sedentarist' paradigm, as previously discussed, generally has a sense of 'transit between two or more fixed (in this case, sedentary residential) locations' rather than as a 'mobile mode of residence on a road or route' which may explain the use of this word to describe a type of site considered to be suitable for use by actively nomadic people or groups, since in the Sedentarist world-view, these are generally constructed as simply 'passing through' an area (the implication being that they are between fixed/static residential locations but not at that moment 'residing' anywhere), rather than 'living a life of permanent mobile residence'.

minimised their relevance and importance in both direct and indirect comparison to the counterpart constructions of the ‘Permanent, Residential’ Local Authority Traveller Site and the ‘post-nomadic’, residential site-resident, Gypsy or Traveller. In addition, constructions such as the one above were not infrequent, in that one or both backgrounded entities were represented in the construction only indirectly through the binary contrasts implied in the descriptions, and as detail used to build the facticity, of the foregrounded entities¹³².

Through this analysis I was thus able to produced elements of both ‘Nomadist’ and ‘Sedentarist’ constructions from the consultation document as participating in the eventual representation, in the final Report, of a *Sedentaristic* contrasting social category binary of:

‘Actively Nomadic or Semi-nomadic Traveller’ ↔ **‘Post-nomadic’ Traveller’**

and the contrasted pairing of:

Local Authority Transit Site’ ↔ **‘Permanent Residential Local Authority Traveller Site’,**

as alternative provision respectively for these groups, with the ‘Post-nomadic’ and ‘Permanent Residential’ variants foregrounded and richly described with Sedentaristic ‘normalising’ detail, and the ‘Actively Nomadic’ and ‘Transit’ variants backgrounded, with comparatively sparse, vague description, as contrasted binary ‘others’ (present primarily as components of the facticity-building, discursive process of ‘normalising’ their counterparts.

¹³² E.g. in the above excerpt, the Permanent, Residential Site and its residents are central to the construction, the ‘nomadic population’ are explicitly mentioned, only as an ‘other’ backgrounded and contrasted entity (implicitly constructing the site residents as ‘not nomadic or semi-nomadic’), for whom the suggestion is made that the Permanent site may not be suitable; and there is no explicit reference to the Transit Site.

b) The accommodation of 'Modern' Travellers: Development of Sedentarist-influenced Nomadist constructions

Continuing to reference my bi-modal analytical framework, I returned to the transcripts but was unable to find any individual or collective construction resembling the 'post-nomadic Gypsy or Traveller' from the 'more complete'/'less edited' records of Nomadist contributions to the consultation. I identified instead a different notional social category, which I termed the '**Modern Gypsy or Traveller**', who was described as living (or wishing to live) a residentially '*bi-modal*' life; actively nomadic, or with an ever-present possibility of active nomadism, but with at least one permanently fixed, and relatively 'developed', 'stopping place'/'site' located socio-geographically somewhere in the area and on the 'route/s'/'road/s' upon which they, their family, and their particular wider Traveller community permanently reside. I observed multiple variants of both 'static' and 'mobile' residence constructed as 'normal' for people in this category, and constructed this 'stopping place'/'site' as a 'normal' location for nomadic temporary residential 'stillness', but also as 'normal' in Sedentarist terms, due to its permanently static being in one fixed geographical location, and thus its ability to conform to further sedentary residential norms, for example being connected to the utilities, issued with a post-code, registered for council tax, included on the electoral roll, having a regular refuse collection service, etc. This entity appeared as a point of 'overlap' or 'blurring' between the Nomadic and Sedentary paradigms, with the 'modern' Traveller in this construction described as spending varying temporal periods of nomadic residential 'stillness' in this (geographically and temporally) permanently fixed, sedentarily-developed 'stopping place'/'site, with the types of activity taking place there causing periods of nomadic residential 'stillness' to ever-increasingly resemble the residence of the sedentary majority. For example this 'overlap' might be constructed and maintained by active participation in the local or wider settled community (for example sending children to local schools, or attending a local church), matching the standard and type of permanent facilities within the 'stopping place' (e.g. water, electricity, central heating,

appliances, living space) to those typical of neighbouring 'bricks and mortar' housing, and adopting some practices of the sedentary majority population compatible with nomadic cultural norms (for example spending time inside a bricks and mortar 'day room' during bad weather, planting a garden, or taking employment/ developing business opportunities in the local area).

*GB: I've got a house—I live in a house, right? I live in a house, quite a big house [...] I've got a business [...] I also have a Gypsy site for my own friends and relations. I've got daughters who've married out and still travel in caravans. They go away, come back and things like that. And I do as well. [...] So, yes, I live two lives. I live your life and I live my own life.*¹³³

*R1: It has to be said that the pattern of life for Gypsies is totally changing. Nowadays people want a base from which they can go to work and from which they can travel [...] It is very important, from a community that used to have an 80% illiteracy rate [...] the caravan sites which were built by local authorities and private initiatives [have] allowed our children to have a better education through the state school system. [...] The only way we can do that is if we can stay in one area. The pattern of life for the Gypsy people is changing. That does not mean to say we give up our nomadic lifestyle, because at certain times of the year we would travel anyway.*¹³⁴

*R4: I have never committed a crime in my life in this country [...] but I am classed as a criminal because I have lived on an illegal encampment for seven years. That cannot be right. There are many, many hundreds [...] like me [...] We are trying hard to evolve, to become responsible people of the country that people want us to be. We want to pay our taxes.*¹³⁵

¹³³ Excerpt of Gypsy/Traveller representative to the Consultation from ODPM 2004b:64

¹³⁴ Excerpt of Gypsy/Traveller representative to the Consultation from ODPM, 2004b:15

¹³⁵ Excerpt from Gypsy/Traveller representative contribution to the Consultation, from ODPM, 2004b:8

The clearest binary counterpart relationship in this construction was again:

'Modern' (Bi-residential) Traveller ↔ **Settled person**

but, in addition, a further contrast structure was sometimes implied, that of

'Modern' (Bi-residential) Traveller
(as the dominant nomadic norm) ↔ 'Other' Traveller
(as a normal nomadic minority *or*
a deviant nomadic minority).

The second of the above contrast relationships produced the 'modern' Traveller as not only a counterpart to the sedentary person, but also as representing a dominant norm with regard to current ways of life within the 'Nomadic Society'. Examples of 'other' Travellers within this nomadist view were constructed as either 'normal'/'accepted' minorities, for example those who still live a traditional, permanently 'on the road', nomadic life, adhering to 'proper' cultural practice (as variously defined by the person producing the construction); or 'abnormal'/'deviant' families or minorities, represented for example as nomadic people who deliberately or unnecessarily cause antisocial nuisance, or break other nomadic 'rules' (again, as defined by the constructor).

In these types of construction, both Private and Local Authority Traveller Sites and even, as in one of the examples given earlier, conventional houses, appeared as variants of the 'dual' stopping place/site. This construction appeared to me to also have an action orientation of '*normalisation*' of nomadism *in relation to the dominant sedentary paradigm*, however in this second case this was attempted through the construction of Travellers not as solely sedentary 'Settled People' but as 'bi-residential' (in the style of 'bi-lingual'). Again by contrast to the Sedentarist constructions of Traveller 'ethnic'/'cultural' minority *difference*, that I had identified, the *similarity* of Traveller 'cultural' practices during periods of nomadic 'stillness' at the dual stopping-place/site, to the 'cultural' practices of the *dominant sedentary majority* in relation to

their conventional bricks and mortar dwellings, was usually emphasised, with constructions of 'ethnic'/'cultural' *difference*, whilst regularly present, usually tending to be more backgrounded or minimised.

Within this representation, the Local Authority 'Transit' Site(/stopping place) and Local Authority 'Permanent Residential' Site(/stopping place), became implicitly blurred as '*identical twin*' entities, since in the Nomadist constructions I produced, both types of site are produced, notionally, as 'present' on the same *roads/routes* Travelled by an actively nomadic 'Travelling' society, taking part in which remains equally intrinsic to life at both types of site. To summarise:

- Sedentaristically, a 'Permanent/Residential Traveller Site' is constructed as being a 'place'¹³⁶ for 'post-nomadic', 'Settled'/sedentary Travellers to permanently reside in permanently static homes ('stationed' caravans on 'pitches' with fixed/static bricks and mortar facilities), and a 'Transit Site' is contrasted with this as fixed/static 'place (in its primary sense)', for 'other' (still-actively nomadic) Travellers (constructed as not 'residing' anywhere, and frequently simply as 'unauthorised campers/ illegal trespassers') to legally 'resort to', or temporarily stay;
- Nomadistically, both types of Local Authority site are constructed as equally 'permanent' and 'residential' in the sense of being *temporary nomadic residential stopping places for permanently mobile homes, on permanently built, fixed/static socio-geographical sites, situated on nomadic routes and roads.*

Within the examples of Nomadist discourse at the national level that I accessed and analysed, then, *all* socially-provided sites for Gypsies and Travellers were constructed Sedentaristically as 'Permanent', but Nomadistically as 'Residential' (or in Sedentarist terms, 'Transit'), and thus, in the Nomadist construction, each Local Authority site was

¹³⁶ In the first core sense, of *a particular (fixed) point or location*; see dictionary definition of 'place', under 'residence', pg. 10

represented in such a way as to notionally belong equally to *both* categories that, within the Sedentarist construction, are produced as binary opposites.

Since, nevertheless, all sites, (including Local Authority 'Permanent Residential' and 'Transit' sites) did not appear to me to be considered equal within the Nomadist paradigm, my question at this stage of the analysis was, 'how then are 'stopping places'/'sites' constructed, within the Nomadist paradigm, as *distinct* from one another?'

On further consideration of the descriptions in the texts under discussion, I concluded that the primary distinction between the two 'types' of Local Authority-provided site (and between these and all other potential stopping places/sites, including 'unauthorised encampments/ developments' and 'private sites') was constructed in terms of the level of

- **security, safety and privacy**

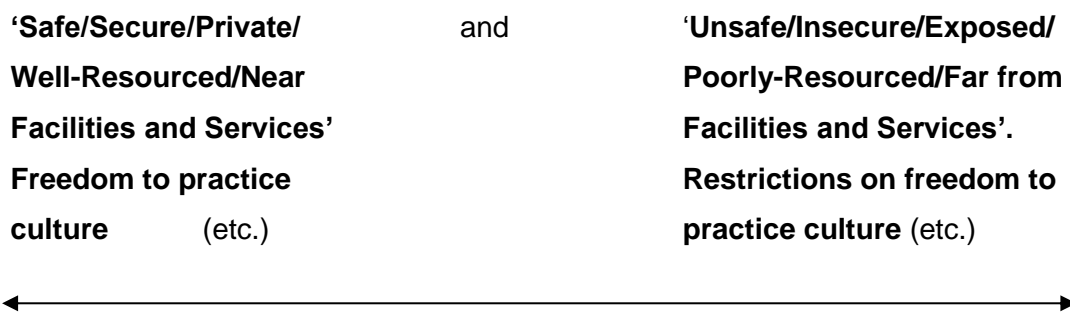
they provided to Travellers during periods of 'stillness' (regardless of temporal length); often defined by explicit reference to 'who else (primarily from within the wider *Nomadic* society) would be able to access the same site', referencing, variously, *Traveller* family, clan, and ethnic/cultural inter-categorical relationships; but also sometimes referring to the potential for *Traveller-Settled* interaction. Further important ways in which Nomadist distinctions between sites were constructed related to the

- **quality and extent of resources, facilities and services available** in, or near to, a site,

and the

- **level of freedom allowed by site design and management/rules for the practice of ‘Traveller culture’** (including, and often most importantly, actively mobile residence in permanently mobile homes, but also distinctive economic and domestic practices).

Whereas I was able to organise from this my National level data a Sedentarist account of ‘types of Local Authority site’ with two relatively simple, distinct categories, the Nomadist construction of ‘types of site’ (including Local Authority) I produced from the same material described a complex, potentially infinite range of categories, blurring into each other on multiple parallel continua between



6.2 ‘Ontologically gerrymaned out’: The interactive production of a *dominant* construction of Travellers and their ‘accommodation needs’ in National-level Sedentarist discourse

Although both Nomadist and Sedentarist contributions were interactively involved in the construction of the Sedentarist entity of the ‘post-nomadic Traveller’, I was able to produce clear representations of the ‘finished item’ only from the responses of the Sedentarist participants in the transcribed material. I have attempted to illustrate the interactive process of construction in my earlier comparative examples of Nomadist and Sedentarist descriptions of the ‘older Traveller’.

In my data, Sedentarist (re-)presentations of discursive entities originally produced from Nomadist perspectives were then sometimes (re)constructed in further Nomadist responses in response to these Sedentarist (re)-presentations, in a ‘turn-taking’ process. For example Nomadist participants may have originally spoken simply about a need for somewhere legal to ‘stop’, but in later contributions have begun to talk about ‘Permanent Residential’ and ‘Transit’ sites (with further Sedentarist responses to this new construction, and so on). Again, I acquired this impression at the level of the entire body of transcripts rather than in individual interactions, as an active process of collaborative construction which resulted in my production of a generalised pair of descriptive ‘versions’ of Travellers and ‘Sites’, which, while apparently incompatible, both appeared to be actively oriented towards the ‘normalisation’ of Travellers in relation to the dominant sedentary paradigm, through a reconstruction of a majority of Travelling people as either

‘*Bi-residential*’, with cultural practices likened to sedentary *majority* norms,

or

‘*Sedentary*’, with cultural practices likened to sedentary *minority* norms.

From the research material I used, I could produce the latter, Sedentarist ‘normalising’ version as gradually gaining dominance in the discussion, subsequently appearing as the sole version in the final governmental post-consultation report, reappearing in the new Housing Act, and then recurring repeatedly in further material produced in response to this from both Sedentarist and Nomadist sources. The former, ‘bi-residential’ Nomadist version remained muted, generally not appearing at all in official or other Sedentarist material. Where it did reappear (including in material that I produced as ‘Nomadist’), it shared space and had to ‘compete’ with the also-present,

and dominant, Sedentarist version, generally from a 'backgrounded'¹³⁷ position, with often the only descriptive terms and discursive mechanisms available already employed in the 'normalisation' of the dominant version.

From the national-level texts used to construct this account, I was able to produce a very general parallel between the Sedentarist construction of the 'Permanent/ Residential' site with the Nomadist 'Safe/Secure/Well-Resourced' site/stopping place, and between the Sedentarist 'Transit' site and the Nomadist 'Unsafe/Insecure/ Poorly-resourced' site/stopping place. In this context, I was able to sometimes explicitly represent the Local Authority Permanent/ Residential Traveller site also in an (again, broad) equivalence, rather than a direct contrast, relationship with the 'Private site'. As previously mentioned, I generally produced the 'Local Authority' variant of the Nomadist 'Safe/Secure/Well-Resourced' site/stopping place as an alternative option, more desirable than conventional housing, for 'lower-income' Travellers who cannot afford to develop a private site (and thus explicitly in this context as a nomadic version of social housing), or for Travellers in any income bracket in areas where land suitable for sites is scarce and planning permission difficult to obtain.

Although Traveller representatives did not always agree on which type of 'permanent residential' site provision (i.e. Local Authority or private owner-occupied) was their most preferred option (often in relation to the typical income bracket of the particular group being represented), I did identify very general consensus between Traveller participants in the consultation about the characteristics of 'good' and 'bad' sites. I thus noted some 'intertextuality' between the representation of the relationship of these phenomena to each other and the way in which the relationship of conventional social housing to private bricks and mortar owner-occupation is often produced.

¹³⁷ see Potter, 1996, as discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis

From the same material I also concluded that in the Nomadist perspective, the matters of *provision* and *management* of 'stopping places'/'sites' were inseparable. Constructions of these combined activities as alternative, but equivalent to (neither something *completely different from*, nor *a sub-division of*), 'housing' provision/management were recurrent and strong, again serving to emphasise an overarching Nomadist discourse of two distinct, but overlapping and to an extent blurring 'Societies', within which two different, but not necessarily incompatible, lifeways/modes of residence and types of 'home'/'dwelling' are the respective norms. One particularly articulate Gypsy participant who contributed extensively to the original consultation took such notions much further, expressing an explicit desire for the dominant paradigm to also become, like the nomadic paradigm, 'bi-modal' in its understanding of the human lifeway /residence. I produced his descriptions of an imagined 'new' dominant bi-modal paradigm and integrated, universally residentially bi-modal majority society, as oriented strongly towards building the facticity of such possibilities as not simply potentially 'normal' but 'highly desirable', using specific detail referencing popular mainstream (i.e. Traveller-unrelated) Sedentarist concerns. In his notional construction of a future 'transformed' society, nomadism, and particularly caravan sites as '*stopping places*', were re-presented as 'normal', economically beneficial and environmentally superior, and as a positive option for *everyone* in society, rather than something 'special' to be provided only for certain minority groups:

R3: *"...The Gypsy and Traveller people cannot buy their freedom or rights by denying others their freedom. It is therefore important that others who wish to live in caravans, whether they are Gypsy families or not should be able to do so. Caravan sites are cheaper to build than houses, they are less damaging to the environment and they respond better to the fast movement of today. It is becoming usual to move job and house every three to five years. The population is becoming more mobile and the use of land is becoming of concern. Increased risk of flooding is exacerbated by building of roads and houses, the concrete and*

impermeable surfaces prevent rain from soaking into the ground [...]. We do not want ghettos and reservations; we want to be able to live in harmony with other people. Our old people do not want to have to move into a house when they are ailing; they need their family even more so at this time of their lives. Where there is housing there should be the possibility of a caravan site. If it is for ANYONE then it will encourage good relations and improve standards for everyone.”¹³⁸

In the above construction, (in which the shorter excerpt used earlier in my consideration of representations of the ‘elderly, non-mobile Gypsy or Traveller’ can also now be seen within its original context), and others, I noted in the same participant’s contributions, what was generally produced Sedentaristically as the (internal, minority) ‘Gypsy and Traveller community’ was represented as a ‘Nomadic Society’ existing and growing in an equivalent way, and *in close parallel/overlap with* (by contrast to *within*) ‘Sedentary society’. By means of the discursive technique of ‘metaphor’ (Potter, 1996), the following excerpt exemplifies a particular, distinctive Nomadist construction that I found to recur often, of ‘life/residence on *existing* Local Authority Sites’ as a ‘liminal’ type of existence located between/outside the binary counterpart categories of life/residence in *either* ‘Nomadic’ or ‘Sedentary’ ‘Society’:

*“...We do not want **ghettos and reservations**; we want to be able to live in **harmony with other people.**”*

The same participant employs similar imagery in building the credibility of his further categorisation of Traveller site-provision ‘limits’ or ‘quotas’ as ‘bad’, instead, as shown above, emphasising the desirability of a radical broadening of the *dominant* meaning/understanding of ‘residence’ (and thus of the entire Sedentarist paradigm) in

¹³⁸ Excerpt from transcribed discussion at the 2004 ODPM Consultation (Gypsy Council representative) (ODPM 2004b:91)

which the concept of 'housing' is replaced with the broader concept of 'accommodation' in *mainstream* assessments of residential need:

R3: *I think we need to stop calling it housing. We need to start looking at accommodation. That takes in everything. I mean, it is not only caravans, people live in boats and all sorts of things, so we should start talking about accommodation needs rather than just housing. Not everybody wants [...] or chooses to live in a house. If we started looking at a broader aspect of "accommodation for everybody", and the so-called housing departments dealt with that, in a wider spectrum, we would start looking at everybody's needs instead of just bricks and mortar and a roof over your head. I think that is the problem, we have a closed mind to housing.*

Chairman: *We need to move on with the questions.*¹³⁹

I produced the rich construction above as employing various discursive mechanisms, including a clear example of, in addition to metaphor, another mechanism, also used regularly within the Nomadist constructions I accessed: a 'normalising' 'three-part list' (in this case finished with a 'generalised list completer' (Potter, 1996),

'caravans...boats...all sorts of things' ,

and, towards the end of the excerpt, an example of the Nomadist binary contrast structure discussed earlier,

'...start looking at everybody's needs...instead of just bricks and mortar and a roof over your head.'

¹³⁹ Excerpt from transcripts of discussion from the 2004 ODPM Consultation (Gypsy Council representative and session Chair) (ODPM, 2004b:8)

implicitly constructing Traveller 'accommodation needs' as something *more than*, 'a roof over one's head in a fixed/static location'. The complex combination of discursive mechanisms builds the facticity of the participant's proposed 'inclusion of people living an actively nomadic life', as inclusion *alongside*, rather than *as*, people living a sedentary life, as both feasible and desirable.

I have above included the recorded response of the Consultation chairman, to illustrate that no direct response to this construction was recorded in the discussion transcript. However, whilst part of the above excerpt from transcribed talk, and another excerpt from a written submission of the same participant, were 'quoted' in a section of the Consultation's final Report, within a constructed 'discussion' about 'defining' Gypsies, Travellers and Sites, no reference is made to the often collaborative Nomadist constructions I had found in the consultation transcripts, of '*Modern Gypsies and Travellers*'. In the section of the report in which he 'appears', 'R3' is employed through the discursive mechanism of 'active voicing', in an '*expert witness for the (Sedentarist) defence*'-type role. This is done by the quotation-style inclusion of the following excerpt, taken from towards the end of an original written submission made by R3 to the consultation on behalf of a Gypsy organisation:

"The Gypsy Council believes that the right to a reasonable choice of type of accommodation, and the right to stable and secure family residence within cultural tradition are human rights that all people, regardless of ethnicity, should enjoy."¹⁴⁰

In the 'more complete' (and possibly fully intact) version of this written submission recorded in the supplementary document, the above assertion is qualified by means of a further statement, comprising the remainder of a single paragraph:

¹⁴⁰ Excerpt from a written submission to the 2004 ODPM Consultation from Gypsy Council representative (ODPM 2004b:91), cited in ODPM 2004a:22

“The Gypsy Council believes that the right to a reasonable choice of type of accommodation, and the right to stable and secure family residence within cultural tradition are human rights that all people, regardless of ethnicity, should enjoy. **The Gypsy Council believes therefore that well managed and designed caravan sites should in principle be allowed to be built on any land which is zoned for residential purposes. If however planning permission for caravan sites is to be restricted, priority should be given to those who travel as part of their occupation or economic, cultural or social way of life.**”¹⁴¹

However, in the final governmental Report, only the first part of the above paragraph is cited as the penultimate paragraph of the Report, with the second part, and thus the qualification constructing Travellers as ‘priority candidates’ with regard to the provision and allocation of caravan sites, is ‘absent’. The author/s of the report instead revert to their ‘default’ empiricist style, with their own concluding paragraph directly following the ‘actively voiced’ excerpt:

“The Gypsy Council believes that the right to a reasonable choice of type of accommodation, and the right to stable and secure family residence within cultural tradition are human rights that all people, regardless of ethnicity, should enjoy.

Many Gypsies and Travellers now live increasingly sedentary lives. The current definitions imply that those within the community who do not adopt a nomadic lifestyle are not actually Gypsies and Travellers. Any new definition should comprise both the alternatives of ethnic origin or similar, and nomadic lifestyle [...]¹⁴²

In splicing an ‘actively voiced’ fragment from the ‘Gypsy Council’ spokesperson writing of ‘Gypsy and Traveller residence within cultural tradition’ with their own stylistically

¹⁴¹ Excerpt from a written submission to the 2004 ODPM Consultation from Gypsy Council representative (ODPM, 2004b:92, emphasis added)

¹⁴² Excerpt from ODPM Report: Gypsy and Traveller Sites (ODPM, 2004a:26, emphasis added)

authoritative 'empiricist' assertion about Gypsies and Travellers' 'increasingly sedentary lives', the author/s of the report clearly 'ontologically gerrymander' the Nomadist '(actively nomadic, 'bi-residential') *Modern Gypsy or Traveller*', and his/her accommodation needs, *out* of the Consultation Report (and thus *out* of the dominant construction and discourse). In addition, the same spokesperson is similarly enlisted in the discursive 'normalisation' of the Sedentarist Permanent Residential Traveller Site-dwelling, '*Post-nomadic*'/'sedentary minority-ethnic' Traveller. As seen in this example, some of the components originating in the construction of the Nomadist alternative '*modern Traveller*' construction (and through a mechanism of *cumulative* 'active voicing', several of its producers), appear in the Consultation Report, as components in the construction of the Sedentarist construction. This 'version' is thus presented by the report as a (*sedentary*) 'ethnic/cultural minority' towards whom special '*accommodation provision*' (descriptive detail 'borrowed' from Nomadist constructions recorded during the consultation process, including the example reproduced earlier) distinct from conventional/mainstream (non-'ethnic') 'housing provision', can be focused.

The above-analysed national-level Consultation on Gypsy and Traveller accommodation, and its concluding Report, were explicitly oriented towards producing definitions of Gypsies, Travellers and their accommodation needs for the purpose of directly informing the producers of impending 'Housing' legislation.

6.3 'Absence' and 'Presence': The maintenance of the dominant Sedentarist social construction of Travellers and their accommodation needs in post-2004 Housing Act official national-level discourse and discursive interaction

6.3.1 The Housing Act 2004

By my analysis, the discursive orientation of the text of the Housing Act 2004, as a whole, is Sedentarist. Its author/s, as is typical with official government documents, primarily rely on heavily distanced 'footing' (Potter, 1996) through the use of a formal,

empiricist style throughout, to build its facticity as a reified, independent entity with the ability to 'Act' in its own right. No official definition of 'Gypsies and Travellers' was included in the actual text of the 2004 Housing Act itself. However, in creating a statutory duty upon Local Authorities to assess the 'accommodation' needs of *both* ('post-nomadic') Gypsies and Travellers '**residing in**',

and

('actively nomadic') Gypsies and Travellers '**resorting to**'

'Local Authority areas', the author/s reproduce both variants of the Sedentaristic construction of 'Travellers' discussed earlier, created through interaction and eventually produced as dominant during a governmental consultation process.

Thus, implicitly within the body of its text, and later explicitly, I produced, by means of official definitions added in separately published documents, the author/s of the 2004 Act as 'ontologically gerrymandering' 'Travelling people' into the discursive position of an 'ethnic/cultural' minority group of the sedentary population, contrasted primarily with the mainstream majority of 'Settled People', but with two broad, but distinct and contrasting, internal variants:

Either:

- a non-, or less- actively nomadic, 'cultural' (ethnic/racial) variant (broadly corresponding with the constructions in previous official material that I have termed 'post-nomadic', and foregrounded in the text)

Or

- an actively nomadic, less-/non- 'cultural' (ethnic/racial) variant (constructed within the text as a backgrounded, contrasting 'other' binary counterpart category to the above)

The authors of the Act noticeably employed one key discursive technique in their achievement of this, which was to blur the distinction between the correspondingly contrasted Sedentaristic Traveller Accommodation options of 'Permanent Residential' and 'Transit' Sites. Although I was able to construct from this text an account of 'Travellers' as two distinct categories, I was able to produce clear description of only the former variant of 'Site', but as a single *generalised* category of 'Traveller Sites', in an explicit binary contrast structure with 'Housing'. I could construct the entire content and structure of the text of the Act, including through cumulative references to previous legislation, as foregrounding and repeatedly reinforcing, an implicit definition of this category as '*permanently fixed pitches with permanently 'static' caravans, on authorised Traveller Sites*'. The author/s further construct the contrasted entities 'Housing' and Traveller Sites' as 'different' from each other in terms of the physical structure of the '(equally permanently static) homes' involved and the 'ethnic'/'cultural' practices performed within them, but as identical in their *essential* Sedentary nature (and thus not in terms of mobility).

Thus, a category of 'Nomadic Traveller' appears in the Act, but as a component of the 'normalising' construction oriented to production of a Sedentary, 'cultural' 'post-nomadic', candidate Traveller for (housing-style) accommodation needs assessment and (Sedentary) minority 'ethnic'/'cultural' accommodation provision. The generalised description of *all* 'Traveller Sites' as 'minority' variant sedentary accommodation conceals the absence of a description of any 'other' type of 'Site'; which absence in turn conceals the exclusion from the construction of any 'residence' or 'accommodation need' other than those of the foregrounded, Sedentary, 'post-nomadic' Traveller variant. It was thus only in the context of this construction, that the authors of the Act required that Local Authorities produce 'Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Assessments' (hereafter 'GTAA(s)'), and subsequent 'Strategies' (also mandated at the

time by the Act), regarding the meeting of *all* Gypsy and Traveller accommodation need.

6.3.2 Planning Circular 01/2006

By contrast, the text of the 01/2006 Planning Circular, issued in response/as a complement to the Housing Act 2004 in relation to England, constructed a single version of the category 'gypsies and travellers':

'Definition

For the purposes of this Circular "gypsies and travellers" means

"Persons of nomadic habit whatever their race or origin, including such persons who on grounds only of their own or their family's or dependants' educational or health needs or old age have ceased to travel temporarily or permanently, but excluding members of an organised group of travelling show people or circus people travelling together as such."

(ODPM, 2006c:6)

Although within the above-reproduced definition, the sole foregrounded person category is that of a 'gypsy or traveller' who has either temporarily or permanently 'ceased to travel' (implying 'settlement' in one 'place'¹⁴³), absent from this construction is any notion of a sedentary, 'post-nomadic', 'cultural/ethnic' variant of Traveller. By my reading, the above implies a binary contrast relationship only with 'people of settled/sedentary habit of life, whatever their race or origin', with the effect that this definition constructs *race or origin* (culture, ethnicity etc.), and *residence mode*, as separate, unrelated entities. The sole criterion for 'Traveller' status for Planning

¹⁴³ In the first core sense, of *a particular (fixed) point or location*; see dictionary definition of 'place', under 'residence', pg. 10

purposes being an '[actively] nomadic habit of life' separated from other identity dimensions, and the explicit statement that

“the traditional travelling way of life of gypsies and travellers” must be “recognise[d], protect[ed] and facilitate[d]”,

(ODPM, 2006c:5)

implicitly appeared to reference the Nomadist constructions discussed earlier of the effect of the CJPOA 1994. The above construction also explicitly produced, and differentiated, a representation of the 'Transit Site' as necessary to meet the needs of the '[actively] nomadic' population produced. This clearly presents a problem for the relationship between this Planning Circular and the Housing Act 2004, which, while producing vague and abstract representations of '(active) nomadism', foregrounds an entirely different version of the 'Traveller', allowing for a different, wider range of people to potentially be officially categorised as such. However, the Circular further constructs the primary responsibility for deciding who should be considered in 'genuine' need of Traveller Site accommodation as belonging to a generalised, reified, independently-acting 'GTAA' (the production of which the Housing Act 2004 makes the responsibility of 'Housing'). The author/s of the Circular finally construct the role of 'Planning' as simply to identify land suitable for 'sites' *after* the need has been assessed and expressed as a 'number of pitches' by the independent, reified 'GTAA'.

The Planning Circular thus constructed those Travellers able to evidence their actively 'nomadic habit of life' (or specific extenuating circumstances) to the satisfaction of Planning officials, as eligible to apply independently for planning permission for a private Traveller site suitable for their needs. However, all 'others' claiming Gypsy or Traveller status (in this case, 'others' being anyone who is not 'actively nomadic' in the strict Sedentarist sense given in the Planning Circular definition, and implicitly

prohibited by the CJPOA 1994, and thus, potentially, many of those defining themselves in Nomadist terms as 'Modern' Gypsies and Travellers) were only able to represent themselves as in 'need' of site accommodation instead of conventional housing via inclusion in a Local Authority GTAA. The GTAA, however, as described, was required by the Housing Act 2004 to be produced in accordance with its construction of (primarily 'post-nomadic') Gypsies and Travellers, for whom its corresponding categorically generalised (but descriptively, wholly sedentary) 'Traveller Site' was the ready-prescribed 'culturally appropriate' accommodation.

6.3.3 'Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Assessments: Draft Practice Guidance', and 'Statutory Instrument 2006/3190'

Shortly after the publication of the 01/2006 Planning Circular, the ODPM 'Gypsy and Traveller Unit' issued 'Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Assessments: Draft Practice Guidance' (ODPM, 2006a). Unlike the Housing Act itself, this did construct an explicit 'draft' definition of '(Gypsies and) Travellers'. The following final version of an explicit government definition was published in November 2006:

“ 2. For the purposes of section 225 of the Housing Act 2004 (duties of local housing authorities: accommodation needs of gypsies and travellers) “gypsies and travellers” means—

(a) persons with a cultural tradition of nomadism or of living in a caravan; and

(b) all other persons of a nomadic habit of life, whatever their race or origin, including—

(i) such persons who, on grounds only of their own or their family's or dependant's educational or health needs or old age, have ceased to travel temporarily or permanently; and

(ii) members of an organised group of travelling showpeople or circus people (whether or not travelling together as such).”

(ODPM, 2006b:1)

The above text explicitly constructed the category ‘(Gypsies and) Travellers’ as two distinct variants corresponding closely with the construction presented earlier in this section as implicit within the text of the Housing Act 2004. Foregrounded at (a) is a broad, ‘post-nomadic’ variant of ‘(Gypsy and) Traveller’, discursively differentiated as two further subgroups, contrasted as having a ‘cultural tradition’ (which I produced as indirectly referencing race and/or ethnicity) of (either) nomadism ‘or’ of living in a caravan. Backgrounded as part of the ‘other’ main variant at (b), is the version, previously constructed explicitly as single, and thus foregrounded, within Planning Circular 01/2006, of the any-‘race’/‘origin’ ‘(Gypsy or) Traveller’ who is of (actively) nomadic habit of life (but who may be ‘stopped’ and ‘settled’ in one place, temporarily or permanently). The construction produced in this text further implies, by its explicit inclusion in the description at (a), and absence at (b), of the notion of ‘cultural tradition’, that in addition to having no particular relation to race/ethnicity, the ‘(actively) nomadic habit of life’ is also not linked to ‘culture’, and that ‘culture’ thus applies solely to the ‘post-nomadic’ (minority-ethnic, sedentarised) variant of Gypsy and Traveller. Finally, the description at (b) of actively nomadic people as (*after* those already included at (a),) ‘all *other* persons of nomadic habit of life’, suggests that those included at (a) may equally be nomadic. However, the production of this possibility as ‘merely hinted at’ indirectly rather than stated overtly, reinforces the constructions of (active) nomadism as understood within the sedentarist paradigm as a broadly defined (deviant sedentary ‘lifestyle’/residential mode, or) ‘habit’, unrelated to other personal or group identity characteristics, and of ‘post-nomadic’ Gypsies and Travellers whose ‘ethnic’ practices, whilst indirectly ‘referencing’ nomadism, are now sedentary.

Taken then as a whole, the construction of the entire system of official Sedentarist Traveller-related 'definitions', within the collective context of the legislative texts within which they are contained, produces two distinct categories of 'Traveller':

- A non- cultural/ethnic/racial minority, actively engaging in a 'nomadic habit of life' the needs of which may officially be either fully or partly authorised and accommodated, *and/or* fully or partly un-accommodated, unauthorised and criminalised by Sedentary authorities (in both of the latter two cases being subject to control/law enforcement *and/or* provision action). The production of eligibility for alternative accommodation, and provision of the same, is primarily the responsibility of the individual person or group themselves, in negotiation with sedentary planning authorities;
- A generally non- actively nomadic minority whose ethnic/cultural/racial practice reference a 'former' or 'cultural' nomadism, and whose residential needs may be authorised *and/or* accommodated in 'culturally' distinct, but essentially sedentary, alternatives to conventional housing. The production of eligibility for such alternative accommodation, and provision of the same, is primarily the responsibility of the Local Authority Housing Department, by means of the GTAA process.

To complete my analysis at the national level, I finally located and analysed constructions of 'Traveller Sites' within various official documentary responses and further official discursive interaction directly related to the 2004 Housing Act.

6.3.4 National level responses and management of further 'official' discursive interaction in relation to the 2004 Housing Act

a) National-level Nomadist responses

The most developed response that I was able to construct as 'Nomadist' was produced from 'Gypsy and Traveller Law Reform Coalition' (hereafter GTLRC)¹⁴⁴ material. The

¹⁴⁴ Gypsy and Traveller Law Reform Coalition (GTLRC): In 2004 a national-level collective of

response was largely oriented towards 'Sites' as sedentaristically constructed within the new legislation, namely, Local Authority *Permanent Residential* and *Transit* sites. The orientation of the discourse in this case seemed to be towards achieving (any) legal provision for 'Modern' Travellers attempting to continue an actively nomadic life, but with *no legal* stopping place/site, produced with explicit reference to the still-in-force CriminalJPOA 1994. From some accounts, I could identify the 'presence' and influence of elements of Nomadist construction of 'Gypsies and Travellers' and 'Traveller Sites', and the explicit inclusion at all of 'Gypsies and Travellers' in the Housing Bill/Act, as originating in large part from the political discursive activity of representatives of the GTLRC or its member organisations. However, I further assessed the alliances within the organisation as having been initially constructed with an action orientation of lobbying politically not initially and primarily for 'protection and support of *nomadism*', but for the narrower 'urgent solution to the problem of *repeated evictions of Gypsies and Travellers with nowhere 'legal' to stop*'. Within this context the GTLRC response to the new Housing legislation constructed the representation of Gypsies, Travellers and Sites in the 2004 Housing Act positively, as a possible governmental move towards 'action' to ease this particular 'problem'.

After publication of the Housing Act 2004, as before, 'Travellers Times', the Nomadist national media entity, continued to primarily produce constructions of 'Sites' in the context of CJPOA 1994-related 'evictions', with the new Housing Act rarely by comparison being mentioned in its pages. In one article (Bowers, 2006) in which I located an explicit, directly Act-related construction, the *GTAA process* was the foregrounded entity, represented primarily in monetary terms (either as a potential source of employment income for Settled people or for Gypsies and Travellers

Gypsy and Traveller people, and Settled people generally sympathetic to nomadistic constructions of the situation of Gypsies and Travellers, particularly during the previous ten years

themselves). Any notion that the new duty to produce GTAA's might offer solutions to the problem of evictions was very much backgrounded.

b) National-level Sedentarist responses

Most of the documentary responses to the Housing Act 2004 and Planning Circular 01/2006 that I constructed as 'Sedentarist'¹⁴⁵ produced very similar representations of 'Travellers' and 'Sites' to those in the text of the Housing Act. The most notable variation that I found on this theme was in a report of the Commission for Racial Equality which, while still generally producing Sedentarist constructions based on the Housing Act and Planning Circular, produced a more explicitly 'racialised' construction of Travellers, by additional reference to further (Race Relations and Racial Equality) laws. In particular, due to their prior social construction by means of official Sedentary legal rulings as *official* 'ethnic minorities', this report constructed two 'Traveller' sub-groups ('Romany Gypsies' and 'Irish Travellers'), as distinct and separate from all other sub-groups within the UK 'Traveller' collective.

c) Discursive management of the socially constructed 'Traveller Site' in further national-level Sedentarist 'public consultation'

Finally, I was able to access a slightly different type of less formal, albeit still government-produced, 2004-Housing Act- related documentary record: an open *online* consultation 'forum' within which members of the public from any background were invited to 'comment' and interact with other participants in relation to the topic of 'Traveller Site *Design*'. As with all of my other preliminary documentary analyses, it is far beyond the scope and word limit of the present thesis to reproduce this here. However, my general conclusions were that although interestingly, the Nomadist concept of 'good' versus 'bad' sites was explicitly included in the government-

¹⁴⁵ e.g. the Report of the LGA (Local Government Association) Gypsy and Traveller Task Force, 2006

prescribed set of sub-topics for discussion, the main topic itself and the rules of participation were constructed to actively maintain and further develop the dominant Sedentarist construction of (post-nomadic) Travellers and (sedentary) Permanent Residential Traveller Sites. This was again achieved by discursive mechanisms that controlled the boundaries of the discussion through processes of 'ontological gerrymandering'. Most significantly to this, the Housing Act 2004 conflation of 'Permanent Residential' and 'Transit' site variants as a single generalised category was reproduced as the topic of discussion, and only contributions related to the *internal*, and primarily *physical* and *spatial*, design of sites were permitted.

Some initial comments on the online discussion 'thread' (DCLG, 2006a) relating to individual pitch facilities, and general site layout, were published. However, some of the visible discursive interactions that followed later suggested that the 'rules' of the discussion were being 'enforced' by active 'moderation', and periodic rejection for publication in the forum, of comments or responses deemed to be 'off-topic', for example in relation to socio-geographic site-location, site management, and the question of who should be allowed to live on sites. Participants who expressed frustration about this censorship and control of the dialogue (in comments nevertheless published due to their otherwise 'on-topic' content), were then, by publicly visible 'comment' in response, invited by the discussion 'moderator' to email the consultation team privately with their 'off-topic' suggestions. At least during the weeks that I accessed the discussion, no such additional emailed submissions were made available for public view or comment. There were a range of published submissions and responses, mostly from people self-identifying as (some sub-variant of) 'Traveller', but also from non-Travellers, some of whose comments I was able to produce as 'Nomadist'. In comments that again I presumed had been approved for publication due to their otherwise 'on-topic' content, 'the accommodation of *actively nomadic* life/residence' was represented as *central* to any discussion of 'good' site design, along

with site management, proximity to essential facilities and services, and nomadic 'route-relevance', for example:

Gypsy Traveller housing needs assessment

Posted by David (Surname) on 05/10/06 – 12.34

I have been involved in consultation across the South east of the UK in respect of Gypsy Travellers [...] and the following has been fed back to me in relation to site provision.

They should not be under bridges, adjacent to sewage farms or any of the other totally unsuitable areas common in many local authority areas, but should be situated in a socially acceptable place which has easy access to shops, schools and other services.

Secondly, when considering the needs of Travellers (sic) family members who are too old or sick to travel, at that point, bricks and mortar might be required. However, as extended family arrangements are a cultural necessity in this community, an adjacent trailer park to the respective address would be an essential feature of any development [...]

When considering transit sites for those travellers (sic) who choose to travel [...], perhaps more needs to be done to ascertain the routes most commonly used by travellers (sic) and appropriate site provision located along such routes.

Any solutions need to include all travellers (sic) whether Gypsy Travellers or New Age, and the same problems exist across all groups.

(DCLG, 2006a:1¹⁴⁶)

Several individual accounts of 'good' and 'bad' sites produced various constructions of the Nomadist 'modern' version of the Traveller. The 'online consultation forum' exercise

¹⁴⁶ This was an online discussion forum; page numbers in this thesis relate only to the hard copy of proceedings printed off and held by the author. No page numbers in the original format.

itself was also explicitly accused of excluding the majority of Travellers to whom it had relevance, due to both the restricted topic, and/or more fundamentally, the medium, access to which required both general and computer literacy as well as access to the internet:

Accessibility of consultation

Posted by Helen (Surname) on 12/10/2006 – 08.24

Hi All,

This is a really interesting discussion and 'm sure everyone will get a lot out of it. However the elephant in the room is all the people who are excluded by virtue of it being help online, by people who have access to the internet and can getr through the registration process without boiling. That there is no Gypsy/Traveller category on the ethnic monitoring sheet says it all.

Of course there are increasing numbers of Gypsy and Traveller people who do have the ability to do all the above but please can we have some reassurance about what is being done to consult people who don't?

Regards,

Helen.

(DCLG, 2006a:5¹⁴⁷)

6.4 A bi-modal, socio-discursive representation of alternative 'dominant' and 'muted' constructions of UK Travellers and their accommodation needs

To summarise, based on my consideration of a range of documentary research material in which I located representations of national-level discourse, discursive interaction, products and responses on the topic of 'Travellers' and 'Sites' in specific relation to the 2004 Housing Act, I constructed two inter-referenced, but distinct, 'versions' of 'Travellers', with correspondingly distinct 'companion' constructions of the types of 'site' that best accommodates their residence mode:

¹⁴⁷ Please see previous footnote 152.

6.4.1 Dominant Sedentarist construction of 'Travellers' and 'Sites'

Key constructive mechanisms:

- Production of 'facticity' through the use of 'distanced footing' by means of the empiricist textual style, and cumulative 'active voicing' of members of 'entitled' categories.
- 'Normalisation' of the favoured construction through the backgrounding of binary contrast counterparts and processes of 'ontological gerrymandering'.

This construction produced the contrasting social category binaries of:

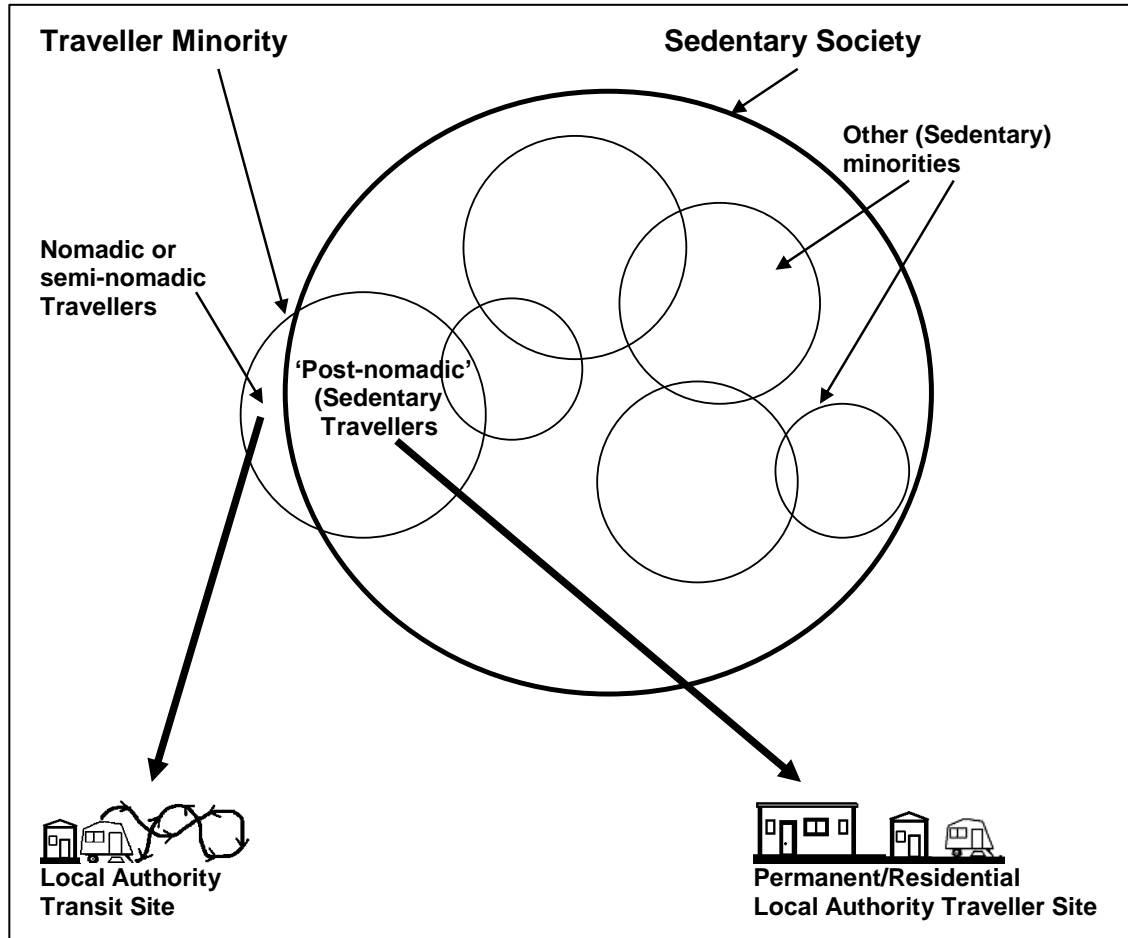
**"Post-nomadic' (racial/
ethnic) 'Traveller'** ↔ 'Nomadic- or Semi-nomadic
(non-racial/ethnic) Traveller'

constructed as two variants of 'Travellers' as a *sedentary* minority group; and
referenced to the same distinction, the contrasted pairing of:

**'Permanent Residential
Local Authority Traveller Site'** ↔ 'Local Authority Transit Site',

as alternative provision respectively for these groups, as expressed in the diagram
overleaf:

Figure 17. Dominant Sedentarist construction of 'Travellers' and 'Sites'



6.4.2 Dominant Nomadist construction of 'Travellers' and 'Sites'

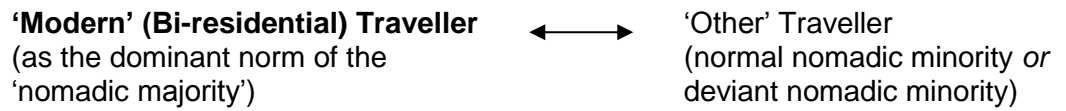
Key constructive mechanisms:

- Production of 'facticity' through the use of metaphorical intertexts
- Normalisation of the favoured construction through the equalisation of binary contrast counterparts and the use of 'three-part lists'.

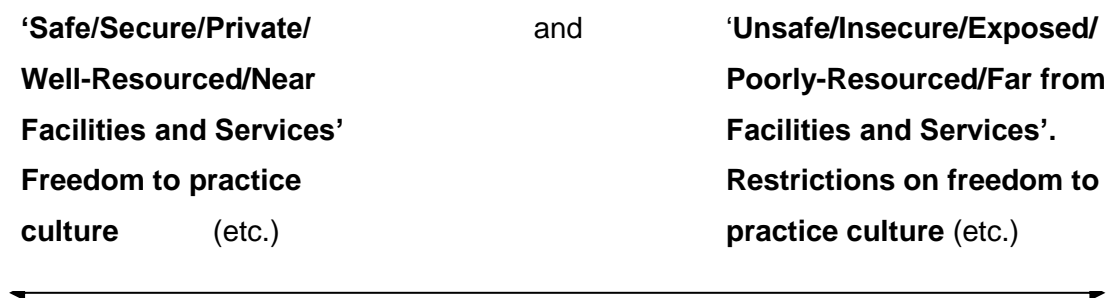
This construction produced a clear binary counterpart relationship of:

'Modern' (Bi-residential) Traveller ↔ **Settled person**

as the dominant norms of equivalent, distinct but overlapping 'Nomadic' and Sedentary 'Societies', and a further contrast structure of the dominant Gypsy or Traveller 'norm' in relation to internal 'Nomadic' minorities:

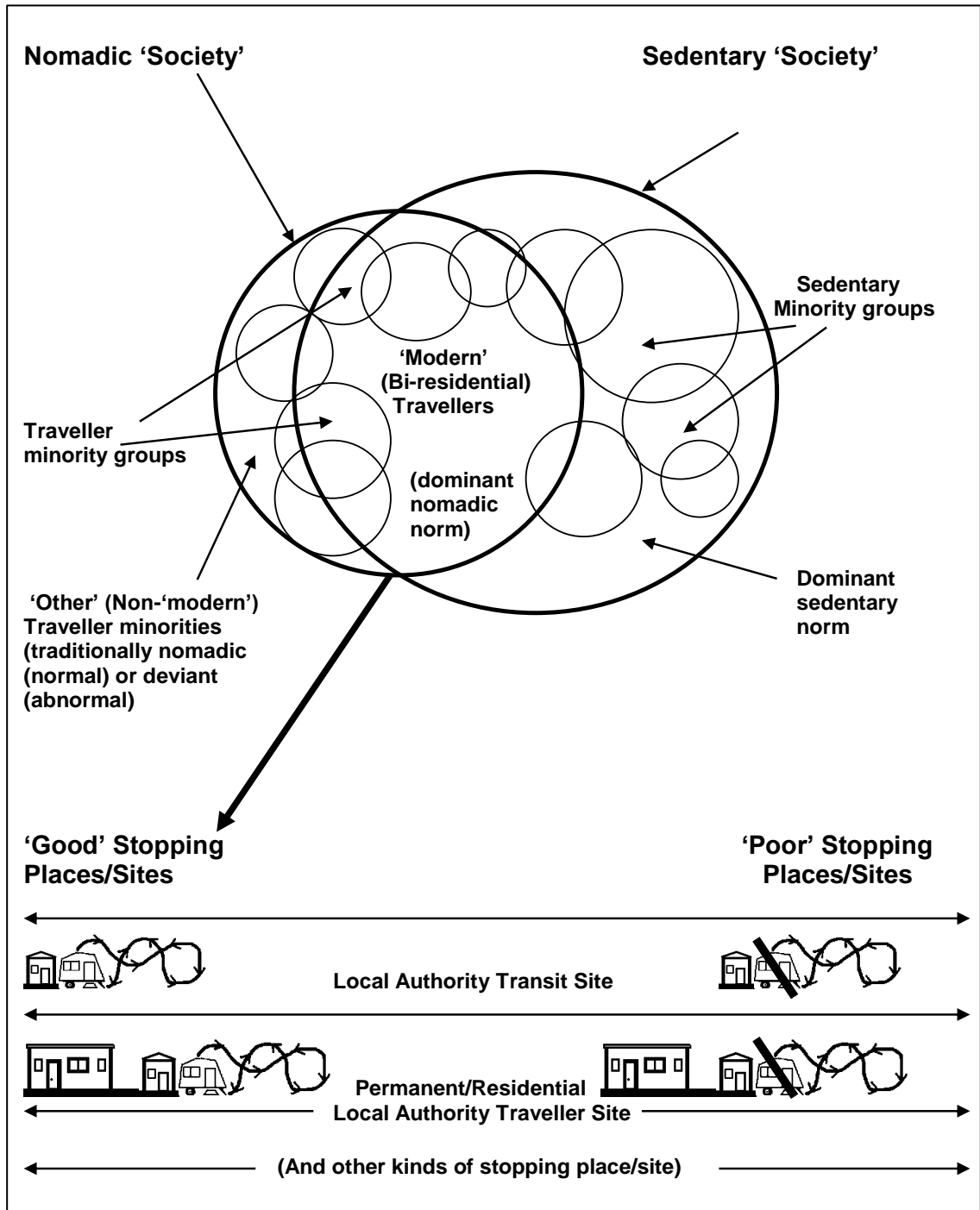


'Traveller Sites' were produced as 'stopping places'/sites where the nomadic and sedentary modes of residence could 'overlap' and 'blur', and constructed as differentiated across a complex, potentially infinite range of categories, blurring into each other on multiple parallel continua between



with all Nomadists constructing themselves as in need of (their own particular version of) a 'good' site in relation to their own particular style of '(bi)-residence', as expressed in the following diagram (overleaf):

Figure 18: Dominant Nomadist construction of 'Travellers' and 'Sites'



I produced these two different constructions each as the dominant construction of Travellers and Accommodation in relation to the respective paradigm referenced. Within the Nomadist paradigm, in the 'bi-residential' discursive entity which I termed the '**Dual**' 'stopping place/site', I produced a version of the dominant Sedentarist residential mode, co-existing as, to some extent at least, '*also normal*' alongside the dominant

Nomadist residential mode. However, within the generally dominant Sedentarist paradigm, the dominant Nomadist construction is either absent, or actively gerrymandered, ontologically, *out* of the discourse. My own preliminary data-derived construction was therefore a generalised, bi-modal representation of the discursive and extra-discursive entity of the 'Local Authority Traveller Site', as a locus of both direct, continuing inter-paradigm interaction and shared discourse production/maintenance, and potentially, inter-paradigm discursive conflict.

6.5 Chapter 6 Conclusion: Summary of national-level analysis

In this chapter, I have offered an account of how I initially used, and thus tested, my 'bi-modal' socio-discursive analytical framework (the primary development of which was discussed in Chapter 5), by taking it as the basis for my consideration of the discursive construction of 'Travellers' and 'Sites' in national-level documentary material. I have explained how, through further analysis and triangulation of data from a range of national-level material, I recognised that within the Nomadist paradigm, all Travellers, regardless of their residence mode, were produced as '**Nomadic people/Travellers**' (i.e. even when 'settled' in one place, *not* as 'sedentary people'). By my reading, this category of 'Nomadic people/Travellers') was thus not constructed, from the Nomadist perspective, as a minority group within the mainstream (sedentary) population, *but as a full and equal counterpart entity to the sedentary construct 'Society'*, suggesting a fundamental binary contrast relationship between '**all Nomadic/Traveller "Society"** and '**all (Sedentary/Settled) "Society"**').

I then showed how I refined my 'bi-modal' analytical framework accordingly, and through further analysis, how I developed an account of the way in which the 'Nomadist' and Sedentarist' discourses in the data influenced and interacted with each other, within the particular context and time period represented by the research

material, to produce a generalised pair of descriptive ‘versions’ of Travellers and ‘Sites’.

The Nomadist constructions I identified quite unambiguously produced the ‘normal’ majority of Travelling people as **‘Bi-residential’, with cultural practices likened to sedentary majority norms**. However, within the Sedentarist paradigm, I identified a discursive ‘disjoint’: Whilst in the *abstract*, ‘nomadism’ was produced as legitimate, *actual* Travellers were constructed as ‘mostly post-nomadic’. The majority of Travellers were thus constructed as **‘Sedentary’, with cultural practices likened to sedentary minority norms**. Whilst clear **discursive conflict** in this respect was present between the Nomadist and Sedentarist paradigms on the descriptive level, at a ‘higher’ analytical level both of these ‘versions’ were clearly oriented, albeit in very different ways, towards the discursive **‘normalisation’** of Travellers *in relation to the dominant sedentary paradigm*.

I have further described how I attempted an interim summary of these findings, through presentation of a bi-modal account of ‘Travellers’ and ‘Sites’. In the Sedentarist part of this account, two variants of ‘Travellers’, the **“Post-nomadic’ (racial/ ethnic) Traveller’** and the **‘Nomadic- or Semi-nomadic (non-racial/ethnic) ‘Traveller’** appeared in a contrasting binary, and were produced as sub-categories within a *sedentary* minority group, referenced to the *dominant sedentary norm*. This was paired with, as alternative provision respectively for these groups, the **‘Permanent Residential Local Authority Traveller Site’** and the **‘Local Authority Transit Site’** in a counterpart contrasting binary.

By contrast, the key binary counterpart construct that I identified within the Nomadist part of the account contained the categories **‘Modern’ (Bi-residential) Traveller’** and **‘Settled person’**, each as the (respective) *dominant norm of equivalent, distinct but overlapping ‘Nomadic’ and Sedentary’ ‘Societies’*. In addition, I identified a further key

Nomadist contrast relationship, representing the *dominant Gypsy or Traveller 'norm'* in relation to internal 'Nomadic' minorities, between the categories '**Modern**' (**Bi-residential**) **Traveller** (as the dominant norm of the 'nomadic majority'), and '**Other**' **Traveller** (which was produced very generally as the (non-'Modern') 'nomadic minority', but depending on the particular sub-perspective producing the construction, could appear variously as either 'normal' or 'deviant').

I have shown how, in this 'Nomadist' construction, 'Traveller Sites' were produced as simultaneously as *both* 'stopping places' *and* 'sites' where nomadic and sedentary modes of residence could 'overlap' and 'blur', which I decided to term '**Dual** (i.e. *bi-residential*) accommodation'. This was represented as differentiated across a complex, potentially infinite range of categories, arranged in the form of multiple parallel continua, and I noted that multiple, sometimes contrasting constructions of what constitutes a 'good' site, corresponding with different styles of Nomadistic '(bi)-residence' appeared in the research material reviewed.

Within my bi-modal account, I produced each of the two different accounts as the dominant construction of 'Travellers' and 'Accommodation' *of the respective paradigm referenced*. Within the Nomadist account, in the construction of the '**Dual**' 'stopping place/site', a version of the dominant *Sedentarist* account of 'normal residential mode' was *included* as '*also normal*', alongside the dominant (normal) Nomadist residential mode. However, I noted that within the generally dominant *Sedentarist* account, the dominant construction of the *Nomadist* account was either *absent*, or actively '*ontologically gerrymandered*' out, of the discourse.

My own preliminary construction was therefore a data-derived, generalised, bi-modal representation of the discursive and extra-discursive entity of the 'Local Authority Traveller Site', as a locus of both direct, continuing inter-paradigmatic interaction and

shared discourse production/maintenance, and potentially, inter-paradigmatic discursive conflict.

After completing the analytical activities described in the chapter, I proceeded to apply the new version of my analytical framework, refined according to the more detailed and complex 'bi-modal' construction of 'Travellers' and 'Sites'/'Accommodation' as outlined in this chapter, to my investigation of the same discursive entities at the local level. It is to a description of this further analytical task that I will now turn in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 7: ANALYSIS III. Sedentarist and Nomadist constructions of Travellers and Local Authority Traveller Sites in one specific sub-national context

In Chapters 5 and 6, I have offered an account of how, through a process of analysis involving deconstruction and reconstruction of social and socio-discursive categories, I developed and refined a bi-modal, socio-discursive analytical framework, with key analytical themes of 'residence' and 'culture', and key socio-discursive analytical categories that I termed 'Nomadists' and 'Sedentarists'. In Chapter 6, I described how I used and refined this framework in producing a detailed, bi-modal account of the social construction of the discursive entities 'Travellers' and 'Sites' in national level documentary material.

In this chapter, I will describe how, after completing these tasks, I returned to research material relating more directly to the two specific 'Local Authority Traveller Sites' chosen as my cases for study¹⁴⁸. My aim in doing so was to assess whether, using the same analytical framework, I could produce empirical evidence for, and further refine the discourses and constructions I had identified from, the more *general* national-level material, at 'ground' level, i.e. from primary and secondary research material related directly to the *specific* case study Local Authority and sites.

During my field work, I developed four research databases related to Travellers and Accommodation, pertaining to the national/regional level, the specific Local Authority case study area, and to each case site. As planned, I developed my analysis of this material towards two broad-brush case reports. However, from an early stage, I produced very similar key categories, themes and patterns from the material on each case site. In the local-level 'Sedentarist'-produced material accessible to me within the

¹⁴⁸ See Chapter 4

limitations of my position as researcher¹⁴⁹, the two case sites had tended to become blurred within a homogenous collective category. Within the local-level material I had collected from ‘Nomadist’ sources, they were differentiated, but solely by the emphasis placed upon aspects common to both. Since by repeated triangulation, I constructed this representation as consistent throughout both initial and later stages of analysis, In this chapter I will present and discuss Sedentarist and Nomadist constructions of the ‘Local Authority Traveller Site’ at the level of one actual, but anonymised, Local Authority area, ‘Stramshire’; firstly as a generalised sub-national construction, and then in relation to a ‘collective’ (rather than discrete, but near-identical, accounts) of two actual but again anonymised sites, ‘Ivyhill Park’ and ‘Gorsecroft’¹⁵⁰, illustrated by examples as appropriate.

7.1 ‘Post-nomadism’, ‘homelessness’, and ‘deviant sedentarism’: Sedentarist constructions of Travellers and Traveller Sites at the sub-national level

7.1.1 Sedentarist constructions of ‘Travellers’ at the local level

As previously mentioned, some locally-oriented research material stated an explicit relationship with national-level discourse:

“This study was commissioned in response to section 225 of the Housing Act 2004...”¹⁵¹

“...Gypsies and Travellers are protected from discrimination by the Race Relations Amendment Act 2000 and the Human Rights Act 1998...”¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ Discussed in Chapter 4

¹⁵⁰ County, District and Case Site names have all been changed, and all individuals anonymised, for ethical reasons explained in Chapter 4.

¹⁵¹ Excerpt from Regional GTAA (Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Assessment) document with direct relevance to Stramshire, 2007

¹⁵² Excerpt from Stramshire County Council Website, accessed 2007/2009

“...In certain circumstances (e.g. where Gypsies or Travellers have with them six or more vehicles), [police] officers may use powers under section 61 of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994.”¹⁵³

I was able to identify multiple locally-oriented descriptions of Travellers categorising them as a **minority group of (sedentary) society** with two main sub-categories: *either* ‘**(still-)nomadic**’, with ‘ethnicity/culture’ either absent or backgrounded in the construction, *or* as ‘**post-nomadic**’, with ‘ethnicity and/or culture’ explicitly present and foregrounded.

Some locally-oriented material, often explicitly referencing and/or producing Sedentaristic constructions of Travellers similar to those I located within national-level Criminal Justice and Planning-related material, constructed ‘Travellers’ as entirely ‘(still-) nomadic’, in a simple binary contrast relationship:

(Sedentary) majority population including other (sedentary) minorities (residentially ‘normal’)	←→	Gypsy and Traveller (sedentary) minority (residentially ‘deviant’)
--	----	---

‘Post-nomadic’ Traveller variants were often absent from these descriptions, with ‘nomadism’ generally constructed as ‘culturally/socially deviant’ and/or ‘unauthorised/unlawful sedentary residential behaviour’ unrelated to ‘culture’/‘ethnicity’, in response to which the law may be ‘enforced’:

¹⁵³ Excerpt from Stramshire Gypsy and Traveller Services Webpage, [Accessed 2007/2009]

Travellers Face a Ring of Rocks

A ring of defences [has been formed] around an Stramington estate to prevent it being invaded by ***trespassing travellers***. Stramington City Council installed rocks, boulders and earth on verges most popular for ***illegal campsites and caravans***.¹⁵⁴

“ STRAMSHIRE GYPSY AND TRAVELLER SERVICES

POLICY ON UNAUTHORISED ENCAMPMENTS

(...)

POLICY STATEMENT

This document is **not** a policy on Gypsies and Travellers; rather it is a policy covering the process of dealing with any individuals who trespass on land owned by another with an intention to reside.”¹⁵⁵

If Gypsies or Travellers camp on private land, what can the landowner do?

If [talking to them to agree a leaving date] is unsuccessful they can take proceedings in the county court under the Civil Procedure Rules 1998, to obtain a court order for their eviction.¹⁵⁶

“(Name), 21, of (non-Stramshire Town), (Name), 22, of (address, non-Stramshire Town), (Name), 25, of no fixed address, and (Name), 26, of (address, non-Stramshire Town), had been evicted by the authorities in Stramshire 29 times in eleven months. They were convicted under section 61 of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act.”¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ Excerpt from Stramshire Gypsy and Traveller Services ‘Unauthorised Encampments Policy’, collected 2007, emphasis in original

¹⁵⁵ Excerpt from Stramington Local News online article 2007, accessed 2007, emphasis added

¹⁵⁶ Excerpt from Stramshire County Council website, accessed 2007 and 2009

¹⁵⁷ Excerpt from Stramshire Local Newspaper report, 2007, accessed 2007

In such constructions, Travellers were often explicitly represented as culturally/socially 'deviant' or 'criminal' in a more general, rather than simply residential, sense:

Travellers leave a mountain of mess

Council managers are counting the cost after travellers left a mountain of rubbish at their campsite. Residents near the three-and-a-half acre field, which lies within an area of outstanding natural beauty, described the land as "a filthy bomb site"¹⁵⁸

Park-and-Ride Lockdown as travellers camp

A FEAR of violence from travellers has forced the closure of waiting room facilities at the East Stramington park-and-ride. Stramshire's parking services manager (Name), said: "[encamped] Travellers had urinated all over the floor in the disabled facilities, and one of the toilets was blocked. Last year when travellers arrived at (the park-and-ride facility), workers (here) were physically threatened..."¹⁵⁹

Other locally-oriented material referenced or produced representations of 'Travellers' more similar to those constructed earlier from national-level Housing-, Race Relations- and Human Rights-oriented material. However, despite occasional constructions of *abstract 'nomadism'* as legitimate:

"A nomadic way of life has been followed by groups of people all over the world for many, many generations (...) A Gypsy or Traveller life is not illegal in this country"¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ Excerpt from Stramshire Local News online article 2007, accessed 2007

¹⁵⁹ Excerpt from Stramshire Local News print article 2005, accessed 2007

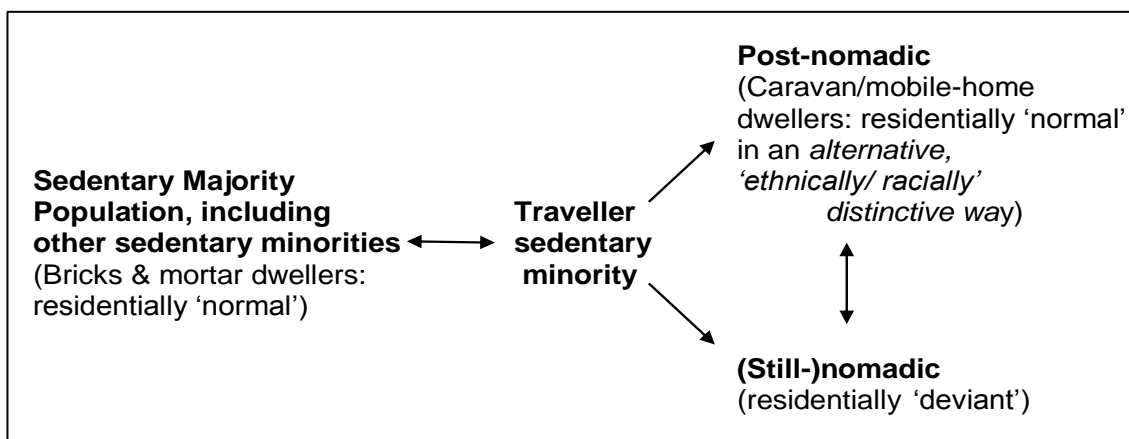
¹⁶⁰ Excerpt from Stramshire Traveller Services Team Webpage, accessed 2007 and 2009

I encountered the same ‘disjoint’ discussed previously, in that *actual* Travellers in the area were further constructed only as ‘mostly post-nomadic’:

“The two largest communities (...) are the English Gypsies and Irish Travellers. (...) The level of travelling is said to have decreased over the years... (...) Almost four fifths of [GTAA interviewees] on authorised permanent sites had lived in the area for more than three years.” ¹⁶¹

A more complex categorisation structure was discernible in such material, involving multiple binary contrast relationships and discursive processes that backgrounded ‘(still-)nomadic’ Travellers, and foregrounded ‘post-nomadic’ variants as explicitly ethnic/racial, and as *alternatively* ‘residentially normal’, in relation to the (taken-for-granted) ‘residential normality’ of a bricks-and-mortar-dwelling sedentary majority.

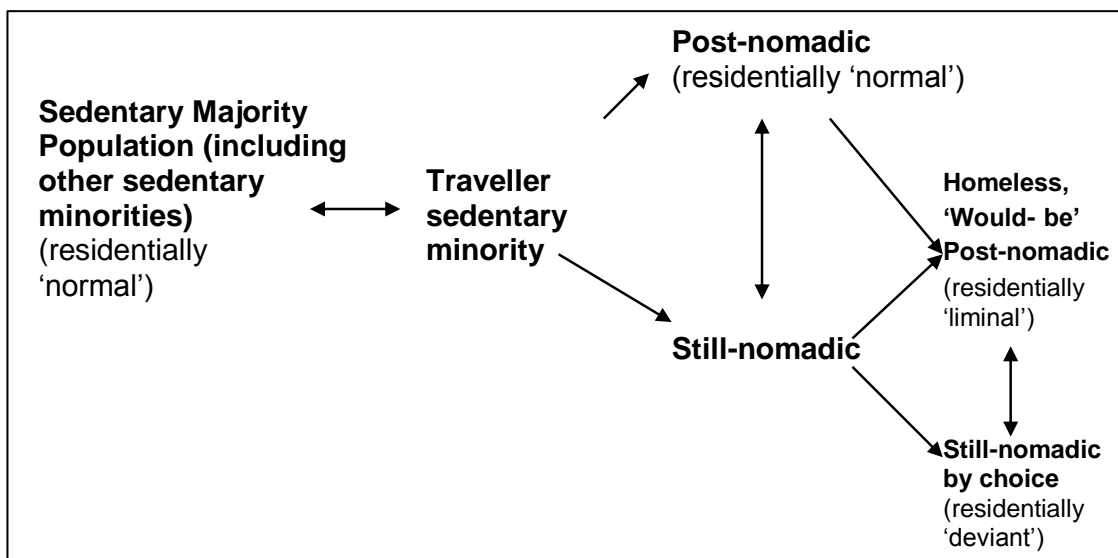
Figure 19. Illustration of normalising/abnormalising differentiation between sub-categories of Travellers in Sedentarist construction



For example, ‘(still-)nomadic’ Travellers were often discursively ‘minimised’ by the representation of many local roadside-dwellers as a further, residentially ‘liminal’ sub-sub-category: the ‘**Homeless**’, ‘**Would-be Post-nomadic**’ Traveller:

¹⁶¹ Excerpt from Regional GTAA (Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Assessment) document with direct relevance to Stramshire, 2007

Figure 20. Illustration of normalising/abnormalising differentiation between sub-sub-categories of 'still-nomadic' Travellers in Sedentarist construction



thus constructing the still-nomadic majority as willing, but unable, to reside in a 'post-nomadic' manner, due to lack of 'culturally' suitable accommodation, and thus as residentially 'deprived' (Sibley, 1981):

"[In relation to Local Authority Permanent Residential Traveller Site pitch allocation] ... there is a points system broadly similar to housing... living roadside adds more points, and a place has to be found... a homeless [Traveller] family has to go through the allocations policy set by the local Council, [who] should be providing accommodation appropriate to their needs and their culture, on a Gypsy Traveller site... but what they are offered is bricks-and-mortar. If [site] accommodation isn't available, it can't be offered."¹⁶²

Travellers to be moved on

[...]

Comments:

Posted by: (Name), Stramshire (Date/time)

ohhhhh leave the travellers alone, they gotta live too, they got kids and family like us [...] if the council give them place's to stay then they would not have to park there trailer's [sic] up on the road side [...]¹⁶³

¹⁶² Excerpt from P/O notes taken during talk by CAB Worker at Stramshire Gypsy and Traveller Stakeholders Forum, 2009

¹⁶³ 'Reader Comment' on online Local News article, 2007, accessed 2007

In these cases, representations of Gypsies and Travellers as not only *residentially*, but as more generally *socially/culturally* 'deprived', were common:

P21: *We did have some travelling families as well, that used to... camp along..., the cycle track...*

R: *Right...*

P21: *umm...and they couldn't erm, they couldn't read or write... they didn't even recognise their own names...¹⁶⁴*

We must provide traveller sites¹⁶⁵

I wonder if someone can tell me where travellers are supposed to live.

(...)

How are their children to be educated if they are not allowed to stay anywhere? How can travellers of working age get a job? How can they receive proper medical care? How can they vote?

More sites are needed, either provided by local authorities or by travellers themselves (...)

(Name, Address, Stramington)

In such constructions, the remaining counterpart sub-sub-category, of '*Travellers who choose to remain 'still-nomadic' even when 'culturally-appropriate' accommodation is offered*', was either absent from the construction, or heavily backgrounded (by both indirect representation and discursive minimisation), as an insignificantly small sub-sub-minority of the 'still-nomadic' sub-minority:

¹⁶⁴ Excerpt from Interview 14, with female Settled resident of Efford (village nearest to Ivyhill Park site), no experience of the site; limited, general experience of Gypsies and Travellers, 2009

¹⁶⁵ Excerpt from letter from Settled resident of 'Greater Stramington' area in Local Newspaper, 2006, Accessed in print, 2007

“We know that there is a need for additional pitches...There is a misconception that all we want to do is put on crash helmets and body armour and go around hitting people... fortunately that doesn't happen very often...under section 61, trespass...we 'may' evict. It's not that we 'have to' evict...”¹⁶⁶

“The view of *most survey respondents*¹⁶⁷ was that the most urgent need was for permanent authorised site provision, and that *until those needs are satisfied, transit sites will be used by people who are actually seeking more permanent site based accommodation*... we were unable to gain a clear picture of the *need for transit site provision*...”¹⁶⁸

Although in these types of constructions, this category was not usually represented explicitly as 'deviant'/'criminal', I was unable to identify *any* explicit construction of it as 'normal'/'legitimate'.

To summarise, at this local level I produced from my data two main sedentaristic constructions which, although differing in detail and potential effect, both 'ontologically gerrymandered' '**sedentarism**' to the position of *Traveller* dominant cultural 'norm', in relation to which the 'normalcy', 'liminality', or 'deviance' of sub-variants within the category 'Travellers' were then produced. In the first type of construction, which I termed '**Mono-sedentarist**', this was achieved primarily by means of a single binary contrast relationship between 'Travellers' and 'the majority population'. In the second, more complex type of construction, which I termed '**Multi-sedentarist**', both variants of the 'still-nomadic' category of Traveller were primarily employed in the building and maintenance of the sedentary 'normality' (or similarity to the sedentary majority

¹⁶⁶ Excerpt from P/O notes taken during talk by Police Officer at Stramshire Gypsy and Traveller Stakeholders Forum, 2009

¹⁶⁷ 'Gypsies and Travellers' are discursively constructed throughout the same document as 'post-nomadic'

¹⁶⁸ Excerpt from Regional GTAA (Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Assessment) document with direct relevance to Stramshire, 2007, note and emphasis added

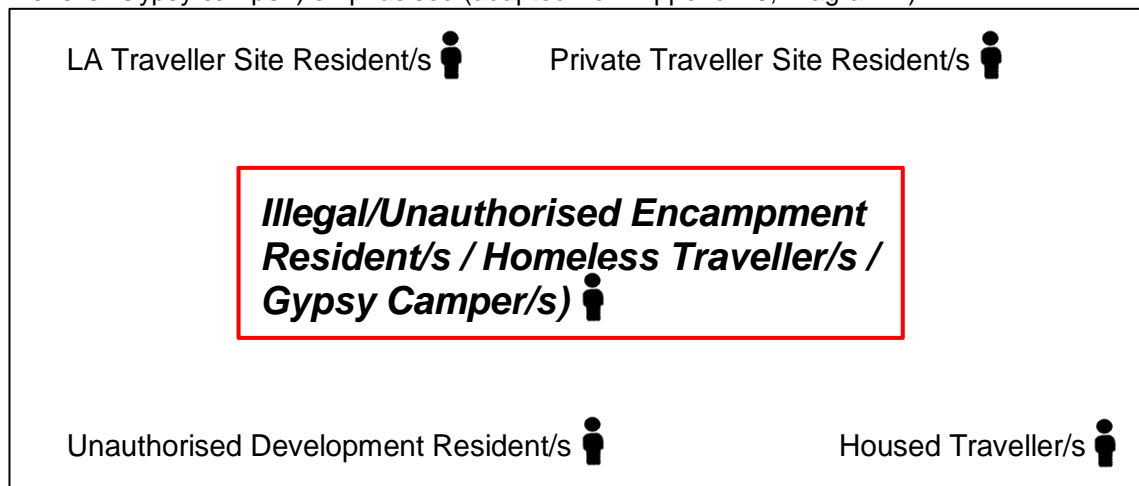
population) of the foregrounded counterpart 'post-nomadic' category:

“...The Press have often produced pictures of **unauthorised encampments... a few caravans in a field**, giving the impression that that is what a new site would mean...the reality is very different... **in the [permanent residential] accommodation we provide...people are able to take pride in their surroundings...it might generally be very clean and tidy, residents look after their pitches...they pay rent, £60 per week, council tax.. and for utilities...**”¹⁶⁹

However, whether constructed as 'deviant' or 'liminal', '(still-)nomadic Travellers were invariably represented as 'out-of-place' *sedentary residents* who should in most cases be 'moved' from inappropriate or illegitimate, impermanent sedentary residential locations, and 'Settled' in permanently static homes in appropriate, legitimate sedentary residential locations. I thus produced the Sedentarist discourse at this local level as having a general action orientation of the '**Sedentarisation**' of Travellers.

This analysis reproduced, as *internal* to the 'Sedentarist' paradigm, a discursive conflict already familiar as existing between 'Sedentarist' and 'Nomadist' paradigms¹⁷⁰

Figure 21. Sedentarist construction of lifeway/residence modes of Travellers, with category representing intra-discursive conflict ('illegal or unauthorised encampment/homeless Traveller/Gypsy camper') emphasised (adapted from Appendix 3, Diagram 1)

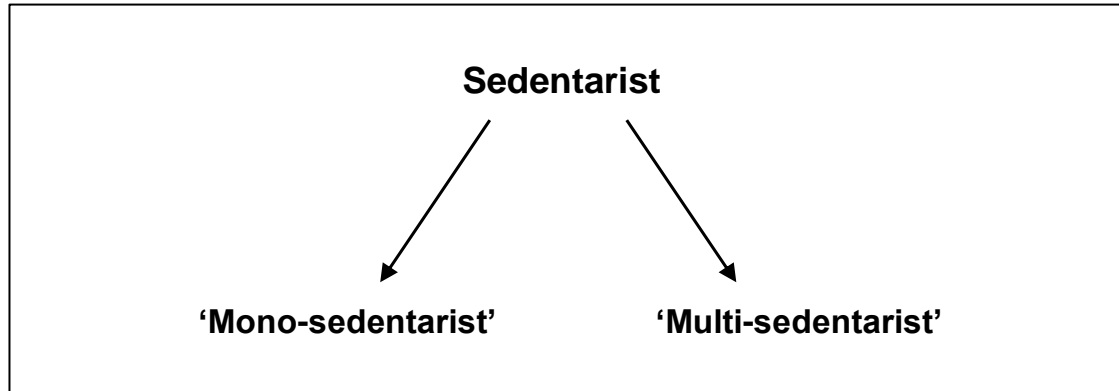


¹⁶⁹ Excerpt from P/O notes taken during talk by Stramshire Traveller Services Team representative at Stramshire Gypsy and Traveller Stakeholders Forum, 2009; emphasis added

¹⁷⁰ See Chapter 6

with the conflicting socio-discursive versions constructed presenting the possibility of deconstruction of the main socio-discursive category, as follows:

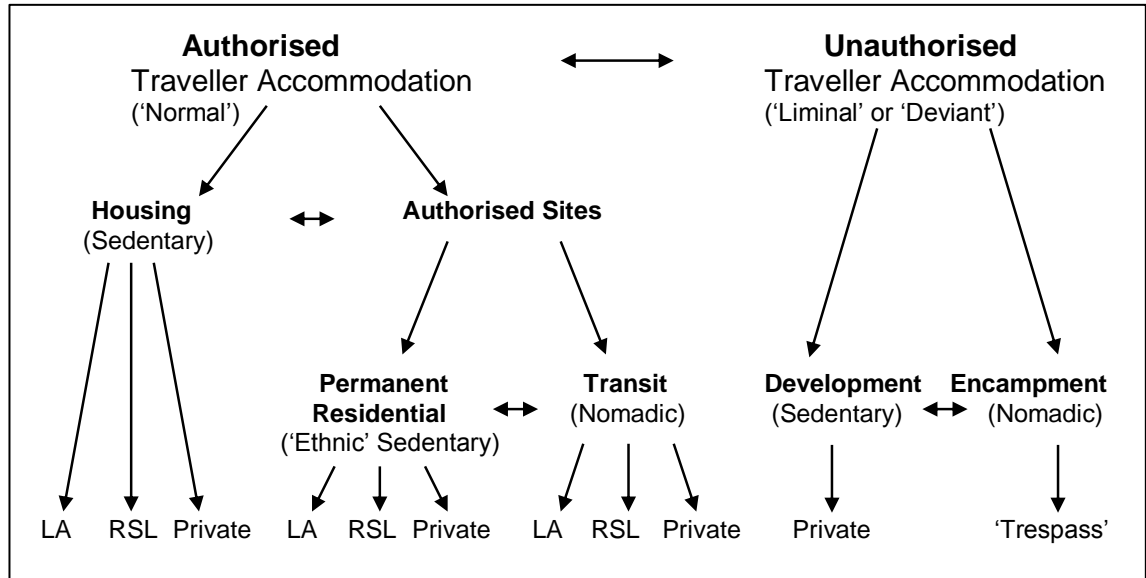
Figure 22. Deconstruction of the main socio-discursive category 'Sedentarist'



7.1.2 Sedentarist constructions of 'Traveller accommodation' at the local level

Again, I was able to identify, from my locally-oriented data, Sedentaristic constructions of 'Traveller Accommodation' referencing or resembling those produced at the national level. **'Housing'** and **'Permanent Residential Sites'**, reappeared, again in a binary categorisation structure, as *homogeneously 'sedentary'*, but *differentiated* versions of 'normal' accommodation for 'post-nomadic' Travellers. I also found categorisation relationships between Permanent Residential Sites and **'Transit Sites'** as *equally* authorised/legitimate accommodation types for, respectively, either *sedentary* or *(still-)nomadic (by choice)* Travellers; and between *authorised* Transit/Permanent Residential Sites and **'Unauthorised/ Illegal Encampments'/ 'Developments'**, reproduced universally as *sedentary* accommodation, but *variously* legitimate or illegitimate. From this analysis, I produced the following general representation of 'Traveller Accommodation *in the abstract*:

Figure 23. Sedentarist construction of local accommodation for Travellers (abstract)



However, I found constructions of 'actual accommodation for Travellers' in the local area to differ from the above representation.

A 'Mono-sedentaristic' construction that was reproduced multiple times at this level represented the previously discussed singular version of an *actual* 'Gypsy or Traveller',

(Sedentary) majority population including other (sedentary) minorities (residentially/culturally/socially 'normal') ↔ **Gypsy and Traveller (sedentary) minority** (residentially/culturally/socially 'deviant' and/or 'criminal')

as resident of an *actual* 'illegal encampment', represented as an impermanent, illegitimate form of sedentary accommodation. In such constructions, 'Housing' was universally produced as the *sole* permanent and legitimate accommodation option for Travellers:

Travellers evicted from estate

Travellers who set up an illegal camp on an industrial site have been evicted (...) Police issued an eviction notice on behalf of the landowners Wednesday morning. The Travellers left and security

fencing has now been installed.

Comments:

Posted by (Name), Stramshire (Date/Time)

Hope these “travellers” are held on site long enough
To clear up their foul mess before they are evicted.

Posted by (Name), Stramington (Date/Time)

They are scum. **They should get a house** and a job ¹⁷¹,

producing the singular parallel binary counterpart relationship:

Housing ↔ **Illegal Encampment/Development**

Forms of Traveller accommodation other than the above were either absent from this type of construction, or represented as equally illegitimate as encampments and developments:

Home Improvements for Travellers in Stramshire

(Number) official traveller and gypsy sites, in [Stramshire] have been handed a (£amount) cash injection in a bid to improve living conditions.

(...) (Name), 47, who has lived at (one of the sites) since it opened 14 years ago, said refurbishments were needed.

Comments:

Posted by (Name), Stramington (Date/Time)

Would of [sic] been better spent on flood relief for tax payers not **a bunch of layabouts who contribute nothing to society only scrounge and wreck facilities provided by US!**

Posted by (Name), Stramington (Date/Time)

How can anyone call themselves a ‘traveller’ and spend 14 years in one place? **The amount of crime originating from these**

¹⁷¹ Excerpt from Stramshire Local Newspaper online article with ‘Readers’ Comments’, 2007, accessed 2007, emphasis added

places should mean they are shut down,
not have money spent on them.

Posted by (Name), Stramington (Date/Time)
This money could have been better spent
on improving flood defences in Stramington
to protect **homeowners, not pikeys**¹⁷²

An alternative, more complex locally-oriented 'Multi-sedentaristic' construction (mostly found in local Housing- or Race-Relations/Equality-oriented material that directly referenced national discourse) produced 'Traveller Accommodation' in explicit relation to variants of both '(still-)nomadic' and 'post-nomadic' Travellers. This construction explicitly represented the 'Authorised (Permanent Residential) Traveller Site' as a legitimate, distinctly *ethnic/racial* accommodation option equivalent to Housing, for explicitly *ethnic/racial* 'post-nomadic' Travellers. As with *abstract* representations of 'nomadism' discussed in the previous section, some of the examples I was able to find represented an *abstract* version of a 'legitimate' 'Transit Site' for the *authorised* accommodation of *abstract* 'legitimate' '(still-)nomadic' Travellers:

"The need for transit pitches ([...] pitches upon which Gypsies and Travellers can park their caravan or trailer for a relatively short space of time whilst travelling or taking up temporary work) will vary across the year."¹⁷³

However, in parallel with the local Sedentaristic 'non-construction' of any literal form of *legitimate* '(still-)nomadic' Traveller, in representations of *actual* Traveller accommodation in the local area, the 'Transit Site' was either *constructed explicitly as physically* 'absent':

¹⁷² Excerpt from Stramshire Local Newspaper online article with 'Readers' Comments', 2007, accessed 2007, emphasis added

¹⁷³ Excerpt from Regional GTAA (Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Assessment) document with direct relevance to Stramshire, 2007

‘There are no Transit sites in Stramshire. The County has [several] permanent residential sites[...]¹⁷⁴

or (more commonly) was *literally* absent in any explicit form from the official discourse of ‘Local Authority sites’:

Are there authorised Traveller sites in Stramshire?

Yes, there are [several] permanent council-owned sites in Stramshire, providing (number) pitches. There are also [several] privately run sites.

More information about Authorised Sites [opens new web-page listing Local Authority-owned permanent residential sites by name and address, and authorised private permanent residential sites by town or village]¹⁷⁵

Constructions of the ‘*normal*’ majority of local Travellers as being either ‘post-nomadic’ or ‘(would-be) post-nomadic’ (‘homeless’) were centrally employed in this ‘dismissal’ of the *actual* ‘Transit Site’ from the local discourse:

“The view of **most survey respondents**¹⁷⁶ was that the most urgent need was for permanent authorised site provision, and that until those needs are satisfied, transit sites will be used by **people who are actually seeking more permanent site based accommodation... we were unable to gain a clear picture of the need for transit site provision...**”¹⁷⁷

and, simultaneously, also built and maintained the facticity of the sedentary, Permanent Residential category of site as the sole type of Local Authority site relevant

¹⁷⁴ Excerpt from P/O notes taken during talk by Stramshire Traveller Services Team representative at Stramshire Gypsy and Traveller Stakeholders Forum, 2009

¹⁷⁵ Excerpt from Stramshire County Council Website, emphasis and text in [] added)

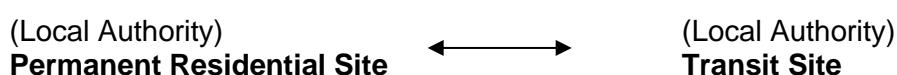
¹⁷⁶ ‘Gypsies and Travellers’ are discursively constructed throughout the same document as ‘post-nomadic’

¹⁷⁷ Excerpt from Regional GTAA (Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Assessment) document with direct relevance to Stramshire, 2007; emphasis added

to the needs of the local Traveller population:

“... Traveller site managers...are responsible for the day to day management of the [Local Authority permanent residential] sites... **[but are] also responsible for the movement of unauthorised encampments...I’ve been concentrating for the last few months on applying for government grants both to refurbish and extend a number of our sites...**”¹⁷⁸

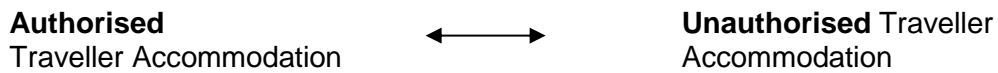
In representations of ‘Traveller Accommodation *in the abstract*’ at both national and local levels, the continued presence of the binary categorisation pairing,



explicitly categorised and differentiated ‘(Local Authority) Traveller Sites’ in terms of the binary (dichotomous) formulation of ‘**residence mode**’. However, although both ‘post-nomadic’ (sedentary) and ‘(still-)nomadic’ variants were represented as ‘(hypothetically) legitimate’, as at the national level, I produced from these constructions a noticeable imbalance within the pairing, with the Sedentary/‘Permanent Residential’ component richly constructed and heavily foregrounded in relation to its often only indirectly represented Nomadic/‘Transit’ counterpart. I had encountered the Transit Site, as a *actual local entity*, only as ‘absent’, and was unable to find any strong or consistent constructions of a categorisation relationship between this and the *actual local entity* of the Permanent Residential site (which conversely remained strongly-constructed, and ever-‘present’, in both ‘*actual*’ and ‘*abstract*’ constructions).

By contrast, I repeatedly identified, as the most dominant ‘Traveller Accommodation’ constructive binary at this local level, an alternative pairing:

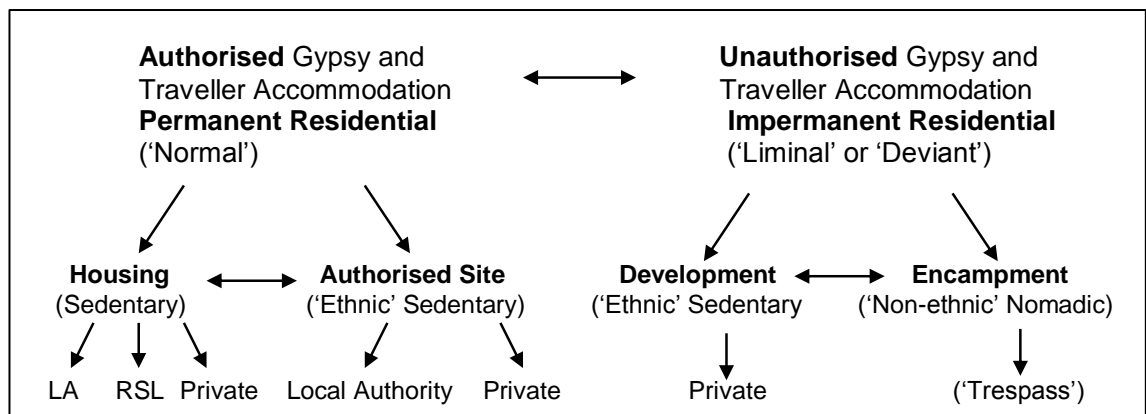
¹⁷⁸ Excerpt from P/O notes taken during talk by Stramshire Traveller Services Team representative at Stramshire Gypsy and Traveller Stakeholders Forum, 2009



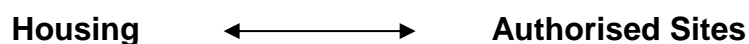
foregrounding an alternative key discourse of site-categorisation, according to **'legitimacy'**.

From representations of 'Traveller Accommodation *in the abstract*' at both national and local levels, I had been able to find versions of both categories of the former pairing ('Permanent Residential/'post-nomadic' and 'Transit'/'(still-)nomadic') as *hypothetical* sub-categories of the latter ('Authorised'/'Unauthorised'). However, from the constructions I was able to find of '**Accommodation for Travellers *actually in existence in Stramshire***' I could not do this, and produced instead the following quite different representation:

Figure 24. (Multi-)Sedentarist construction of Local Accommodation for Travellers (actual)



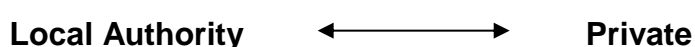
Within the exclusively **sedentary** 'permanent residential' construction of local *Authorised* Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation above, the primary categorisation pairing is that of:



which, while reproducing 'Authorised Sites' as '**Sedentary**' (like housing), further categorises them as '**Ethnically/Culturally Distinctive**' (different from housing). The

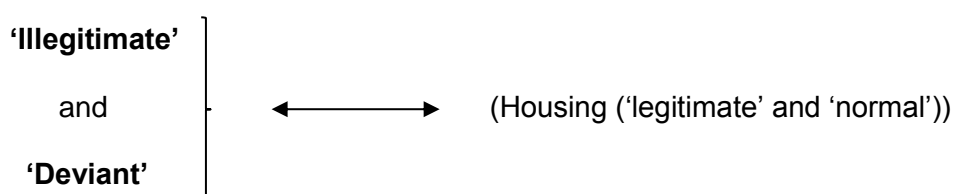
now-uniformly (in the absence of any 'Transit' version) 'Permanent Residential' 'Local Authority' Site sub-sub-category was thus now produced 'officially' in a primary categorisation relationship with 'Housing', similar to that constructed between the 'Permanent Residential Gypsy/Traveller Site' and 'Residential (Bricks-and-Mortar) Accommodation' by the Housing Act 2004.

Within this, a final additional sub-sub-categorisation binary,



contributed sub-dimensions of '*ownership*', '*control*' and '*responsibility*' to the sedentaristic discourse of site-categorisation. Clearly this aspect in particular has immense potential for further discussion in relation to both general social theory (e.g. most obviously Foucault, 1995) and more specifically the vast wealth of material focused or touching upon these topics within the housing literature (from e.g. Kemeny, 1981, and Gurney, 1999a, 1999b, to e.g. Elliott and Wadley, 2013 and Campbell, 2013), and also the Romani/TravellerGypsy literature (e.g. Kendall, 1997; Clark and Greenfields, 2006).

By contrast with the more simple 'Mono-sedentaristic' construction described earlier of Local Authority Traveller Sites as residentially and culturally



a more complex 'Multi-sedentaristic' construction conversely categorised Local Authority Traveller Sites as residentially and culturally

'Legitimate' (authorised)

'Sedentary' (*equivalent* to Housing)

'(Alternatively) Normal' (*contrasted* with Housing- 'ethnic'/'racial')

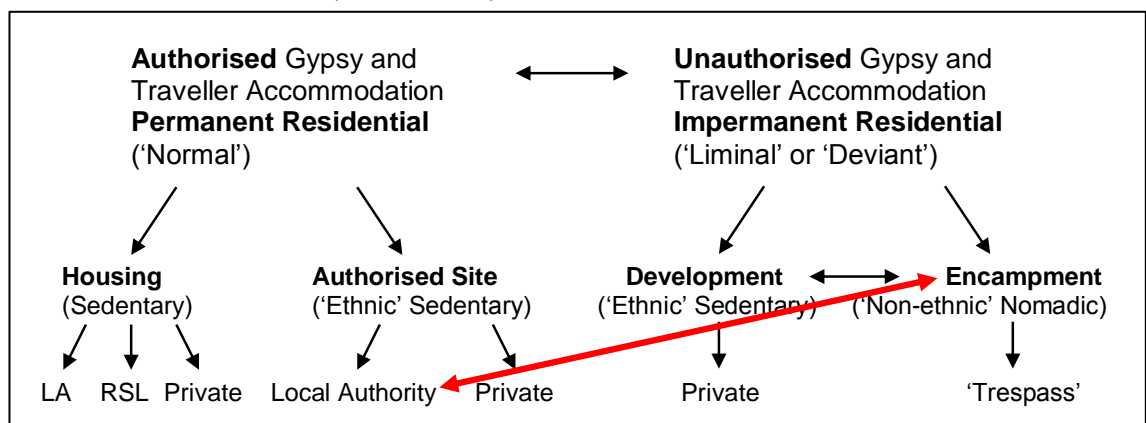
State- (in contrast to privately-) **owned/controlled/managed.**

However, I repeatedly identified within my data a further dominant categorisation pairing:

(Authorised) Local Authority Site ↔ **Unauthorised Encampment**

In the context of the regular 'pattern' that I had been able to find otherwise consistently from triangulation of a broad range of data, this pairing appeared as an explicit, awkward, and apparently unnecessary *re-categorisation* of the site as **'authorised'** and **'sedentary'**:

Figure 25. Discursive irregularity in (multi-)Sedentarist construction of accommodation for Travellers at the local level (shown in red)



Due to the construction of the 'Local Authority Site' as existing deep within a regular pattern of singularly 'sedentary' and 'authorised' categories and categorisation relationships, and its status as both of these thus already 'taken for granted', this relationship in my data appeared to be, superficially, 'superfluous to requirements', and

thus its presence and dominance a noticeable discursive irregularity.

My re-production of Mono- and Multi-sedentaristic, equally sedentary, but otherwise incompatible, locally-oriented constructions of 'Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation' produced a close triangulation of the internal sedentarist socio-discursive conflict described in the last section¹⁷⁹.

After completion of my analysis of this phenomenon at this level, I had thus reproduced this representation of conflict for the second time, and also had produced a, sedentaristically, apparently 'extra(neous)' categorisation relationship between the Local Authority Permanent Residential Site and the Unauthorised Encampment. In order to explore these, I next turned to closer investigation of the discursive construction of my actual case study sites.

7.1.3 The social construction of two specific Local Authority Traveller Sites in local-level Sedentarist Discourse

Although for the reasons previously discussed¹⁸⁰, I had limited myself as to the type of first-hand 'Sedentarist' research material I was able to collect in *direct* relation to the case study sites, I was nevertheless able to again identify two types of construction: Firstly, a typically **abnormalising** 'Mono-sedentaristic' construction, representing the two sites as '**illegitimate**' and/or '**undesirable**' *sedentary* accommodation for 'culturally' and/or 'socially' (but not explicitly 'ethnic' or 'racial') '**deviant**' *sedentary* people:

¹⁷⁹ On pg. 288: Figure 21. 'Sedentarist construction of lifeway/residence modes of Travellers, with category representing intra-discursive conflict ('illegal/unauthorized encampment/homeless Traveller/Gypsy camper') emphasized'

¹⁸⁰ See Chapter 4

Gypsy Influx

New camps will have to be built in Stramshire **to house** a [...] rise in the number of **gypsies and travellers** [...]. Stramshire has been beset by problems caused by unexpected influxes of travellers in recent years. **Earlier this month, 24 vans towing caravans flooded onto the (Large car park in Town) [...]. A trail of rubbish was left behind, including soiled nappies. (Name), of (Road next to Car Park), said: “Its frustrating nothing can be done about illegal travellers.” [...]**

[The Council’s manager of gypsy/ traveller services] said: “[...] new sites will have to be built – it’s just a case of where. [...] Some new plots could be built on existing traveller sites. [...] Ivyhill Park, on the edge of Stramington, could be used for a five-plot extension.”

Mr. (Name), of nearby (Road), Efford, said: “We wouldn’t welcome extra pitches at Ivyhill Park. [...] Apart from them lighting fires and an adjacent site being used as a tip, we don’t have too many problems at the moment.”

Comments: (1)

(Name) says... (Time/Date)

[Why do] these **“travellers”** want a plot of land to live on? **Just buy a house and live in a caravan in the garden.** It’s the same thing.¹⁸¹

P17: ...are you aware that there’s a gypsy caravan site, a traveller site? at the other end of Efford? [...] of course when it was first talked about, there was a big... outcry... people were very, very against it [...] there was a meeting [...] which was [...] absolutely packed [...] people were very angry... um... of course it went ahead...um... regardless of what people think...

[...] there [...] was [...] a children’s playground, and [...] they just dumped all their rubbish in it, and then denied all knowledge [...]

¹⁸¹ Excerpt from Stramshire Local News online report, 2008, accessed 2009, emphasis added

...and this house [...] it's an older couple I think...[...] about 3 or 4 Gypsies that I recognised from down here, dug the driveway up, dumped the tarmac [...] in piles [...], and then disappeared never to be seen again ...they'd obviously taken money from them...¹⁸²

*"[...Student accommodation handyman] asked where I am going today. Told him I am going to Aitchden. He asked what for, and I said, to the Gorsecroft Traveller site. His response- shock that I would go there alone/concern for my safety... **warned me that it is a dangerous place/I shouldn't go there without a police escort/It is 'stupid' to go there alone/I should not take my car/ any valuables with me.**"¹⁸³*

The Local Authority Sites were repeatedly produced as 'marginal'/'separate':

"...are you aware that there's a [...] Traveller Site? **at the other end of Efford?**"

"[...Case Site 1] **on the edge of Stramington**, could be used for a five-plot extension."¹⁸⁴

*"...Chat with local historians at village library re history of Gypsies and Travellers in the area/[Re Gorsecroft site]: The people living there are not "true Gypsies" / **the site is not really part of Aitchden, "it's outside the village, really"** / "A lot of villagers think [the site] shouldn't be there"¹⁸⁵,*

and this kind of construction, again, blurred the distinction between authorised Local Authority sites and illegal encampments/developments.

¹⁸² Excerpt from Interview 10, with female Settled resident of Efford (village nearest to Ivyhill Park site), no experience of the site; limited, general experience of Gypsies and Travellers, 2009

¹⁸³ Excerpt from P/O notes made during time spent as Settled resident of 'Greater Stramington', 2007

¹⁸⁴ Excerpt from Local news, 2009

¹⁸⁵ Excerpt from P/O notes made during day spent in Aitchden (village geographically closest to Gorsecroft site), 2009

I thus identified this construction as having overarching **abnormalising** action orientations of the **separation, marginalisation** and **exclusion** from Sedentary society of **'(still)-nomadic'** Travellers by their representation as residentially *deviant*, and thus of *all* non-conventional accommodation produced by, or for, them as 'socially'/'culturally' illegitimate.

Secondly, I was again able to note a sharply contrasting, more developed and more complex type of construction, corresponding quite closely with the **normalising** 'Multi-sedentary' construction of Traveller Sites described in the last section, as, **homogenous, legitimate** ('authorised'), **sedentary** (*equivalent* to Housing), but **(alternatively) 'normal'** and **(explicitly) 'ethnic'/'racial'** (*in contrast* to Housing), and thus **'post-nomadic'**, and as **State-** (*in contrast* to privately-) **owned/controlled/managed:**

Are there *authorised Traveller sites* in Stramshire?

Yes, there are [several] permanent council-owned sites in Stramshire, providing (number) pitches. There are also [several] privately run sites.

[More information about Authorised Sites](#) [opens new web-page:]

[new web page] **Authorised Sites**

Locations and details of Gypsy and Traveller sites in Stramshire

The following are sites managed by Stramshire Gypsy and Traveller Services

Gorsecroft/Address, (16) plots
Site B Name/Address, (#) plots
Ivyhill Park/Address, (15) plots
Site D Name/Address, (#) plots [Etc.]

There are privately-run sites in the following areas:

(Stramshire Town)
(Stramshire Village) [Etc.]¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁶ Excerpt from Stramshire County Council Website, explanatory text in [] added, accessed 2007/2009

Local Site Information (District Authority 1)¹⁸⁷

Name of Site	Type of Site	Number of Pitches	<i>Ethnicity</i>
DA1 Site A	Local Authority	9	English
Ivyhill Park	Local Authority	16	Irish
DA1 Site C	Private Authorised	12	Irish

Local Site Information (District Authority 2)

Name of Site	Type of Site	Number of Pitches	<i>Ethnicity</i>
DA2 Site A	Local Authority	6	English
DA2 Site B	Local Authority	16	English
Gorsecroft	Local Authority	15	Irish
DA2 Site D	Private Unauthorised	8	Irish

As illustrated by these examples, ‘official’ documentary material that actually mentioned either or both sites explicitly by name regularly represented them as **homogenous members of a collective**, generally by their presentation as identical category members in ‘list’ form. In this construction I was able to represent these ‘collectives’ as sedentarily **‘inclusive’/‘integrating’**, both implicitly, e.g. by their discursive production as a (sedentary) ‘address’ with post-code corresponding to that of the nearest sedentary settlement, and also explicitly:

“Option A Preferred strategy: retention of existing sites (including Case Site 2) with extension where possible [...] [...] Summary of the significant effects: Overall [...] option ‘A’ performs better [...] in **helping the long term integration of gypsies and travellers.**”¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷ Excerpts from Stramshire-specific section of Regional GTAA (Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Assessment) document with direct relevance to Stramshire, 2007

¹⁸⁸ Excerpts from table: ‘Gypsies, Travellers and Travelling Show People Strategy’ in East Stramshire District Council (responsible for Gorsecroft site) Local Development Framework Core Strategy Documentation, collected 2009

I thus identified *normalising* action orientations for this construction, of the 'official' **inclusion and integration of ('post-nomadic')** Travellers within sedentary society by their representation as residentially *sedentary*, and the provision *for* them of ('*ethnically*/'*racially*') different, but *residentially* legitimate, accommodation.

Either one or other of these conflicting constructions appeared as *primary* in almost all of the research material I considered for this part of my analysis. However, in research material produced by Local Traveller Services Team, the agency to which all Local Authority bodies in the area explicitly abdicated direct responsibility for all matters related to Traveller accommodation (whether authorised or unauthorised) in the area, I repeatedly located clear examples of both constructions, often within the same text or 'conversation'. I identified several examples of this, the clearest contained in the Stramshire 'Site Licence Agreement'.

This document implicitly produced the sites as *homogenous*, as its intended use, unamended, was for all Stramshire Local Authority-run sites. The document further contained the entire *normalising* 'Multi-sedentaristic' construction; further implicit representation of the sites, by means of its conventional housing 'Tenancy Agreement' style, as legitimate, sedentary, alternatively 'normal' residential accommodation in the aforementioned double binary 'equivalence/contrast' relationship with conventional Housing, for local 'post-nomadic' Travellers; who were, in turn produced here as *sedentary* Travellers residing in '*static-caravan*'-type mobile homes *at a specific address on a pitch or plot on a permanently fixed site*:

This document is a Licence Agreement between **Stramshire County Council** (referred to in this agreement as 'The Council') and the following Licensees:

Title	First Name	Surname	DoB	NI No
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----[...]

Address of the plot/pitch under this License Agreement:

----- [...]

DEFINITIONS

The term '**plot/pitch**' means the area of the site licensed to you(...), including any structures erected on this area by the Council, fixtures and fittings, hedges, fences, paved areas or parking areas.

[...]

A '**mobile home**' is not capable of being towed, and has to be carried on another vehicle.

The '**site**' means the area, within its defined boundaries, where the plot/pitch licensed to you is situated.

This constructed the two case sites as identical individual examples of legitimate, *alternatively* 'normal' sedentary residential accommodation, and thus quite straightforwardly as Multi-sedentaristically '**post-nomadic**'. However, I was able to read the same document as producing the site as emphatically *not* '**(still-) nomadic**':

¹⁸⁹ Excerpts from 'Stramshire' County Council 'Permanent Site Licence Agreement' used for residents of all Local Authority Gypsy and Traveller Sites in Stramshire (including Ivyhill Park and Gorsecroft), emphasis in original

Licencee's Responsibilities

[...]

You are allowed to park only **one** caravan/mobile home [and two motor vehicles] on your plot/pitch. In exceptional circumstances the Council may grant permission to park an additional caravan/mobile home for sleeping purposes in the case of large families. [...] you must obtain the Council's written permission [before doing so]. [...]

You must **not** move your caravan/mobile home to any other plot/pitch on the site, even if one becomes vacant, without prior written permission (...)

You must not sublet part or the whole of your plot/pitch. (...)

You do not have the right to assign your plot/pitch. (...)

You must **not** carry out **any** (...) alteration or removal of such items as fences, gates or barriers. You must **not** damage, remove or obstruct the entrance or entrance barriers to the site. You must not allow, cause or incite anyone else to do so.(...)

You must not overcrowd your pitch (...)

If you leave the site for more than **eight weeks**, the Council will terminate your licence and you will have no right to re-enter the site or plot/pitch. (...)

The explicit restriction or prohibition of the *movement* of caravans/mobile homes from the plots or pitches *only in association with which* they are constructed as (sedentary) 'residential accommodation'; the *moving on* of resident/s from an authorised plot or

¹⁹⁰ Excerpts from 'Stramshire' County Council 'Permanent Site Licence Agreement' used for residents of all Local Authority Gypsy and Traveller Sites in 'Stramshire' (including Ivyhill Park and Gorsecroft sites), all emphasis in original

pitch to take up residence elsewhere for any extended period of time; and the unauthorised arrival/unlicensed residence on the site of anyone not 'officially' permitted, constructed a strong and detailed *Mono-sedentaristic* representation of residents of the Permanent Residential sites as potentially '(still-)nomadic' (residentially deviant). I also identified within the same document further construction of the site residents as '*potentially* deviant' in a more general 'social'/'cultural' way, through its again, explicit and highly detailed 'prohibition' of various activities discursively associated with the *abnormalising* Mono-sedentaristic construction of Travellers:

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You/anyone living with you/visiting you including children must not carry out vehicle repairs (...), park an un-roadworthy vehicle (...) carry out any business involving (...)the sale or repair of motor vehicles (...) carry out vehicle repairs other than minor maintenance to your own vehicle (...), anywhere on your plot/pitch or on the site/in the locality of the site. (...)

You must not bring rubbish other than general household rubbish on to the site (...)

You must ensure that your plot is kept clean and tidy (...).

You/anyone living in your home/visiting you (including children) must not commit [or threaten to commit] a criminal offence; or keep unlicensed firearms or any offensive weapon in your home or anywhere else on the site. (...)

You must not use your home, or any communal area or any part of the site, locality of the site or nearby estate for **any** illegal activity, including selling of drugs or prostitution(...)

All of the sites in the area, the two case sites included, were thus represented within this and other material produced by this agency as, homogenously and simultaneously,

¹⁹¹ Excerpts from 'Stramshire' County Council 'Permanent Site Licence Agreement' used for residents of all Local Authority Gypsy and Traveller Sites in 'Stramshire (including Ivyhill Park and Gorsecroft sites), all emphasis in original

- **Authorised** (legitimate), **state-produced/managed**, **‘culturally appropriate’** **alternatively ‘normal’ sedentary accommodation** for the residentially normal, but ethnically/racially different, social/cultural practices of **‘post-nomadic’** Travellers, with action orientations of their **inclusion and integration** of into sedentary society
- **Authorised** (legitimate), **state-produced/managed**, **‘boundaried’** and **‘regulated’**, **alternatively ‘normal’ sedentary accommodation** for (non-ethnic/racial) **‘(still)-nomadic’** Travellers, with action orientations of their **exclusion/ separation** from sedentary society, the **containment, control and/or elimination** of their ‘deviant’ residential, social and cultural practices, and their **assimilation** to *‘post-nomadic’* residential/social/cultural ‘norms’.

Based on the above, I identified an overarching action orientation for this entire construction of, by the *integration* of ‘post-nomadic’ Travellers within sedentary society, and the simultaneous *assimilation* of ‘(still)-nomadic’ Travellers to *‘post-nomadic’* norms, the **sedentarisation** of Travellers.

I have necessarily taken some presentational liberties with the original text of the (12-page) licence agreement in order to illustrate the above analysis clearly, since within the original Licence Agreement document, and other Traveller Services Team-produced material, the ‘Multi-’ and ‘Mono’-sedentaristic elements of the construction were mixed. However in the original document they did not appear any more ‘integrated’, but clearly distinct from each other, and essentially conflicted. I was able to produce a strong parallel between this ‘double’, ‘overlaid’ construction, and my early analytical production of Traveller ‘culture’ as, Sedentaristically, collections of discrete, unrelated, residential/social practices, produced as separable into *normative* (sedentary-compatible) and *deviant* (nomadic) categories.¹⁹²

¹⁹² see Chapter 5

By this analysis I further produced the specific case sites, collectively, as an actual, local representation of the distorted 'merged' 'Local Authority Traveller Site' version of the (equally legitimate) 'Permanent Residential' and 'Transit' Local Authority site variants binary, that I had identified previously in both national and local, more general, Sedentaristic discourse of 'Local Authority Traveller Sites'. This construction offered a possible resolution to the anomalous categorisation relationship between the 'Local Authority Site', (often produced, in my local material, only *implicitly* as 'Permanent Residential and *not* 'Transit'), and the 'Unauthorised Encampment', that I had identified in my representation of the local 'pattern' of categorisation of '*actual* accommodation for Travellers in Stramshire'. Since by my case site-level analysis the Local Authority sites in the area appeared to be discursively constructed *not* simply as 'Permanent Residential', but as '*Merged*' versions, thus as *somehow containing the discursively 'backgrounded' and externally 'absent' Transit version 'suppressed' within them*, I could re-produce the strong external categorisation binary with the Unauthorised Encampment, that I initially produced as '(extra)neous', as a binary contrast with a 'Transit Site' *substitute*, in order for the 'Merged' Site to explicitly assert its (contested) '*Permanent(ly static) Residential*'-ness. The anomalous binary now thus appeared to me to be *not* the re-categorisation of the site as *not an 'Unauthorised Encampment'*, which was clearly unnecessary, but its categorisation as *not a 'Transit Site'*, which was less clear, *due to the absence of the Transit site in the 'pattern'*. However, essentially, the action orientation of the contrast remained the same; to categorise the Stramshire Local Authority Traveller Site as, '*not (still-)nomadic*', despite, due to there being

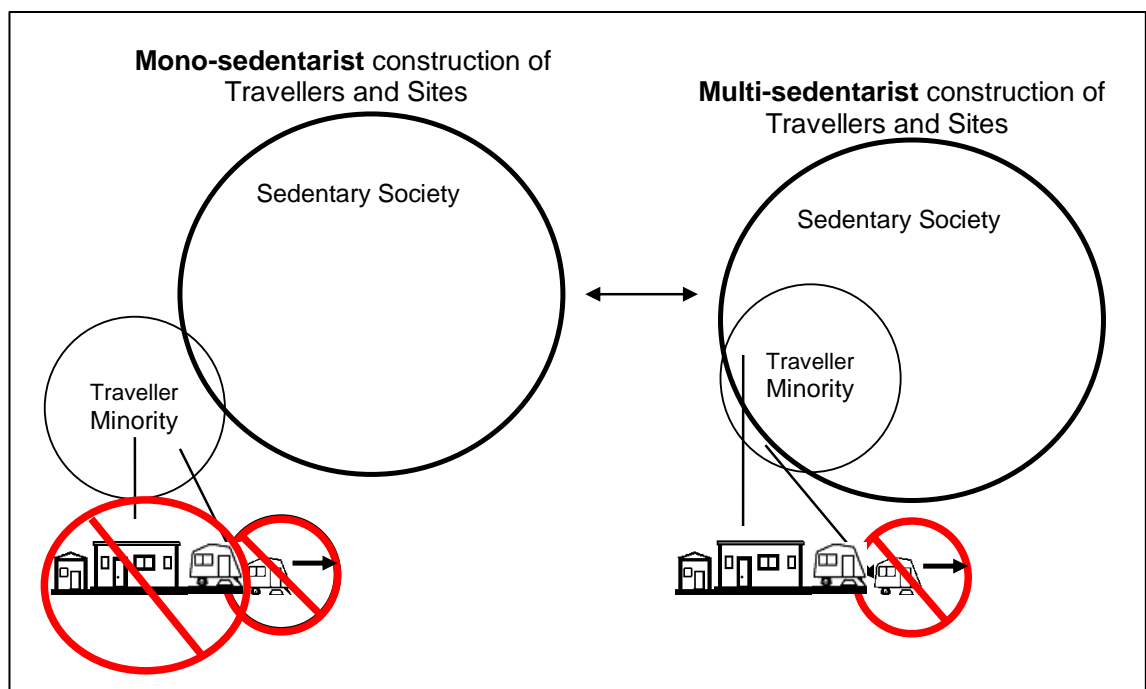
"...no Transit Sites in Stramshire...",

and thus no 'legitimate' provision for 'active' nomadism, possibly attracting residents who might be difficult to categorise as 'post-nomadic'.

Due to this I produced the sites, within my own 'academic' construction, as essentially 'Multi-sedentaristic', and further could 'read' the site as a locus of discursive interaction, tension and conflict between the 'Multi-sedentaristic' construction of the Sites, and that of its 'Mono-sedentaristic, counterpart, which I constructed as producing all of the sites as '(still-)nomadic', and thus as 'officially' illegitimate.

My representation of the Sedentarist construction retained a still seemingly irreducible conflict between the Mono- and Multi-sedentaristic constructions I had produced of Travellers at the local level, with one producing Travellers in Stramshire as *mostly* 'post-nomadic' (normal), and 'Permanent Residential Traveller Sites' as 'legitimate', and the other producing them as *mostly* '(still-)nomadic'(deviant), and all Sites as (socially) illegitimate:

Figure 26. Comparative illustration of Sedentarist constructions of Travellers and Sites in Stramshire



Even in bringing my analysis to the level of the case sites, I was unable to produce a resolution for this conflict within my construction of the Sedentarist paradigm. On reaching this apparent impasse, I returned to my bi-modal framework in order to

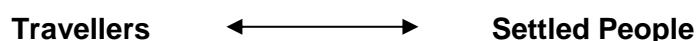
explore the phenomenon further from perspectives external to the paradigm in which I had produced it, turning to the production of a parallel discursive analysis of 'Traveller accommodation' from the locally-oriented material that I had categorised as 'Nomadist'.

7.2 'Evicted, locked in and shut out': Nomadist Constructions of Travellers and Traveller Sites at the sub-national level

I was unable to collect any material that I could produce as both 'Nomadist' and 'regionally'-oriented', and could confirm no direct association between the originators of the Nomadist constructions in my analysis of documentary material at the national level, and my interview participants in Stramshire. However, again, I did find in my locally-collected and produced data very similar 'Nomadist' representations of 'Travellers' and 'accommodation' to those discussed in Chapter 6.

7.2.1 Nomadist constructions of Travellers at the local level

All of the Travellers with whom I had direct contact for research purposes primarily categorised themselves in relation to the same basic binary contrast structure:



Beyond this representation, which due to to my 'already-known' research position, was produced as an implicit, taken-for-granted 'bottom line' by the Traveller research participants, I identified an almost immediate Nomadistic deconstruction of my main 'Traveller' starting-point social category into irreducible ethnic and/or cultural, socio-geographical, clan, extended family, individual family and even individual person sub-categories, each with its own dominant 'norms'.

From my local level data I was able to confidently triangulate to confirm the discursive presence of three main Stramshire Traveller 'ethnic/cultural' sub-categories:

(English) Romany Gypsies,

Irish Travellers

and

Fairground (Showman) Travellers.

These, again due to my 'known' status, were often constructed only implicitly. Broadly, those that self-identified or were identified by others as 'Irish Traveller' or '(English) Romany Gypsy' represented themselves, and others in their category, primarily in terms of extended family and/or clan, with racial/ethnic/cultural and socio-geographical aspects of the construction, while often present, more backgrounded:

P2: *[Speaking of living on another Local Authority site] It was alright, the beginning(...), but, when all my own family moved away, and people knew you were there by yourself, they'd, kinda, bully you a bit. So then, it just, like, got outta hand, and... to tell you the truth(...) I was glad to get out of it.*

R: *(...)it was all Irish Traveller families wasn't it, but just not your family?*

P2: *Yeah... yeah, just not my family. Not really related to us.*

P3: *No not even related, completely not related to us.¹⁹³*

By contrast, in my data Fairground Travellers tended to foreground, alongside immediate and extended family, cultural/ethnic (Showmen's Guild), and, in place of 'clan', geographical/employment (Fair Lessee) relationships:

P10: *If I could live next to other Showmen, I could go away in the middle of the night, early in the morning (...). If there were ten Showmen's yards here, and someone brings a ride back from somewhere in the early hours, I'm not going to come out and say "what's that bloody noise about?". You know what I mean...?¹⁹⁴*

¹⁹³ Excerpt from group Interview 1, with 4 adult female Irish Traveller Ivyhill Park site residents, 2009

¹⁹⁴ Excerpt from Interview 5, with adult male Fairground Traveller residing roadside and in private sites (authorised and unauthorised) in the general Stramshire area, 2009

However, all of the people who represented themselves as ‘Traveller’, whilst explicitly producing themselves as ‘*residentially*’ and sometimes (but not always) as ‘*ethnically/culturally*’ distinct from the ‘Settled’ majority population, also counted themselves as members of a parallel ‘normal’ majority population within their own Traveller sub-category; often constructing their ‘normal’ day-to-day practices, explicitly or implicitly, as ‘*culturally/ ethnically*’ similar if not identical to those of the ‘normal’ ‘Settled’ majority:

P10: “...We (...) work and we’re taxpayers, we’re not ... you know... foreign...(...) we’re British people, (...) based in Stramshire...”¹⁹⁵

P20: “...they said it wasn’t safe for the school bus to come in, but it was ok by them for our kids to walk out to the [main arterial road] layby, with all the traffic, the foreign lorry drivers (...)”¹⁹⁶

P1: ...I remember one time, a car drove in [to the Ivyhill Park Site]. It was a man, he’d ran out of diesel. I was going to Sainsburys, so instead of going to the shop, I went and got him his diesel in his red can, and then I went on about my business (...) ¹⁹⁷

‘Traveller’ sub-categories constructed as ‘Other’ were either absent from the discourse, or backgrounded; generally either through vaguer description,

P12: Where my Granddad was, at (Private Traveller Site) – it was lovely. We, my [extended] family, had it, then he sold it to J [English Romany Gypsy person]. Then, I think J sold it on to **an Irish [Traveller...]**¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁵ Excerpt from Interview 5, with adult male Fairground Traveller residing roadside and in private sites (authorised and unauthorised) in the general Stramshire area, 2009

¹⁹⁶ Excerpt from Interview 13, with adult female Irish Traveller Gorsecroft resident, on-site, 2009

¹⁹⁷ Excerpt from group Interview 1, with 4 female Traveller residents of Ivyhill Park site, 2009

¹⁹⁸ Excerpt from Interview 6, with adult female Romany Gypsy living roadside in the general Stramshire area, 2009

or explicit exclusion from the speaker's particular representation of the main collective category:

*'Brief chat with [young adult male Irish Traveller, about my research]/... [he said] "I don't really think of the fairground people as Travellers. They are just people who do fairs."'*¹⁹⁹

I identified some partial, very generalised, 'cultural/ethnic' agreement between sub-categories. For example, cross-categorically, 'deviance' was regularly constructed in terms of cultural or social practices produced as *criminal, anti-social* or *dirty*:

P13: *...The newspapers put down Travellers as if they're monsters. There was one article about Travellers pulling someone off a horse. Well if they did- put them in jail! We're not all like that. I would never do that.*²⁰⁰

P25: *"Some Travellers are really, really dirty, they do leave rubbish on the roadside- but we're not all the same (...)"*²⁰¹

There was also some broad agreement with regard to 'normality', in terms of *cleanliness* and the maintenance of *intra-and inter-community harmony*:

P25: *"Some Travellers are really, really dirty, (...) but (...)some (...) can (cont.) be spotless (...)"*²⁰²

P3: *(...) but also, the Council have to understand that... some [Irish Traveller] families do not get on, for longstanding feuds(...) if you were to put(...) a full-bred [rival Irish Traveller extended family/ clan name] in here [Ivyhill Park], life would not be easy- not for them, or for us (...)*

¹⁹⁹ Excerpt from P/O notes made during afternoon spent as Traveller Education support volunteer at a community venue in South Stramington (near to Ivyhill Park site), 2009

²⁰⁰ Excerpt from Interview 7, with young adult female Traveller Gorsecroft site resident, 2009

²⁰¹ Excerpt from Interview 17, with young adult female Traveller resident of Ivyhill Park site, off-site by request, 2009

²⁰² Excerpt from Interview 17, with young adult female Traveller Ivyhill Park site resident, 2009

P1: *You'd be better off them moving off somewhere...*

P3: *Yeah, honestly...erm...the tension would be on 'amber' all the time. (...)*They're not gonna want to move here.*²⁰³*

P10: *"...What 99% of Showmen are very, erm, ... embarrassed of, is causing anybody any problems, we want to go about our business in the most quiet way possible (...) We don't wanna drive up narrow streets with all the lorries, and have people say "oh, there's the fair again"(...)"²⁰⁴*

However, since the multiple Nomadist constructions I collected of 'actual' '*cultural/ethnic*' 'Travellers' conflicted as often than they blurred, I could not find even a generalised comprehensive representation of a Gypsy and Traveller *cultural/ethnic* dominant/normal 'majority population'. However, triangulating again from the universally shared 'bottom line' construction,

Travellers \longleftrightarrow **Settled People**

I noted, as universally central to the aforementioned multiple, widely differing sub-categorical *cultural/ethnic* constructions of 'Travellers', the following binary of two *equally normative* residential modes:

Sedentary residence \longleftrightarrow **Nomadic/Mobile residence**
(**'Normal'** for Settled people) (**'Normal'** for Travellers)

Beginning with this universal agreement, which was strongly confirmatory of the construction of the basis of the 'Nomadist' paradigm within my 'bi-modal' analytical framework, I was further able to triangulate from the multiple, culturally/ethnically distinct constructions I had identified, a much more comprehensive generalised representation of a Traveller 'normal' *residential* 'majority population', with a cross-

²⁰³ Excerpt from group Interview 1, with 4 adult female Irish Traveller Ivyhill Park site residents, 2009

²⁰⁴ Excerpt from Interview 5, with adult male Fairground Traveller residing roadside and in private sites (authorised and unauthorised) in the general Stramshire area, 2009

categorically shared 'dominant majority norm' of **Nomadic residence, to and from at least one sedentaristically legitimate, permanently fixed, 'Dual Stopping place/Site'**,

- **on a Nomadic road or route**, within a wider 'Nomadic community' or 'society' in which 'nomadic residence is the dominant 'norm'',

P10: [Re: problems with finding land suitable for a permanent 'winter quarters'] ...*that one at Aitchden [Gorsecroft site], would be the best [location] for me, access is easy, service station right there to fill up. If it was (...) made into a nice yard, looked after properly, that would be an ideal site for Showmen, right by the motorway (...)*²⁰⁵

P7: *If there were nice bungalows [on Local Authority sites], people would make proper homes of them, they would settle down. (...)*

R: *It's interesting you say that, you are Travellers, I'm not saying you shouldn't settle down, but if you did, would you still have trailers?*

P7: *Yeah, I would, definitely, a permanent address, but I would still travel...*²⁰⁶

and:

- **resembling to some extent the type of sedentary residence constructed as 'normal' for the 'Settled' majority population**, productive of some level of active, normative interaction/integration with mainstream sedentary culture/community/ society:

P6: *"I've got a brother [in Ireland]. They've built a bungalow, that you can go round with a trailer. Four bedrooms. What I'm saying, instead of [Council] plots like this, why not build bungalows?"*²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ Excerpt from Interview 5, with adult male Fairground Traveller residing roadside and in private sites (authorised and unauthorised) in the general Stramshire area, 2009

²⁰⁶ Excerpt from joint Interview 3 with Irish Traveller married couple (P7, female) Ivyhill Park residents, on-site, 2009

²⁰⁷ Excerpt from joint Interview 3, with Irish Traveller married couple (P6, male) Ivyhill Park residents, on-site, 2009

- P23: *This site is horrible. In (Local Authority site in another area)(...), they got really, really nice like, big sheds. They have the bathroom separately, and their toilet, separate from their kitchen unit, ...and lovely cupboards (...). And a place for your cooker, your washing machine(...)*
- P24: *And you can put your own table and chairs and sit in there*
- P23: *It's really nice. And(...) they've got proper double glazed windows and doors (...)you can even put a telly in it, like (...) for rainy days, and...*
- R: *So is that what you'd like, in an ideal world...*
- P23/P24: *Yeah... / Yeah...²⁰⁸*

I strongly triangulated this locally-oriented construction with my own previously-produced national-level generalised construction of the '**Modern Traveller**'²⁰⁹. I was able to categorise all of the Travellers who participated as *either* self-identified members of this '**Modern**' category, or as '**Would-be Modern Travellers**' (a close counterpart category, of Travellers who are not following a realised 'modern' nomadic mode of residence *only* due to lack of opportunity), and constructed these two sub-categories combined as the 'Traveller' 'normal (residential) majority'.

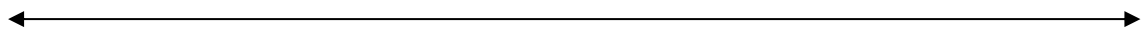
When I included the further representations found within my data of 'Traveller' '(residential) minority' groups, as, variously, 'normal', 'liminal' or 'deviant' by comparison to the generalised construction of a 'normal' nomadic residential majority population, nomadic residence, in terms of types of **nomadic 'stillness' and 'motion'** and the **frequency of alternations between these**, appeared as a *continuum*, with infinite variants between its extremes, and the possibility for movement of individuals, groups and collectives back and forth along it:

²⁰⁸ Excerpt from joint Interview 16, with adult female Irish Traveller Gorsecroft site resident and 12-year old daughter, on-site, 2009

²⁰⁹ See Chapter 6

Very settled, '**Latent**'
Nomadic residence

Highly mobile, '**Active**'
Nomadic residence



Although the data I collected for this research and other limitations of the project did not allow for 'saturation' of my analysis in either regard, I did further note representations within my data of multiple categories of 'nomadic motion', for example;

*[Informal chat with Fairground Travellers/ (...)male FGT: "The Irish [Travellers] are more... **long-distance** (...) we are **local**, we go to more or less the same places every year... in Stramshire and [neighbouring counties]... we don't go that far" ²¹⁰*

and a more confidently constructed representation of two commonly represented, 'main' generalised categories of 'nomadic stillness':

- '**Stopping**', which I produced as a '**normal**' form of 'nomadic stillness' for the Traveller majority, whether involving temporary roadside halts, a permanent 'dual' stopping place/site, or both, and whether represented as a personal practice, or as a practice engaged in by others;
- 'Traveller **settlement**'. Upon further analysis I identified three sub-variants of this category, and used capitalisation/non-capitalisation in order to distinguish between them:
 - 1) '**Nomadic settlement**' (lower-case 's'), *on-road/route, at a 'dual' stopping place/site*, constructed as a '**normal**' form of 'nomadic stillness' even when

²¹⁰ Excerpt from P/O notes made during/after afternoon spent on-site at Fairground, North Stramshire village, 2009

continuing in the absence of 'nomadic motion' or many years/permanently;

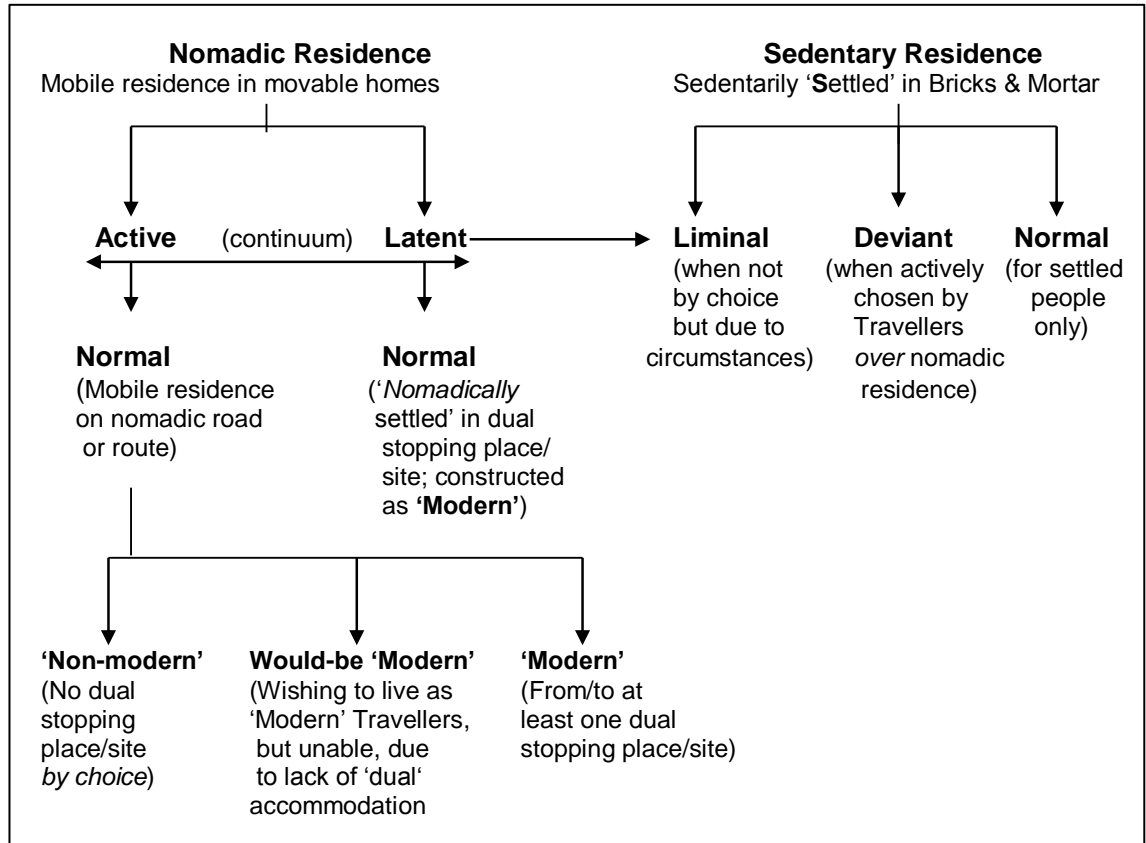
2) Sedentary '**Settlement**' (capital 'S')

a) In my data this was generally constructed as a '**liminal**' '*off- (nomadic) road or route*', '*would-be* Nomadic' residential state into which 'normal' ('Modern' or 'would-be modern') Travellers were invariably 'forced' by social/financial/legal/personal circumstances, and within which context they continued the residential practices of nomadic 'stillness' as far as possible, until an acceptable Nomadic alternative became available. I constructed this as '**Nomadic Homelessness**';

b) I also identified a construction of Travellers who abandon nomadic residential practices for sedentary practices, choosing not to return to nomadic residence even when acceptable opportunities exist. Within my data this was produced not as 'nomadic stillness', but as an undesirable and even 'shameful' state of '**Traveller Residential Deviance**', represented only *abstractly* in relation to 'Others' rather than as existing in Stramshire in any of the constructions I collected of *actual* individuals or groups.

The diagram overleaf summarises the analysis presented in this section:

Figure 27. Nomadist (residence-oriented) construction of 'Travellers' (abstract)



Although I succeeded in producing this *abstract, generalised* nomadistic construction of 'categories of Traveller residence in the local area', I found no more consensus in the descriptive detail of *actual* Traveller 'nomadic residence' than I would expect in relation to the generalised category of *actual* 'sedentary residence'. Every Traveller family, and some individuals, with whom this matter arose in interview or during observation, produced themselves as *generally* residing in a 'nomadic' rather than a 'Settled'/'sedentary' way. Beyond this, they offered a range of constructions of their own unique 'micro'-versions of nomadic 'stillness', 'motion' and frequency of interchange between the two. The 'macro'- representation of generalised 'Traveller' residential 'norms' produced in this section is therefore my own, produced, within this framework, from a 'non-Traveller'/'Settled', but nevertheless *non*-'Sedentarist' perspective that during my analysis I initially termed '**Sedentary Nomadist**'. I characterised this as a 'Settled' perspective from which both Sedentary and Nomadic

modes of residence are constructed as 'normal', and found occasional other examples of it in my data:

P19: ...when I first came to know them they were(...) doing a lot more travelling then... I think they settled down(...) because of the kids being in school...²¹¹

My own 'Sedentary Nomadist', explicit, 'macro' construction of a generalised, , collective 'Traveller' *multi-ethnic*, but nevertheless *broadly residentially cohesive nomadic community/society* generally did not triangulate with what I termed my 'Modern Nomadist' construction, a series of multiple irreducible 'Traveller' nomadic 'ethnic/cultural' sub-categories that were rarely explicitly represented as sharing cross-categorical 'norms'. I also found that many perspectives I could produce as 'Sedentary Nomadist' also focused primarily upon 'ethnic/cultural' *difference* and produced constructions more similar to those I had identified as 'Modern Nomadist'.

Although no Traveller person in my field work area used the sedentarist term 'the Gypsy and Traveller community' or produced any construction suggesting a multi-ethnic but residentially cohesive nomadic community/society in interview with me, I was able to triangulate such residence-focused, ethnically/culturally inclusive constructions of 'Travellers' or 'Gypsies and Travellers' produced in some 'Sedentary Nomadist' interview material, with a similar version produced from documentary and participant observation data containing representations of perspectives I had categorised as 'Modern Nomadist':

²¹¹ Excerpt from Interview 12, with female Settled resident of 'Greater Stramington' area, direct experience of Ivyhill Park site and residents, 2009

“13th December 2007

Dear Ms. (Name),

I understand that you are the Stramshire [senior County Council job role].
I am a member of the Gypsy Traveller community in Stramshire, specifically the Irish Traveller community, [...]”²¹²

*(Older Irish Traveller man to (Settled) FFT rep) / “...We’re Gypsies, end of. / Travelling people.”*²¹³

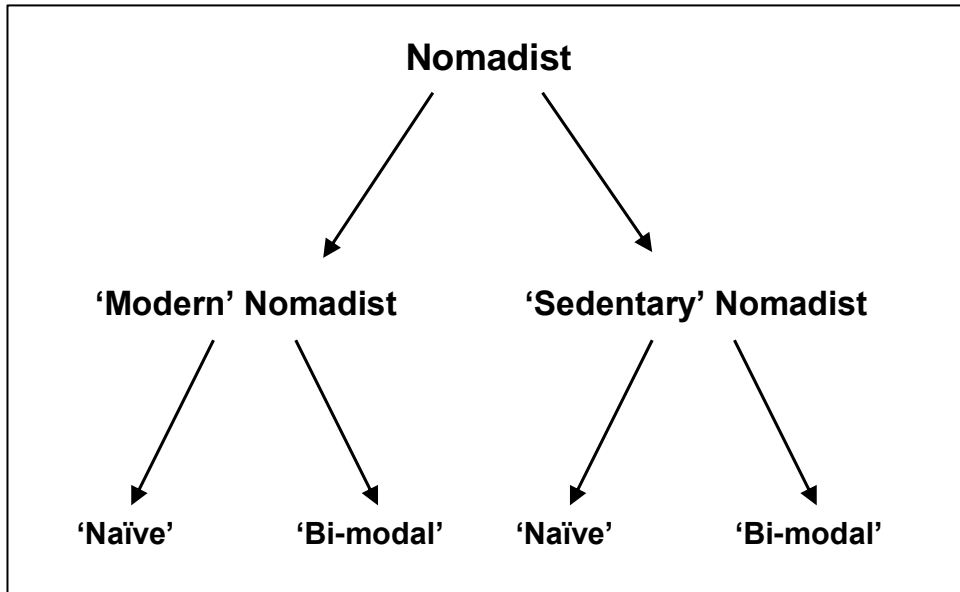
This rare use of ‘Gypsy’ juxtaposed with ‘Traveller’ by Travelling people in ‘official’ interaction with Settled people may be read as referencing both senses of the word identified in the introduction to this thesis at once. The particular use in the letter suggests a community of ethnically *different, similarly* nomadic people and groups, whilst the use in the example of dialogue acknowledges synonymity between ‘Traveller’ and ‘Gypsy’, even though more usually the people I have had contact with from the group concerned (Irish Travellers) will explicitly define themselves as ‘*not* (Romany) Gypsy, and vice versa.

Taking into account this ‘blurring’, I produced a deconstruction of my main socio-discursive category ‘Nomadist’, which I constructed as containing members from all three ‘starting-point’ main social categories, to two distinct sub-categories, with parallel sub-sub categories:

²¹² Excerpt: letter from Stramshire Irish Traveller community spokesperson to senior Stramshire Local Authority Official, 2007

²¹³ Excerpt from P/O notes made during Irish Travellers’ meeting with FFT advisor about Local Authority Site provision/refurbishment, at community venue near to Ivyhill Park site, 2009

Figure 28. Deconstruction of the main socio-discursive category 'Nomadist'



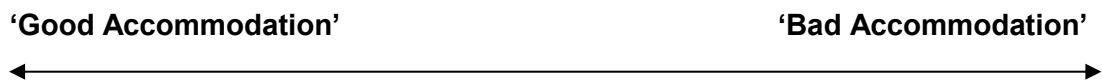
While both main sub-categories produced the sedentary and nomadic modes of residence as equally valid, the 'Naïve' variants produced more 'micro' versions of individual, isolated Traveller sub-groups, and the 'Bi-modal' variant produced more 'macro', explicit versions of Travellers as a, residentially, broadly homogenous (but otherwise diverse), collective, in direct binary parallel with the broadly residentially homogenous, but otherwise diverse category of 'Settled People'.

As illustrated with the examples reproduced above, in both *bi-modal* versions of the Nomadist perspective appeared to be socially produced and maintained through direct discursive interaction between Traveller and Settled people.

7.2.2 Nomadist constructions of accommodation for Travellers at the local level

As discussed, from the Nomadist perspective I had constructed, I had produced the generalised Traveller 'majority population' as a **'Modern, or 'Would-be Modern'**, *ethnically/culturally* diverse group sharing a generalised cross-categorical 'majority residential norm' of **Nomadic residence, on roads/routes in areas** with at least one *sedentaristically legitimate, permanently fixed, 'Dual Stopping place/Site'*. As I

continued my analysis, I further produced this 'majority norm' as central to nomadistic constructions of '**Accommodation for the 'normal' Traveller majority**', in terms of a



continuum, which, again, resonated closely with the 'Nomadist' construction of 'Traveller accommodation' I had produced from nationally-oriented material.

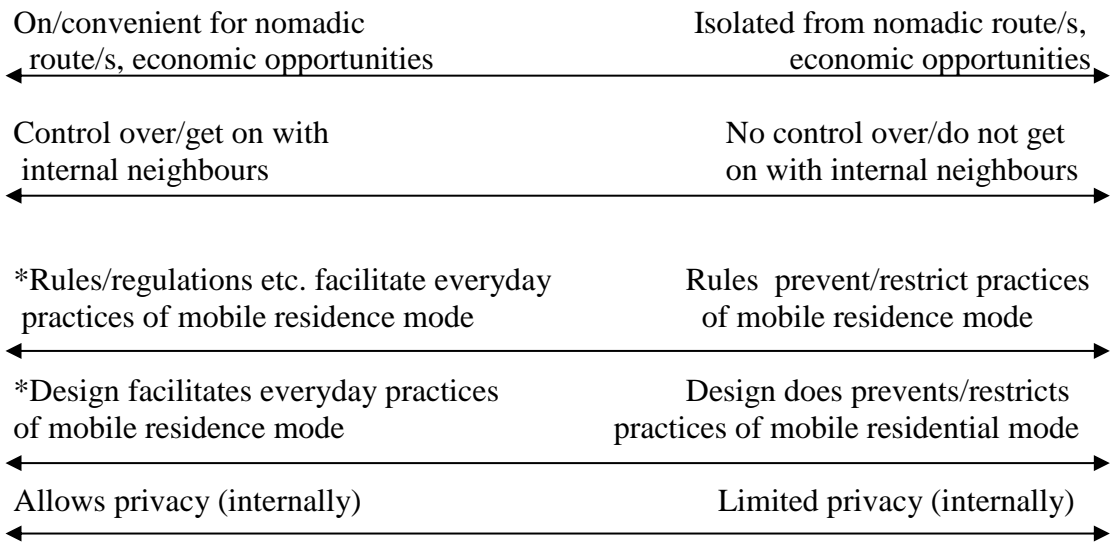
Although I collected a range of widely varying individual versions of Modern nomadic residence, I was able to cross-categorically saturate my analysis to produce a broadly shared 'Traveller dominant majority' consensus across constructions, producing the following four 'dimensions' as fundamental in the Nomadist production of (any) accommodation on the 'Good-Bad' continuum:



I produced the 'Suitability' dimension as uniquely complex, and by further triangulation, deconstructed this to three main themes and further 'Good/Bad' sub-dimensions:

'Suitability' Theme 1: Nomadic Residential Difference: *Holistic accommodation of route/road-based stillness and motion as meaningfully integrated within a Nomadic residential mode.*

Sub-dimensions:

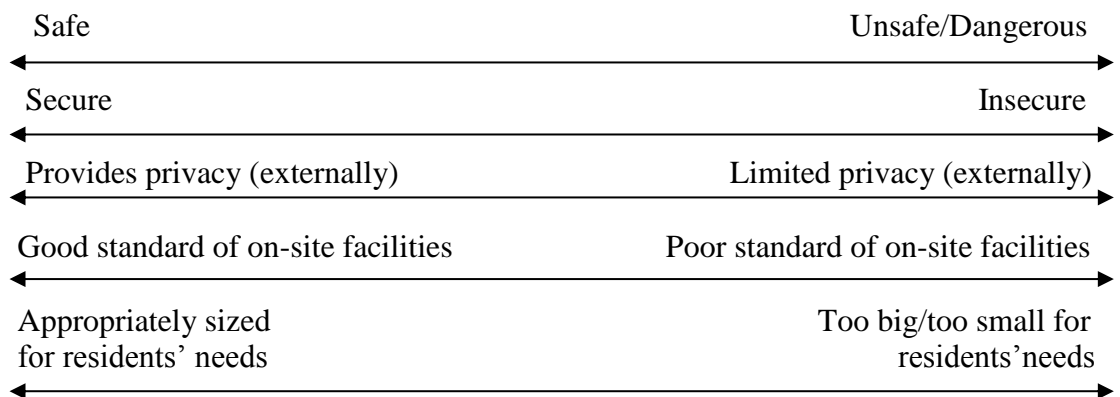


* *Especially* rules and flexibility of space suitable for extended family to visit/stay/live together *nomadically*, including elderly/disabled/otherwise vulnerable needing care, and young adults/young married couples needing separate quarters

‘Suitability’ Theme 2: Nomadic Residential Equality: *Relation of Nomadic*

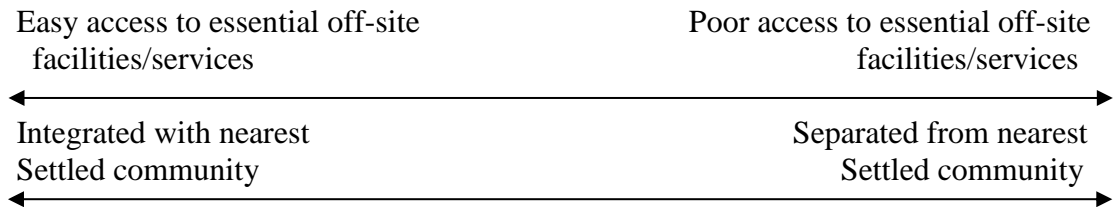
residential accommodation to that constructed as ‘normal’ for the local ‘Settled’ majority population.

Sub-dimensions:



‘Suitability’ Theme 3: Nomadic Residential Inclusion/Integration. *Facilitation of positive Nomadic interaction/integration with/within the local Settled community/society.*

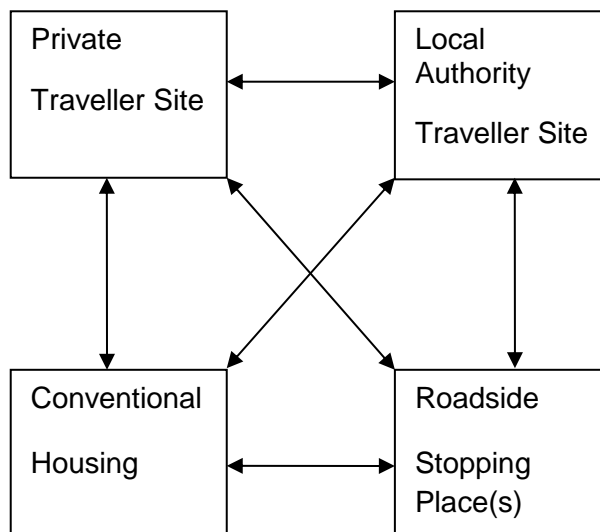
Sub-dimensions:



I produced individual Nomadist accounts of ‘suitability’ as uniquely constructed in relation to particular versions of *ideal* ‘Dual accommodation’ for particular versions of ‘nomadic residence’. However, within the *generalised* ‘Traveller dominant majority’ representation of any accommodation represented as Accessible, Authorised and Affordable, usually as also ‘Suitable’, through triangulation I was able to produce the above themes and sub-dimensions as (broadly) shared.

I further produced a locally-oriented, *generalised* Nomadist representation of ‘types of accommodation *potentially available* to Travellers in the Stramshire area’; four contrasting categories in multiple binary categorisation relationships,

Figure 29: Nomadist representation of ‘types of accommodation’



and constructed a summary account of these accommodation categories referenced to the Good/Bad continuum of the *generalised* Modern Nomadic construction of 'Dual' accommodation.

Roadside Stopping Place/s

These were usually constructed from the Nomadist perspective as 'normal', *temporary* places of nomadic *on-route/road* residential stillness, as remaining intrinsic to many versions of the 'Modern' nomadic lifeway/residence mode, and (when 'tolerated' by Sedentary society), as holistically accommodating of the practices of nomadic residence. Stopping Places were often represented positively:

P2: ... I can honestly say that it's lovely, lovely out travelling(...)

However, the facilities available at the temporary stopping place were very clearly produced as not equal to 'normal' sedentary or dual/stopping place/site standards. Temporary stopping places were also constructed as *not* 'tolerated' by Sedentary society, difficult to achieve without risking criminalisation,

P1: If we [...] said [to the young couples 'doubling up' on Ivyhill Park and other local authorized Traveller sites], "no, you can't stay on our plots, go[...] and stop on the side of the road [...]" people would be stopping all around Stramshire [...] They would charge them with section 66 or something [...] and move them, you have 28 days, and you're not allowed to pull back into that area [...] they will bring you to court[...]²¹⁴

and as commonly producing negative interactions with/exclusion from the sedentary world:

²¹⁴ Excerpt from group Interview 1, with 4 adult female Irish Traveller Ivyhill Park site residents, on-site, 2009

P1: ... *If there was what there was, ten, fifteen year ago [...] you could roam the roads, and not be... instantly harassed [...] bullied... 'get out of our town' [...Now,] you're barely in [...] when the police and council are down...[...]* "No, we'll have nothing to do with ye. Pack up, you've got 24 hours to get out"...
[...]

P3: *In other words, "You're vermin. Get out."*²¹⁵

While such 'stopping places' were produced as 'normal' from a Nomadist perspective, they were simultaneously represented as 'other' than, and a 'Bad' substitute for, Modern 'Dual' accommodation.

Conventional Housing

Conventional *Social* Housing was generally constructed from this perspective as relatively 'accessible' and 'affordable', with 'normal' standard facilities. However, it was simultaneously constructed as 'not nomadic', and as productive of the *assimilation* of Travellers to sedentarism, rather than nomadic residential *inclusion* or *integration*. In my data, conventional housing was *generally* constructed as 'other' than 'Dual' accommodation:

P10 [...] *a lot of the older, elderly, travelling people, they can't cope with being in a 'home'. We don't like to put them in care...*²¹⁶

and as productive of nomadic 'liminality' or 'deviance':

²¹⁵ Excerpt from group Interview 1, with 4 adult female Irish Traveller Ivyhill Park site residents, on-site, 2009

²¹⁶ Excerpt from Interview 5, with adult male Fairground Traveller residing roadside and in private sites (authorised and unauthorised) in the general Stramshire area, 2009

Travellers told to leave (Stramshire Town) site

A [...Romany Gypsy] family [...] has set up camp on disused district council land. [...] A member of the family said: [...]

“We don’t want to go into council housing because we will be living next to druggies and (...)the children will be bullied. We want a permanent place to stay in the travelling community.”²¹⁷

Although rarely mentioned, ‘Privately-owned (conventional) Housing’ was constructed in similar terms; although ‘authorised’, this was generally produced as ‘not nomadic’/‘sedentarising’ and additionally, ‘unaffordable’ (and thus financially ‘inaccessible’).

By contrast, I located several more positive constructions of ‘houses’ in a broader sense of fixed/static ‘Bricks and Mortar accommodation’:

P25 I’d like to have a house [...] like, a brick built bungalow with plenty of land around it. I’d like to be able to say “you’re welcome to” if anyone wanted to stay in my yard. The [Local Authority] sites [...] are cramped and small. If it was ideal, the boys would have their own trailer each [..., and] there’s always someone in one of the families getting married and needing a plot...²¹⁸

The above discursive metamorphosis of a ‘house’ into the central ‘Dual’ accommodation of a ‘Modern’ Travellers’ ‘yard’ (site) is illustrative of multiple Nomadist constructions I noted in my data of ‘Bricks and Mortar’ (distinct from ‘(conventional) Housing’) as a crucial component of *idealised* ‘Dual accommodation’.

²¹⁷ Excerpt from Stramshire Local News online article, 2006, accessed 2007, emphasis added

²¹⁸ Excerpt from Interview 17, with young adult female Traveller resident of Ivyhill Park, off-site by request, 2009

Private Site

The generalised entity of the 'Private Traveller Site' was represented from this perspective as a self-governed, flexible, *ideally* and holistically nomadic residential context,

*P10 Private [sites] are run well, they're nice(...)*²¹⁹

potentially with facilities comparing favourably to 'normal' sedentary accommodation, and generally offering satisfactory opportunities for nomadic inclusion and interaction within the sedentary world. However, it was generally constructed as, simultaneously, as extremely 'suitable', and difficult to 'access', prohibitively expensive, and the least likely type of permanent 'dual' Traveller accommodation to be 'authorised',

*P10 [We lived somewhere] temporary, but it wasn't owned by us[...] a private landowner said, oh yes, you can stop here for 500 quid, then it got dearer and dearer [...] I've been struggling with planning since 1984 [when] I left my dad's yard. We just outgrew it [...]*²²⁰

and thus, as scarce, and often overcrowded:

*P10 We were at [local Private site], for a while [...] They were over-full [...] moved everything around to squeeze us in 'cause there was nowhere to go, just to get us off the road.*²²¹

Local Authority Site

The generalised 'Local Authority site' in this local area was represented in Nomadist constructions as universally 'authorised' and comparatively 'affordable', and thus, more

²¹⁹ Excerpt from Interview 5, with adult male Fairground Traveller residing roadside and in private sites (authorised and unauthorised) in the general Stramshire area, 2009

²²⁰ Excerpt from Interview 5, (see footnote 237 above)

²²¹ Excerpt from Interview 5, (see footnote 237 above)

'accessible' than a private site. However, on the dimension of 'suitability', it was contrasted on multiple dimensions to all of the other types of accommodation, in a contradictory and somewhat confusing way. In relation to 'Housing' it was produced as 'safer',

*P9: (...)living on [Ivyhill Park site] is better than living in a house(...) because everyone's around. It's better for safety(...)*²²²

but, in contrast to either conventional Housing or the Private site, as internally poorly-resourced, -constructed and -managed, and as inhibiting of positive nomadic-sedentary interaction and integration, especially with regard to socio-geographical location;

*P14: My toilet broke... they didn't fix it for eight months. I said to [Case Site 2 Manager], at least you go home every day and you've got a toilet in your house...*²²³

*P22: Private sites are in nicer places [...] They put [Local Authority sites] in places where nobody would want to live [...] away from people [...].*²²⁴

In relation to roadside stopping places, Local Authority sites were constructed as productive of less nomadic-sedentary conflict, internally better-resourced, and as enabling better access to essential services and facilities,

R: Would you prefer [to travel/live roadside full time], if it was allowed?

*P23: I prefer now, to be... like...where we are [licensees on a permanent pitch at Gorsecroft site...] with the kids [...] at school and stuff...*²²⁵

²²² Excerpt from joint Interview 4, with 2 teenage female Irish Traveller Ivyhill Park residents, off-site, 2009

²²³ Excerpt from joint Interview 8, with adult female (P14) and teenage female Irish Traveller Gorsecroft residents, on-site, 2009

²²⁴ Excerpt from Interview 15, with Settled female Stramshire Local Authority Education worker, direct experience of both case sites and residents, and other Travellers in the area, 2009.

²²⁵ Excerpt from joint Interview 16, with adult female Irish Traveller Gorsecroft site resident and

but as more restrictive of the nomadic residential mode, and more 'sedentary', than either (tolerated) roadside stopping places or private sites:

R: *[...] is it like council housing here [Ivyhill Park site], where you can't leave for very long otherwise you, you know, get in trouble*

P1: *We're not meant to, no...*

P2: *You're allowed a two-week 'holiday' [...]*

R: *So... is the way it's been licensed [...] is it another way that's stopping your traditional...?*

P3: *[...] they said 'we'll take into account your way of life', and it's like...*

P1: *No they don't!*

P3: *...they don't take it into account... [...]*²²⁶

Finally, in relation to all three of the other main 'accommodation' categories, the 'Local Authority Site' was represented as more 'isolating':

P3: *The Councils put us in horrific [places]. No other group of people are put underneath a motorway, guaranteed... beside lakes, railways, slip road, you got the trains, when it floods it really floods [...] but still, we're hid, and that's what they want, they want you to be hid from the people...*²²⁷

I thus produced a Nomadist representation of '*generalised* Accommodation for Travellers in Stramshire' in which descriptions of backgrounded 'other' accommodation categories were primarily employed in a complex web of binary contrasts, by means of a range of discursive mechanisms, in the production, and foregrounding, of the '*generalised* Local Authority Site' as '**more likely to be authorised/affordable/**

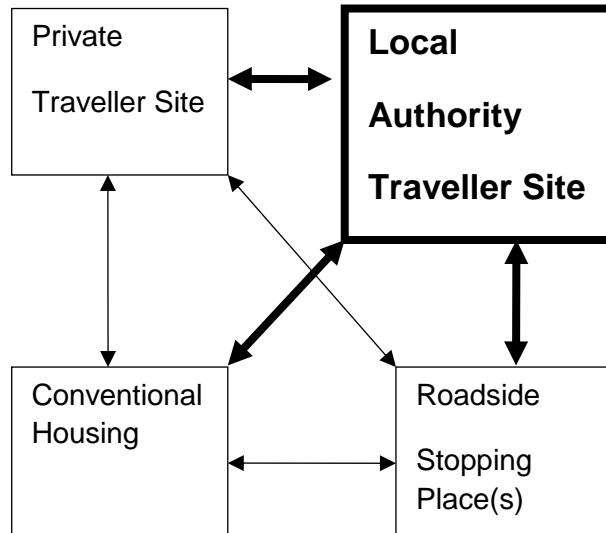
12-year old daughter, on-site, 2009

²²⁶ Excerpt from group Interview 1, with 4 adult female Irish Traveller Ivyhill Park site residents, on-site, 2009

²²⁷ Excerpt from group Interview 1, with 4 female Traveller residents of Ivyhill Park site, on-site, 2007. See also photographs 1-5, Appendix 4.

accessible’ than the Private site, and as **‘more suitable**’ ‘Dual’ accommodation than the categories generally constructed as *‘not Nomadic*’ (Housing), and *‘not Modern*’ (full-time roadside-dwelling).

Figure 30. Nomadist generalised representation of accommodation for Travellers in Stramshire



However, regarding its ‘suitability’ in relation to *idealised* constructions of Modern nomadic ‘Dual’ Accommodation, I produced it almost universally as ‘Poor’:

Figure 31. Nomadist representation of ‘Suitability’ of accommodation for Travellers in Stramshire, in relation to idealised constructions

	‘Good Accommodation’ ‘Suitable for ‘Nomadic residence’	(‘Acceptable’)	(‘Poor’)	Bad Accommodation’ ‘Unsuitable for ‘Nomadic residence’
Nomadic Residential Difference	Private Site/ Stopping place		Local Authority Site	Housing
Nomadic Residential Equality	Private Site/Housing		Local Authority Site	Stopping place
Nomadic Residential Inclusion/ Integration	Private site/Housing		Local authority Site	Stopping place

Furthermore, I also identified another discursive irregularity: In spite of Nomadist constructions of the *hypothetical* Local Authority site as ‘accessible’ in comparison to its ‘Private’ counterpart category, I repeatedly noted accounts of *actual* Local Authority sites in Stramshire, similar to those produced in relation to the Private site, as ***inaccessible***:

Travellers told to leave (Stramshire Town) site

A [...Romany Gypsy] family [...] has set up camp on disused district council land. [...] A member of the family said: [...] “*All we want is to get a place at [named Local Authority Traveller Site...] **We have been on the waiting list seven years** [...]*”²²⁸

*P25: [Ivyhill Park is] very... packed, there’s not very much room for everyone to live in[...]There are loads of [married couples in their twenties, with children] haven’t got their own plot. There can be three or four [families] in the same plot.*²²⁹

In order to further explore my generalised Nomadist constructions of the ‘poverty of suitability’ as ‘Dual’ accommodation, and the conflicted construction as (hypothetically, but not actually) ‘accessible’, of Local Authority sites, I again turned to closer investigation of the discursive construction of my two specific case sites.

7.2.3 The social construction of Two Local Authority Traveller Sites in Nomadist Discourse

As discussed in Chapter 4, my position during fieldwork was that of ‘privileged outsider’ in relation to some Stramshire Traveller families, and the decision to limit my ‘Settled’ data collection activities enabled me to produce a comparatively large database of very

²²⁸ Excerpt from Local News online article 2006, accessed 2007, emphasis added

²²⁹ Excerpt from Interview 17, with young adult female Traveller resident of Ivyhill Park site, off-site by request, 2009

rich interview and participant observation material from Travellers. While bringing its own challenges, this allowed for good ‘saturation’ of this part of my analysis.

Although the overwhelming majority of people I had identified in my data-collection phase as taking a ‘Nomadistic’ perspective self-identified as ‘Modern’ Travellers, as previously mentioned this socio-discursive category was not *exclusively* populated by residentially nomadic people; some of the research material from which I was able to produce ‘Nomadist’ constructions originated from non-Traveller sources.

Although the description of each individual case site was unique, I was able to triangulate across the four main analytical dimensions discussed in the last section. I produced the specific case sites both individually and collectively as ‘authorised’ and ‘affordable’, but as having equally poor general ‘suitability’ as Dual accommodation:

‘Suitability’ Theme 1: Nomadic Residential Difference

Both sites were produced as *nomadically* isolated, ‘off-road/route’ residential entities:

P1: *[...] we are like the [...] Red Indians. You know, you’re not allowed to go your own way, you’re gonna(...) they’ve got their... err [...]*

P3: *Reservations. And it’s like you’ve put them in a... open jail.*²³⁰

R: *[What do...] other Travellers [...], think of this site [Gorsecroft]?*

P23: *They think it’s very isolated as well [...]*

R: *Why do you think it was put here?*

P23: *Because [...] they stick the Travellers really anywhere don’t they? Just to get them off the road, basically.*²³¹

²³⁰ Excerpt from group interview 1, with 4 adult female Irish Traveller Ivyhill Park residents, on-site, 2009

²³¹ Excerpt from joint Interview 16, with adult female Irish Traveller Gorsecroft resident and 12-year old daughter, on-site, 2009. See also Photographs 8-18, 26, Appendix 4.

The (generic) site rules and regulations were constructed as particularly controlling/restrictive of nomadic residence, especially of practices explicitly linked to nomadic residential *motion*:

P8: *...If they [Ivyhill Park management staff] came in nice [...] talked to us nice [...] but they come in trying to 'boss' us. They don't do that to people in houses. [...] If they won't make a new site, and they won't let us put trailers on the side of the road, and we can't have more trailers on the site, where are we meant to go?*²³²

P13: *Our family were scattered in here to begin with. But when other people left, we moved up [the site], to get away from the flooding and be all together. They were going to evict us for moving [pitch].*²³³

Both sites were very explicitly constructed as 'sedentarising':

R: *[...] so the way it's been licensed [...] is another way that's stopping... your... traditional...?*

P3: *[...] they said "we'll take into account your way of life", and it's like...*

P1: *No they don't*

P3: *...they don't take it into account...[...]*

[...]

P1: *If they could just get rid of the site, this is my opinion...*

P3: *...And put us in houses...*

P1: *...They would do it...*

P3: *...in the blink of an eye. They would dissect us [...]*²³⁴

²³² Excerpt from joint Interview 4, with 2 teenage female Irish Traveller Ivyhill Park residents, off-site, 2009

²³³ Excerpt from Interview 7, with young adult female Traveller Gorsecroft resident, on-site, 2009

²³⁴ Excerpt from group Interview 1 with 4 adult female Irish Traveller Ivyhill Park residents, on-site, 2009

Finally, the design/construction of both case sites was represented as inappropriate for nomadic residence:

*P8: The plots are too small, close together [...]. There should be more of a space... the [chalets] are wood, so if one went up in flames, the next one would [...] too. [...]*²³⁵

'Suitability' Theme 2: Nomadic Residential Equality:

Both case sites were produced as 'unsafe', but Gorsecroft more especially, in relation to its spatial layout and geographical positioning:

P14: You see them, silver gates there? Well [...] the kids can fit through [...]

R: Really, to the sewage...?

*P14: Yeah. And [Gorsecroft Site Manager] keeps saying, if one of the children falls in they're gonna be found dead [...]*²³⁶

*P20 The concealed entrance is very dangerous. I asked [Gorsecroft Site Manager] to put a sign up, and he said there would have to be a few accidents first. They said it's too dangerous for the school bus to come in, but it's ok by them for our kids to walk up to the layby to get on it...*²³⁷

In relation to security, Ivyhill Park and Gorsecroft were produced differently. Ivyhill Park, occupied solely by one large extended family, was constructed as relatively secure, whilst Gorsecroft, occupied by several unrelated individual or smaller extended family groups, as very insecure:

P3: If a strange car comes into the site [Ivyhill Park], you'll get several of the

²³⁵ Excerpt from joint Interview 4, with 2 teenage female Irish Traveller Ivyhill Park residents, off-site, 2009

²³⁶ Excerpt from joint Interview 8, with adult female and teenage female Irish Traveller Gorsecroft residents, on-site, 2009. See also Photographs 14 and 15, Appendix 4.

²³⁷ Excerpt from Interview 13, with adult female Irish Traveller Gorsecroft resident, on-site, 2009. See also Photographs 16-18, Appendix 4.

elder members of this community, goin' out[...] you'll get a couple of the men around, they'll say, 'excuse me, can we help ya?'²³⁸

P23: We're in danger of our lives in here at the moment, as I explained to you a while back[...]²³⁹

[Prior] "Conversation with P23/[...] some men claiming somebody on site owed them money recently came over the fence/ threatened the [extended] family concerned with guns/ broke windows/ set a trailer alight. Police were called, did not attend until the next day[...]"²⁴⁰

Both sites were produced as vulnerable to invasion of privacy:

P25: The dual carriageway is facing us [Ivyhill Park site] and [Settled] people can walk past and look down and see us.²⁴¹

P8: I don't like it when the Council [site management team] comes in to the [Ivyhill Park] site. They want to put cameras on us and watch us, they said we have to give them notice before we have visitors come. That's none of their business who we have come.²⁴²

Finally, the site facilities provided were represented in both cases as poorly designed, constructed and maintained, often most comparable to a 'tolerated' stopping place:

P8: [The sheds] are all broken [...] We've got a faulty shower, and [...] the shower and the toilet [are] together, in a tiny room [...]

²³⁸ Excerpt from group Interview 1, with 4 adult female Irish Traveller Ivyhill Park site residents, on-site, 2009

²³⁹ Excerpt from joint Interview 16, with adult female Irish Traveller Gorsecroft site resident and 12-year old daughter, on-site, 2009

²⁴⁰ Excerpt from P/O notes made during/after afternoon spent informally with Irish Traveller families on Gorsecroft site, 2009

²⁴¹ Excerpt from Interview 17, with young adult female Traveller Ivyhill Park resident, off-site by request, 2009

²⁴² Excerpt from joint Interview 4, with 2 teenage female Irish Traveller Ivyhill Park residents, off-site, 2009

P9: *Yes, it's all too small. But it's how you live your life. They [Ivyhill Park Site Management] wouldn't like it, but it's how they make us live.*²⁴³

P14: *My toilet broke... they didn't fix it for eight months. I said to [Gorsecroft site manager], at least you go home every day and you've got a toilet in your house [...]*²⁴⁴

P18: *When it rains my plot floods. We told [Gorsecroft Site Manager], took pictures, but they never sorted it. My husband tried to make a gully but it doesn't fix the problem completely. It's unhealthy [...] it smells [...] I'm afraid my kids will get meningitis...*²⁴⁵

*Went for a walk around Gorsecroft with D [husband of P18]. Showed me dirty road/ blocked drains/ channel he had tried to make outside perimeter fence to drain off regular standing flood-water from his plot. Noticeable smell of sewage.*²⁴⁶

'Suitability' Theme 3: Nomadic Residential Inclusion/Integration.

Both sites were constructed as having very poor access to essential off-site services and facilities:

P1: *[Gorsecroft Site is...] sort of, in the middle of nowhere.*

P2: *You have to drive.*

P3: *I don't drive [...] I have to rely on others. "[Sister], or [Niece], are you going shops? Well, can I come wit' ya?"*²⁴⁷

²⁴³ Excerpt from joint Interview 4, with 2 teenage female Irish Traveller Ivyhill Park residents, off-site, 2009.

²⁴⁴ Excerpt from joint Interview 8, with adult female and teenage female Irish Traveller Gorsecroft residents, on-site, 2009

²⁴⁵ Excerpt from joint Interview 11, with adult female Irish Traveller (in the presence of non-participating husband) resident of Gorsecroft, on-site, 2009

²⁴⁶ Excerpt from P/O notes made during/after afternoon spent both informally and conducting interviews with Irish Traveller families on Gorsecroft site, 2009. See also photographs 22-24, Appendix 4.

²⁴⁷ Excerpt from group Interview 1, with 4 adult female Irish Traveller Ivyhill Park site residents, on-site, 2009

P23: *The first thing about the [Gorsecroft] site, it's very isolated where we live, [...] We're in the middle of [...] roads and two motorways, so there really is nowhere to walk [safely]...[...]*²⁴⁸

Finally, both sites were produced as offering poor opportunities for positive interaction and integration with the local community:

P13: *The [Gorsecroft] site isolated- we're not part of any community except for our own. [We are not part of] anything going on in the village. I would like to live in walking distance of a job, a community, shops[...]*²⁴⁹

P25: *...it's kinda, they 'vanished' us [Ivyhill Park residents]. "Keep 'em out the way, so they won't be seen".*²⁵⁰

P22: *...Neither [case site] is on prime housing development land. Ivyhill Park gets flooded. Gorsecroft is...sort of... you wouldn't know it was there...it's just sort of... gorse bushes [...] They are isolated... shut off, hemmed in by a triangle of two motorways and another arterial road. The nearest village is [Name of village], but they don't belong [politically] to [nearest village].
[...]
Private sites are in nicer places [...They] put [Local Authority sites] in places where nobody would want to live [...] away from people [...]*²⁵¹

Older site resident/ *"I can't use my own [Ivyhill Park] address, my own postcode, for anything. It's like living in a leprosy colony"*²⁵²

²⁴⁸ Excerpt from joint Interview 16, with adult female Irish Traveller Gorsecroft site resident and 12-year old daughter, on-site, 2009. See also Photographs 8-18, 26, Appendix 4

²⁴⁹ Excerpt from Interview 7, with young adult female Traveller Gorsecroft site resident, 2009. See also Photographs 8-18, 26, Appendix 4.

²⁵⁰ Excerpt from Interview 17, with young adult female Traveller resident of Ivyhill Park site, off-site by request, 2009

²⁵¹ Excerpt from Interview 15, with Settled female Stramshire Local Authority Education worker, direct experience of both case sites and residents, and other Travellers in the area, 2009

²⁵² Excerpt from P/O notes made during Irish Travellers' meeting with FFT advisor about Local

The case sites were nevertheless also universally produced as in great demand, as the *only* type of accommodation in Stramshire that was ‘more nomadic’ than housing, ‘more modern’ and ‘less productive of nomadic-sedentary conflict’ than full-time roadside-dwelling, and ‘more (potentially) accessible’ than the private site. However, a parallel discursive irregularity to that outlined in the previous section of this chapter remained unresolved at this level too; the two actual case sites were repeatedly constructed as ‘(over-)full’ and thus **inaccessible** (in any authorised/legitimate way) **for prospective new residents:**

P25: *[Ivyhill Park is] very... packed... there’s not very much room for everyone to live in[...]. There are loads of [married couples in their twenties with children] haven’t got their own plot. There can be three or four [families] in the same plot.*²⁵³

Older resident of Ivyhill Park site, during discussion about need for more pitches and new sites/ “...it [Ivyhill Park] is a concentration camp”²⁵⁴

P1: *They say... they have said there’s a waiting list to get into the site... but [...] you couldn’t just let a stranger move in [...] Because we have children growing up who needs plots[...]*²⁵⁵

P23: *A few of my family [were already living in the site]... I was in a B&B in [other City], with small kids...I was very depressed...I left, came here...I was in my mum and dads’ [plot] for eight months, I had nowhere else to go, and then this bay became available.*

R: *And did that happen by applying to the waiting list, or did it just happen, sort of, through family talking to [Site manager]...?*

Authority Site provision/refurbishment, at community venue near to Ivyhill Park site, 2009
²⁵³ Excerpt from Interview 17, with young adult female Traveller resident of Ivyhill Park site, off-site by request, 2009

²⁵⁴ Excerpt from P/O notes made during Irish Travellers’ meeting with FFT advisor about Local Authority Site provision/refurbishment, at community venue near to Ivyhill Park site, 2009

²⁵⁵ Excerpt from group Interview 1, with 4 adult female Irish Traveller Ivyhill Park site residents, on-site, 2009

P23: *Um, my family 'had a word' [...]*²⁵⁶

I identified this representation of the 'poor suitability' and 'inaccessibility' of the case sites as a *collaborative* construction of all the 'Nomadists' who participated, whether Traveller or Settled. However, within this fundamental agreement I was again able to produce 'Modern nomadist' and 'Sedentary nomadist' socio-discursive sub-variants, albeit with much blurring and overlap between them. The most common 'Modern Nomadist' construction I identified represented the two Local Authority sites, most often through explicit binary contrasts with 'other' accommodation types and strong metaphorical description, as '**liminal**' residential entities, 'suspended' to some degree between the nomadic and sedentary 'worlds'; 'off-road' and 'permanently static', and thus 'more sedentary' than the private site; 'more nomadic' than housing, but with physical conditions and regulatory/disciplinary controls most comparable to those of the roadside stopping place. The most typical 'Sedentary Nomadist' construction I noted was different, but complementary to this, also representing the sites as '**liminal**', but geo-socio-politically, *within* the sedentary world: physically bordered and concealed, in geographically isolated, socially marginalised, 'dirty'/'polluted' *non-residential* locations, distant and/or dangerous on foot to and from the nearest sedentary settlements, and politically suspended on boundaries between district councils.

I further noticed a discursive conflict between these sub-perspectives. The (in my research) exclusively *Traveller* 'Modern nomadist' category 'interpreted' the poor suitability/lack of supply of sites as representing *active and direct sedentarist rejection, exclusion, (racial/ethnic) persecution, and forced assimilation to sedentarism, of nomadic people*. This was repeatedly represented, as in some of the Nomadist constructions I had produced at the national level, through the use of the discursive

²⁵⁶ Excerpt from Interview 16, with adult female Irish Traveller Gorsecroft site resident, (continued alone after 12-year-old daughter went out), on-site, 2009

technique of descriptive metaphor to build the facticity of the injustice and extremity of the situation as constructed from the Nomadist perspective, through the creation of universally-comprehensible *intertexts*:

'...Red Indian reservation'

'...Open prison'

'...Leprosy colony'

'...Concentration camp'

R: ...so...you think [Ivyhill Park site] is for... trying to control you, by the sound of it?...

P3: Yeah, I think they would like to...

R: ...what... can you give me some examples of what you think they would want to stop you doing[...]?

P3 No...

P1: No... I don't know... I really... [pause] ...I cannot say what they would stop me from doing, right... but when I see [Ivyhill Park Site managers], I do feel that if they could... they would...hmm! You know... [fierce voice] "you WILL live in that house, and you WILL live like a 'country person', and you have no choice"...

P3: Yeah.

P1: ...you know, [fierce voice] "you have a number on your head, and that's it"..."²⁵⁷

In relation to this, I produced further strong, multiple representations of 'resistance'

P19: ...when I first came to know them they were doing a lot more Travelling[...] I think they settled down [...] more because of the kids being in school [...] **but they still don't want to lose it...**²⁵⁸

²⁵⁷ Excerpt from group Interview 1, with 4 adult female Irish Traveller Ivyhill Park residents, on-site, 2009

²⁵⁸ Excerpt from Interview 12, with adult female Settled resident of 'Greater Stramington' area, direct experience of Ivyhill Park site and residents, 2009

P1: *[...] I've gone travelling, and I've stopped on other [Local Authority] sites, so like, other Travellers have gone travelling, and I've gone into their place 'an that [...]*²⁵⁹

P16: *[Over about 10 years] all they've done is put fencing up, the shed windows, and a bit of the road. **We've done the rest [maintenance/site development] ourselves.** [They get] money for nothing.*²⁶⁰

P6: *In front, they've put all them big rocks... **If [Ivyhill Park Site Manager] would just put a nice little five foot fence up there,** it would still stop [local Settled] people fly tipping...*

P7: *And would look a lot nicer, more like a home,*

P6: *...it wouldn't look like a war zone...*²⁶¹

By contrast, the 'Sedentary Nomadists' tended to interpret the universally agreed 'poor suitability' and 'inaccessibility' of the sites more as resulting indirectly and/or inadvertently from poor understanding of *nomadism* on the part Settled people, lack of communication or misunderstandings between Local Authority employees responsible for the construction and maintenance of sites and the Traveller residents, and tension/conflict between *Settled people* and the Local Authority:

P5: *[...] they [the Ivyhill Park residents] are very cut off [...] when I first met them they said they're very much put out in the middle, separate from communities [...] I think that creates a barrier...*

R: *Yeah...*

P5: *...um, for them...and for...[Settled people... there are actual physical barriers, the bypass, railway, river...]...I remember them saying as well they'd had loads of trees... [put in, and] they thought [the Council was] trying to cut them off from people even more, and so*

²⁵⁹ Excerpt from group Interview 1, with 4 adult female Irish Traveller Ivyhill Park site residents, on-site, 2009

²⁶⁰ Excerpt from Interview 9, with adult male Irish Traveller Gorsecroft resident, non-participating wife present throughout visit, on-site, 2009

²⁶¹ Excerpt from joint Interview 3, with Irish Traveller married couple, Ivyhill Park residents, on-site, 2009. See also Photographs 1 and 2, Appendix 4.

they cut them down...

R: *Was that [your] impression from what they[...] said, [...] that they felt the meaning of that was...*

P5: *Yes...to cut them off... whereas I think perhaps the council did mean...it was just for shade, because [...] I've been there in the summer...and it's [...] boiling hot... there's no greenery, it's very... concretey...²⁶²*

P22: *The Local Authority are under pressure [...] to keep [Traveller Sites] away from people that might complain... **The Council is stuck between the Travellers and Settled people** [...]²⁶³*

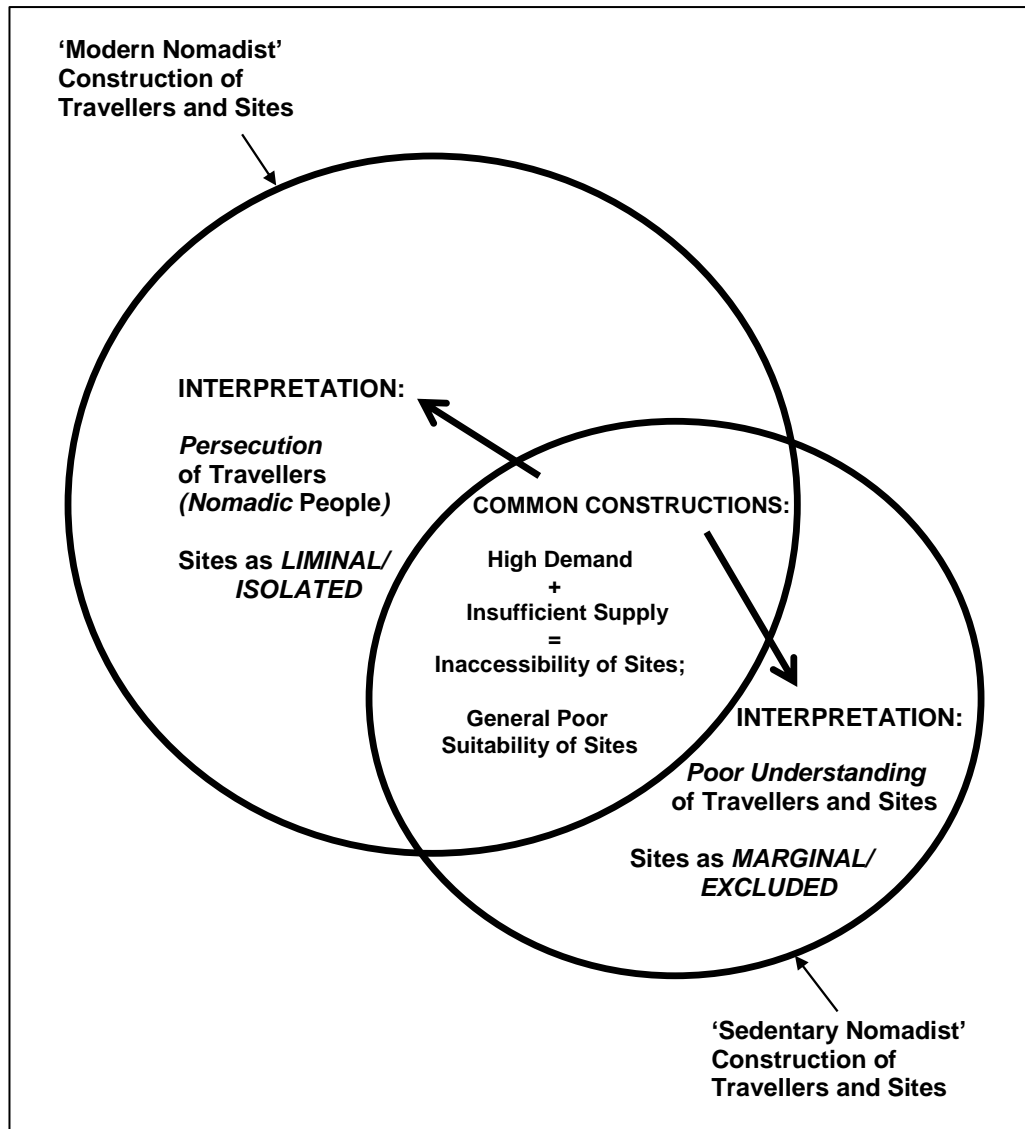
Again, the construction contained a seemingly irreducible conflict; this time, in relation to a generally agreed cross-sub-categorical representation, I had identified apparently conflicting representations of the 'meaning' of the shared construction (illustrated in figure 32, overleaf).

For the second time, I had brought my analysis to the case site level, and produced within my account irreducible anomaly and conflict for which I was unable to construct any resolution or understanding within the Nomadistic paradigm. In order to attempt to understand both these and the similar anomaly produced in my analysis of Sedentarist discourse, and to formalise an answer to my Research Question, I returned to my analytical framework, to explore the possibility of *integration* of the different paradigmatic constructions within an explicitly and directly **Bi-modal** analysis of 'Travellers and Accommodation'.

²⁶² Excerpt from Interview 2, with Settled female Stramshire Local Authority Education worker, direct experience of Ivyhill Park site and residents

²⁶³ Excerpt from Interview 15, with Settled female Stramshire Local Authority Education worker, direct experience of both case sites and residents, and other Travellers in the area, 2009

Figure 32. Nomadist constructions of Travellers and Sites in Stramshire



7.3 Chapter 7 Conclusion: Summary of local-level analysis

In this chapter, I have explained how, from data collected at the local level, I was able to reproduce descriptions of 'Travellers' and 'Sites' (and in particular, the 'Local Authority Traveller Site') very similar to those discussed in Chapter 6.

I have described how I deconstructed local Sedentarist discourse into two sub-variants, which I termed '**Mono-sedentarist**' and '**Multi-sedentarist**', and how I similarly sub-

divided local Nomadist discourse into '**Modern Nomadist**' and '**Sedentary Nomadist**' perspectives. Local Mono-sedentaristic constructions had an **abnormalising** action orientation, contrasting 'Travellers' as entirely '(still-) nomadic', and *residentially deviant*, with the sedentary majority, and 'Traveller Sites' as 'illegitimate'/deviant (whether or not 'Authorised') with Housing. Local 'Multi-sedentaristic' constructions were oriented to **normalisation**, producing the majority of 'Travellers' as a 'post-nomadic' (alternatively sedentary), *residentially normal* 'ethnic minority group', 'nomadism' (*abstract*) as 'legitimate', and 'Local Authority Traveller Sites' as residentially and culturally '(alternatively) normal'.

However, within this paradigm, I identified two new contrasting '(still-)nomadic' sub-categories: the '(residentially) **liminal**/'**Homeless**/'**Would-be Post-nomadic**' (i.e. '*residentially deprived*') Traveller', and the 'Traveller who remains **(still-)nomadic** by **choice**'; both employed in representing the 'post-nomadic' variant as the Traveller 'norm'.

In 'multi-sedentarist' constructions, the same discursive 'disjoint' was present in relation to 'abstract' and 'actual' Travellers and sites as discussed in Chapter 6. Additionally, the data contained an (initially) inexplicable discursive irregularity; a further dominant, but (within the context) seemingly superfluous, binary contrast of the (Authorised) Local Authority Site with the *Unauthorised Encampment*. In some of the data, Mono-sedentaristic and Multi-sedentaristic representations were 'intertwined', producing the Local Authority Sites as '**post-nomadic** and **not (still-) nomadic**' (and thus collectively as an actual, local '**merged**' version of the national-level Local Authority site binary). On further analysis it thus appeared that the irregularity previously noted was, due to there being no 'legitimate' provision for 'active' nomadism in Stramshire, an attempt to represent the 'Local Authority Site' positively as 'post-nomadic', but also as *not a 'Transit Site'/not (still-)nomadic*'.

I thus was able to resolve the anomaly previously identified. However, whilst both of these discursive sub-variants produced 'sedentarism' as the Traveller 'dominant cultural norm', sharing an overarching 'action orientation' of '**Sedentarisation**' (of Travellers), the divergent ways in which they discursively attempted this represented a continuing, deep, and seemingly irreducible conflict *internal* to the 'Sedentarist' paradigm.

The Nomadist construction that I was able to develop from the locally-sourced data was a universally shared representation, familiar from Chapter 6, of 'residence' as having two distinct, *equally normative* modes (for Travellers and Settled people respectively). 'Traveller' groups, were constructed as (residentially) 'normal', 'liminal' or 'deviant' in reference to the wide range of practices, of a (generalised) 'Traveller majority', relating to *nomadic 'stillness' and 'motion'*, and *frequency of alternations between these two states*.

All of the Traveller sub-categories broadly shared a dominant majority '(ideal) norm' of *nomadic residence, to and from a* (Sedentaristically) '*legitimate*' '*Dual Stopping place/Site*', on a *road/route*, in an *area*. Local representations of '*Accommodation for the 'normal' Traveller majority*' were again produced in terms of 'good and bad sites', by reference to a complex construction of categorisation continua. I attempted to outline *generalised* and *actual* Nomadist representations of four 'types of accommodation available to Travellers', including the Local Authority Traveller Site; describing multiple binary categorisation relationships between the types in reference to the 'good/bad site' continua. In these local 'Nomadist' representations, I again identified a seemingly irreducible discursive irregularity: constructions of the '*generalised* Local Authority Site' contained an internal conflict and differed significantly from constructions of '*actual* Local Authority sites'.

I have further explained that I identified some of the Nomadist representations derived from my local data as being from 'non-Traveller', but also 'non-Sedentarist' sources, including that which I generated from my own 'academic' perspective. I initially termed these '**Sedentary Nomadist**', characterised as a 'Settled' perspective from which both Sedentary and Nomadic modes of residence are constructed as 'normal'. I then found that some 'Sedentary Nomadist' constructions corresponded with those of the 'Modern Nomadist' perspective, and more rarely, vice versa. Exploring this 'blurring', I produced a deconstruction of both of my main socio-discursive 'Nomadist' sub-categories, with parallel sub-sub categories, which I termed, in both cases, the '**Naïve**' and the '**Bi-modal**'. The 'Naïve' variant within both Nomadist sub-categories produced 'micro' accounts of individual Traveller sub-groups, whilst the 'Bi-modal' variants, which always appeared to be socially produced and maintained through *direct discursive interaction* between Travellers and Settled people, produced 'macro' versions of Travellers as a residentially broadly homogenous, but otherwise diverse collective, In both cases, a binary parallel was constructed with the (again, residentially broadly homogenous, but otherwise diverse) category 'Settled People'.

I produced my Nomadist representation of the case sites in relation to the 'good/bad' continua and to other types of Traveller accommodation as the relatively harmonious, *collaborative* construction, regardless of the Nomadist sub-category of the contributors. However, within this fundamental agreement, albeit with much overlap, I was able to produce further, differing 'Modern Nomadist' and 'Sedentary Nomadist' sub-discourses of the sites. Some of these remained complementary, but I identified one striking, and again seemingly irreducible, discursive conflict between these sub-perspectives, regarding their respective 'interpretations' of the meaning of the (otherwise universally agreed) continua-related aspects of *poor suitability* and *lack of supply* in relation to actual sites in Stramshire.

In this chapter, I have described the production of several intractable anomalies in my separate analyses of local-level Sedentarist and Nomadist discourse. In the next (and final analysis) chapter, I will explain how I developed a better understanding of these, and ultimately achieved their resolution, through return to my analytical framework in order to *integrate* the different paradigmatic constructions developed thus far within an explicitly, and more actively, ***Bi-modal*** analysis.

CHAPTER 8: ANALYSIS IV. Final integrated bi-modal analysis of discursive conflict, answer to research question, and final thoughts on the socially constructive potential of the socially constructed Local Authority Traveller Site

In this final short 'analysis' chapter, I will describe my attempt to produce, using the same socio-discursive analytical framework developed and refined in the previous three chapters, a 'bi-modal' integration and generalization of the specific findings of my earlier analyses. In so doing I will offer an integrated resolution to the seemingly irreducible discursive anomalies identified in Chapter 7. I will follow this with a final, summarised answer to my initial research question. I also present some further ideas regarding the possibility (and possibilities) of a '*tri*-modal' research framework with regard to identification and exploration within the empirical data of the role of social interaction in the phenomena of paradigm 'shift', and new paradigm production.

8.1 Final 'bi-modally integrated' analysis of 'irreducible' discursive conflicts in 'Sedentarist' and 'Nomadist' accounts of the Local Authority Traveller Site

Through my initial analysis I produced a construction of two key themes in relation to which Travellers were variously identified and self-identified:

'residence'

and

'culture'

Which appeared to me to correspond, respectively, with the two discrete and distinct, but mutually 'cross-cutting', general human identity dimensions 'lifeway' and 'ethnicity' I

had identified from my review of the academic literature and deconstruction of lay English definitions²⁶⁴.

I further identified two co-existent discursive paradigms, the dominant 'Sedentarist' and the marginal 'Nomadist', within which Travellers were constructed, in relation to these themes, quite differently. I identified, from my data, constructions of 'life(way)', inclusive of 'residence', as having two possible modes, Sedentary/Settled (fixed), and Nomadic /'Travelling' (mobile).

From the Nomadist perspective, the first of these was represented as 'normal' *only* for the Sedentary/Settled dominant majority population, and the second was broadly represented as the *singularly 'normal'* mode of residence for 'Travellers' as Nomadic people. However the Sedentarist perspective was that only the sedentary 'lifeway' and mode of residence were 'normal' for all, with the nomadic variant being constructed in more superficial terms of essentially sedentary 'lifestyle', or culture.

As described, I produced both inter- and intra-paradigmatic conflict in relation to conflicts between the varied constructions of Travellers and the 'site' or 'home(place)' itself.

The explicit, formal, national-level 'Settled'-'Nomadic' interaction on the topic of Travellers and Traveller Sites that took place in 2004, analysed in Chapter 6 of this thesis, occurred within an already-developed *dominant, Sedentarist* discursive context (confirmed by reference to older texts). As also discussed in Chapter 6, the Nomadist representation of 'Nomadism' at the national level was not simply as a 'habit', 'practice' or '(past) cultural heritage' as in the Sedentarist construction, but as a (current) paradigm, and integrated 'lifeway', inclusive of a range of practices inseparable from

²⁶⁴ See Introduction (Chapter 1)

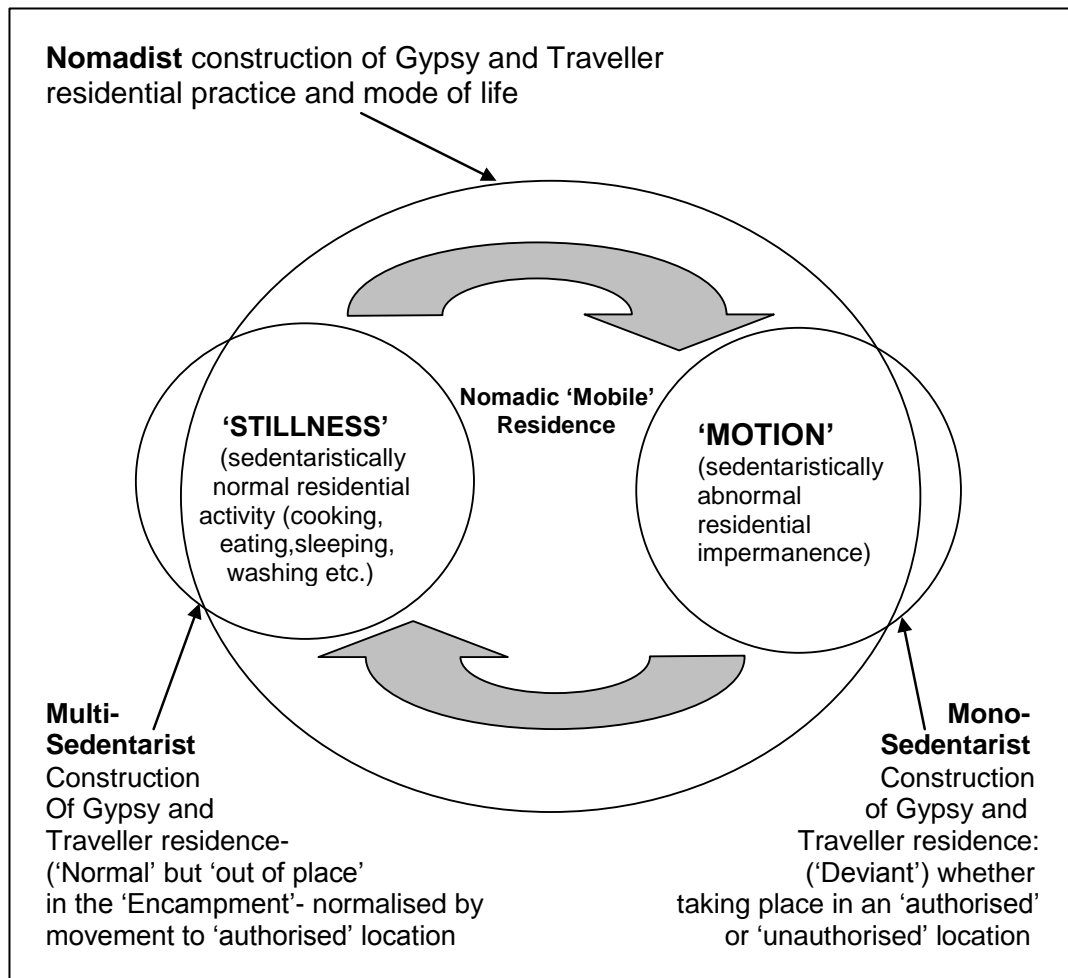
the Nomadic lifeway.

All of the Travellers in my study represented themselves as a collective of 'modern' or 'would be modern', '**bi-residential**' minorities, participating, or wishing to participate, in both nomadic *and* sedentary life by having residential access to 'dual' accommodation ('housing', in the broad sense). This resembled to a great extent the 'normal' accommodation of the sedentary Settled majority population. Travellers thus expressed a wish to be integrated, residentially, within mainstream society, whilst remaining, *inseparably*, both nomadically 'settled' and 'active'.

However, such Nomadistic constructions, drawing upon the notion of 'stillness' and 'motion' as inseparable components of a mobile form of 'residence' in *permanently mobile* homes, appeared to be external to (singularly mono-residential) Sedentarist 'common sense', and thus, Sedentaristically incomprehensible and/or 'un-(re)produce-able' without distortion from the original version within the Sedentarist paradigm.

The National-level interactions that took place in 2004 had a demonstrably transformative effect upon official Sedentarist constructions of Travelling people, and thus of the type of accommodation that should be provided for them, resulting in the foregrounding of Sedentarist *intra*-paradigmatic conflict between mono- and multi-Sedentarist perspectives. In my data, I observed deconstructed components of Nomadist representations of 'Traveller residence', presented during 'official', 'formal' social interactions at the national level, being (re)constructed and incorporated into a strong multi-Sedentarist version of 'Travellers', not as '**bi-residential**' (as the original Nomadist constructions produced them to be) but as a **residentially 'divided'** category, with two distinct and contrasted sub-variants: a 'post-nomadic'; primarily/wholly 'settled' (produced as residentially 'Sedentary' (i.e. 'normal') in an alternatively minority-ethnic/cultural 'lifestyle' way) majority, and a small primarily '(still-) nomadic' (and residentially deviant, irrespective of ethnicity/culture) minority.

Figure 33. Illustration of the relationship between Nomadist, Mono-sedentarist and Multi-sedentarist constructions of Nomadic 'Mobile' residence



Multi-Sedentarist perspectives, focused on the 'stillness' of Traveller 'Modern Nomadic' residence, thus produced the distinctiveness of its practices not as 'Nomadic' (with an essential mobile lifeway-generated mode of residence essentially and inseparably cross-cutting their ethnic/cultural practices and identity) but as distinctive in purely 'ethnic/cultural' terms (and thus implicitly, essentially 'Sedentary'), with 'Nomadism' produced not as a paradigm or integrative 'lifeway' but as a discrete 'former' cultural re practice, separable from other components of Traveller ethnicity/culture, now resorted to only through deprivation (Sedentary 'homelessness'), and which had been all but abandoned by present-day Travellers.

Such perspectives produced Gypsies and Travellers as a mostly 'post-nomadic'

minority community with various distinct ethnic/racial/cultural/social sub-communities, each with their own cultural/ethnic identity separable from 'active' nomadism, and each with a smaller (and heavily backgrounded, in the Sedentarist paradigm) deprived '(still-)nomadic' minority. Differences were drawn between sub-groups in terms of ethnic/cultural characteristics not perceived to be nomadism-associated, for example language, rules/customs and appearance, with those groups appearing in Sedentary majority population terms to be conventionally 'minority ethnic' often being afforded greater recognition, privilege and tolerance with regard to their *Traveller* identity and practices.

By contrast, *mono*-Sedentaristic sub-perspectives focused on the 'motion' (and particularly the perceived consequent deliberate residential 'impermanence', or 'transience' in Sedentary terms) of Gypsy and Traveller 'Modern Nomadic' residence. People taking such perspectives continued to produce (all) Travellers, regardless of sub-group, as members (either 'minority-ethnic' or 'non-ethnic') of the majority Sedentary population engaging in non-ethnicity/culture-linked deviant Sedentary residential practice; which had, for well over a decade prior to the period covered by the research, been associated with the offence of 'trespass', and, since the passing of the CJPOA 1994, criminality.

The multi-Sedentarist (re)construction of Travellers into a ***divided*** category with a sedentary 'ethnic minority'/'post-nomadic' majority and a deprived 'homeless' minority for whom 'culturally appropriate' 'permanent(ly static) residential' accommodation alternative to conventional housing should be provided, not only conflicted on both sides of its internal 'division' with the Nomadist construction, in which Travellers produced their shared Nomadism as 'normal' and 'inseparably integrated' with their 'cultural/ethnic' practices, but **also** brought the 'Multi-sedentarist' sub-perspective into direct conflict with the 'Mono-sedentarist' view (which produced Travellers as an

undivided , non/multi-ethnic/cultural category of deviant and potentially criminal Sedentary residents who must be disciplined (Foucault, 1995) in order for their deviance (Sibley, 1981) to be controlled and/or eliminated).

Each of the three constructions of 'Travellers' (and thus 'special' accommodation for Travellers, in the shape of 'sites') was thus in a two-way conflict.

The dominant official Sedentarist discourses implicitly producing lifeway/'residence' (as singularly sedentary) and ethnicity/'culture' (as particularistic), were very already well-established prior to the period in which I conducted my research. Pressure from the intra-paradigmatic mono-/multi-Sedentaristic conflict, produced by strong local mono-Sedentaristic representations of Travellers as 'still-nomadic'/universally 'deviant', led to multi-Sedentaristic 'revision' and re-production of 'Travellers' and Traveller Sites at the local level, causing the already-backgrounded 'still-nomadic' variant of Traveller to be further minimised by its multi-Sedentaristic division into two further sub-sub-categories:

- the 'would-be' 'post-nomadic', who remains nomadic only due to 'deprivation' (lack of 'culturally/ethnically/racially' appropriate Sedentary accommodation),

and

- a further, even more heavily backgrounded and minimised minority, who remain still-nomadic by choice.

Rapid enforcement of the trespass laws in response to Travellers trying to live in what they produced as a normal and desirable 'Modern Nomadic' way, and the 'Transit' variant of the Traveller site being represented as irrelevant to the needs of local Travellers, the majority of whom were represented as 'post-nomadic', and thus as

'absent' in the local area, in turn produced the existing 'Local Authority Traveller Site' as a 'merged' entity. Outwardly, and officially from the Sedentarist perspective, the site was represented as a 'place'²⁶⁵ of culturally/ethnically distinct, 'permanent(ly static) residential' accommodation in the shape of stationary caravans on pitches (represented as the (Sedentary) ethnic/cultural preference of post-nomadic people). However, 'internally' and unofficially, from the Nomadist perspective, it was alternatively produced as *containing* or '*doubling*' as its backgrounded, absent binary counterpart (a 'dual' stopping-place for Modern Nomads and their permanent(ly mobile) homes).

Also at the local level, there were many Nomadistic representations of 'Travellers' as 'Modern' bi-residential Nomadic people, and accounts of their continued Nomadic residence in the wider local area and, in the context of, mostly through mono-Sedentaristic influence and objection, repeatedly blocked opportunities to produce private sites, their attempted production of the available ('merged'- permanent residential/transit) Local Authority Traveller Sites, as Modern 'Dual' nomadic accommodation. Gypsy and Traveller 'bi-residential' use of the Local Authority Sites as fixed 'dual' accommodation, which they constructed as situated **both** in fixed locations **and** on 'routes or roads' of mobile residence, produced 'confirmation' to both Sedentarist sub-perspectives of the 'reality' and 'accuracy' of their respective, conflicting constructions of Travellers. This had the effect of maintaining, simultaneously both the mono- and multi-Sedentarist constructions of the Local Authority Traveller Site as, respectively, still-nomadic (illegitimate) *and* post-nomadic (legitimate), maintaining an irreducible intra-paradigmatic conflict between the two Sedentarist sub-perspectives.

Contextualised in this bi-modally integrated way, I was able to understand the

²⁶⁵ In its primary sense of 'a particular point or location' (see dictionary definition of 'place' on pg. 10.)

interactions between 'Modern Travellers', produced as normatively 'bi-residential' within the Nomadist paradigm, and Settled people (whether from the Local Authority or not) as not only helping to maintain but also deepening the intra-Sedentaristic conflict. Evidence of ('Modern Nomadic', from their own perspective) Traveller 'bi-residence' (deviant Sedentary residence from the mono-Sedentarist perspective) in local public or visible space produced evidence for the facticity of the local mono-Sedentaristic construction, leading to the (emphatic) construction of the (Nomadistically 'merged') sites as not simply 'post-nomadic' but, (seemingly unnecessarily, before integrated bi-modal analysis), as '**not still-nomadic**' by the multi-Sedentaristic management. However, since *all* Travellers continued to be produced, mono-Sedentaristically, as '(still-)nomadic', *all* 'unconventional' residential accommodation for Travellers was produced from this perspective as supportive or encouraging of deviant residential behaviour, and thus illegitimate, and undesirable, regardless of multi-Sedentarist 'authorisation'.

I thus understood the anomalous, extraneous, multi-Sedentaristic binary pairing of the Local Authority Traveller Site with the 'Unauthorised Encampment' (as a substitute for its abstract relationship with the locally (actually) 'absent' Transit site), to be produced and maintained by the simultaneous, interactive production of all three conflicted constructions of 'Travellers' and 'Traveller residence'.

Similarly, the (emphatic) multi-Sedentaristic construction of the (Nomadistically 'merged') Local Authority sites as 'post-nomadic' and thus for permanent(*ly static*, or *sedentary*) residence, *and* again, as *not* 'still-nomadic' Transit sites, produced these in the Traveller perception as therefore *not* for 'Modern Nomads', a construction that fell 'outside' the logic and 'common sense' of, and was thus incomprehensible within, the Nomadist paradigm- since the Travellers produced *all* sites, including the Local

Authority provided sites in the area studied, as 'bi-residential' places²⁶⁶ of permanent(ly mobile) nomadic residence.

Mono-Sedentaristically, the (Modern) Nomadic 'on-road/route' 'temporary stopping (place)' or 'stillness' was constructed as 'illegal encampment' and 'residential deviance', with consequent control and punishment of public 'unauthorised' Nomadic residential practice. This, combined with heavy restriction on the production of private authorised stopping place/sites, produced the Local Authority site as the *only* (hypothetically) accessible 'dual' accommodation option (i.e. where a permanent(ly mobile) home might stop legally) for most local 'Modern Travellers' wishing to remain bi-residential rather than move into conventional (generally social) housing.

Due to the conflict between the *hypothetical* accessibility of Local Authority Sites (i.e. promoted multi-Sedentaristically as an option that should be socially provided according to need), and the consequent high demand for pitches in the area, and the *actual* low- or non-availability of such sites, (again, in turn, produced and maintained by back-and-forth interaction between the irreducible intra-paradigmatic conflict between mono- and multi-Sedentarist sub-perspectives, and the clashing of both of these sub-perspectives with the equally conflicting constructions of the Nomadist paradigm), was Nomadistically incomprehensible. As shown in Chapter 7, this state of affairs was interpreted within that paradigm (along with the continuously reproduced and maintained, but Nomadistically incomprehensible, multi-Sedentaristic construction of the sites as 'post-nomadic *and* emphatically *not* still-nomadic') as neglect, discrimination, restriction, invasion of privacy, arbitrary control, 'dissection' (distortion/destruction) of the Travellers' life(way) and of the Site as a place of Nomadic dual residence, and even as the 'eviction' of Traveller Nomadic residents from their

²⁶⁶ In the first core sense of *a particular (fixed) point or location*, but within the context of the first subsense of *an area on a surface*; see dictionary definition of 'place', under 'residence', pg. 10

road/route-based permanent(ly mobile) 'homes'; and their forced containment in Local Authority Travellers Sites. Additionally, some 'Modern' Travellers constructed these as poorly-located, poorly-designed, poorly-built, poorly-resourced and poorly-maintained, isolated, liminal ***places of forced assimilation to sedentary residence***, and (re)produced their existence and the pressure to reside *only* in either a Local Authority provided and controlled site, or in a conventional house, as deliberate (and often, 'ethnic/racial', due to the inseparability of their everyday 'cultural/ethnic' practices from their nomadism) persecution of Travellers.

This interpretation of Sedentarist behaviour frequently led to Nomadist 'resistance', including defiance of the (Nomadistically incomprehensible) site rules in order to continue living as 'nomadically' (normally) as possible. Examples of this from my data included the spontaneous ('unauthorised', in Sedentarist terms) self-maintenance and -enhancement of site, pitches and utility blocks, 'adaptations' including the movement of site boundaries where possible to allow for larger families/more vehicles, and the frequent movement of caravans and mobile homes on, off, and around the site.

However, the Local Authority Sites were simultaneously produced, Nomadistically, whilst offering poor opportunities for fully-realised 'dual residence', nevertheless as places of 'refuge' from full sedentarisation and total loss of nomadic culture; crowded, controlled and restricted and thus 'concentration-camp'-like; bounded and isolated away from sedentary society like an '(open) prison', excluded and marginalised like a 'leper colony' and static, nomadically 'off-route/road' and thus limited in a similar way to a 'reservation', but still 'safer' and more 'secure' than either housing or the roadside (which often seemed to be equated, Nomadistically, with the 'Transit' variant of the Local Authority Site). Some Travellers even produced them as safer than a small private site, in the context of Nomadist perceptions of severe persecution, (especially in the case of residents of the case site that was populated by a large extended family).

These Modern Nomadist constructions of ‘resistance to racial/ethnic/anti-nomadism persecution’ in relation to what appear to be, within their perspective, attacks on the integrity of their Nomadic practices, were counter-produced inevitably, in interaction with Settled site management, as well as local settled residents, police, etc. as, Sedentaristically, ‘violation of site rules/regulations’, ‘unauthorised’ or ‘illegal’, and as producing further constructions strongly oriented towards elimination from the site of those aspects of Traveller residential practice represented as ‘deviant’, ‘anti-social’ and/or ‘criminal’, and control of Travellers themselves; producing further resistance to persecution from Travellers, in a repetitive discursive cycle of conflict.

8.2 Answer to research question

“How is a Local Authority Traveller Site constructed through discourse and discursive interaction, and how are people and groups involved with the site both influenced by, and contributors to the maintenance of, such discourse and construction?”

Finally, then, in answer to my research question, the ‘Local Authority Traveller Site’, in the particular area and during the period in which I conducted my field work, was socially constructed and maintained through a wide range of discursive mechanisms at all levels, and a complex web of inter- and intra-paradigmatic discursive conflict and tension, as a highly contested, and thus essentially liminal, discursive entity;

- **As a Sedentaristic ‘Merged’ entity:**
 - **Externally and officially singularly ‘permanent residential’;**
 - **‘Internally’ and unofficially containing its backgrounded binary other, the Transit site;**
- **As ‘post-nomadic’ ‘permanent residential’, and *not* ‘still-nomadic’ ‘Transit’;**
- **As *both* still-nomadic (illegitimate) *and* post-nomadic (legitimate);**

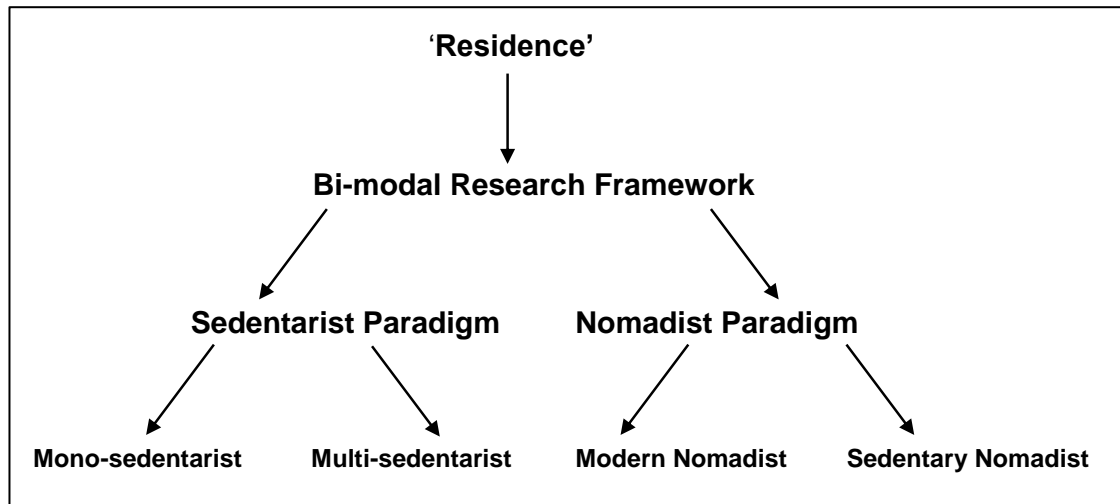
- **As a Nomadic Modern ‘Dual’/‘bi-residential’ nomadic accommodation, and thus as permanent, residential *and* nomadic;**
- **As restrictive of the nomadic mode of residence and as persecutory**
- **As a safe/secure Nomadic haven from sedentarisation.**

The ‘Site’ was socially constructed in the above conflicted, contested way through multiple, continuous but restricted and highly repetitive interactions between multiple actors in roles linked to ‘reified’ discursive ‘structures’, socially-produced and -maintained prior to the research and experienced as ‘external’ to the actors; and, as a result of two broadly conflicting perspectives on ‘residence’ that in interaction continuously maintained three conflicting representations of Travellers, the nature of their residential practices, their cultures/ethnicities and the significance and relationship of these to their residence modes, and of the significance of both residence and culture to the type of ‘home’ suitable for them.

The ‘Site’ was further maintained as the liminal, contested, conflicted entity described above by the tension produced between the multiple conflicts, which during the period in which I conducted my research remained unresolved due to the incomprehensibility within each of the two main paradigms of the constructions produced in the other, and in turn the incomprehensibility, and thus robustness, of the conflicts caused by these incomprehensible constructions of the ‘other’, within each opposite paradigm; and thus the ‘suspension’ from change, in any discursive or paradigmatic direction, of the construction of the Site itself. Flint (2009) has discussed this type of spatial and discursive ‘impasse’ between different sections of the majority population in his application of the theories of Bourdieu, Elias and Weber to the concepts of the ‘camp’ and the ‘ghetto’.

8.3 Final (re)construction, and a possible new 'Tri-modal' analytical framework

Figure 34. Overview of Bi-modal research framework developed for consideration of the discursive concept of 'residence'



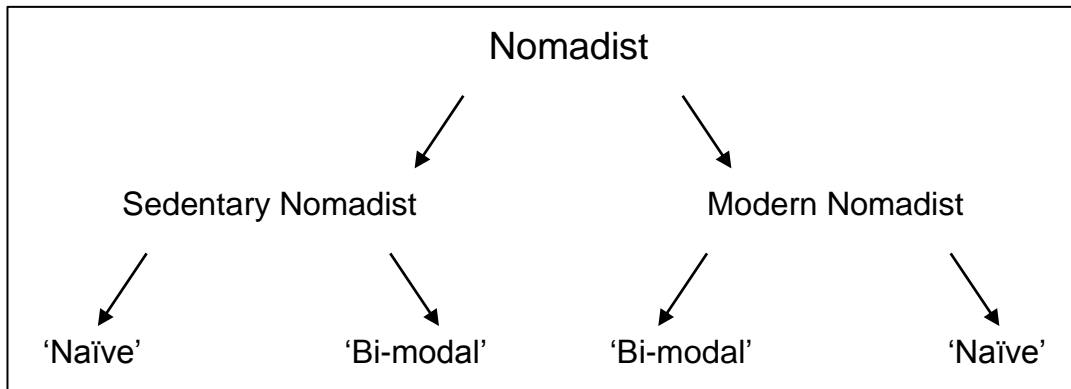
A sub-perspective that I produced in the 'local' part of my analysis summarised in Chapter 7, which I have purposely omitted to mention thus far in the above bi-modal summary and conclusion, is that of the 'Sedentary Nomadist'; a very rare category within the data I collected for my PhD fieldwork. It does not appear in the summary above because I produced it as having little if any effect on the social construction of the Site during the research. However, after producing myself as having been, for some years, a member (albeit a very naïve one, to whom the full extent of Travellers' nomadic life remained mostly incomprehensible or invisible) of this category, I found myself becoming increasingly interested in the interactions I was having as a *participant* observer in the research process during my field work sessions, particularly with those whom I categorised as '*sympathetic*' multi-Sedentarists, and with those 'Modern Nomadists' who had some *positive relationships within, and better than average insight into the constructions of the Sedentary paradigm* (such as the person who wrote the letter partially reproduced in Chapter 7, in which a documentary (very Sedentarist in itself) representation of the equally Sedentaristic '(collective) Gypsy/Traveller Community' is produced). What those whom I could categorise as

Sedentary Nomadists (I could confidently construct two others apart from myself-enough for a 'normalising' or 'facticity building' 'three-part list'), appeared to have in common was prolonged, very positive, direct contact with Travellers, and vice versa for the 'rarer' variant of the Modern Nomadist (I again produced three very confidently, one from each of the main communities I had contact with during my field work (another very happy coincidence, from a fact-production perspective), and thus appeared to be an interesting working example of the Newcombe's (1956) 'proximity principle', from which a broad range of material in social psychology, sociology and further afield, on the effect of proximity and contact, has since been produced.

I began to feel that these sub-categories, of Sedentary people who produced Nomadistic, but more 'collective', constructions of '(Gypsies and) Travellers' and of 'Travelling'; and Travellers who represented themselves in Sedentaristically 'normal' and 'comprehensible' terms (and media) when communicating with Settled people, were somehow very close, and quite blurred, direct counterpart categories in some kind of binary equivalence relationship.

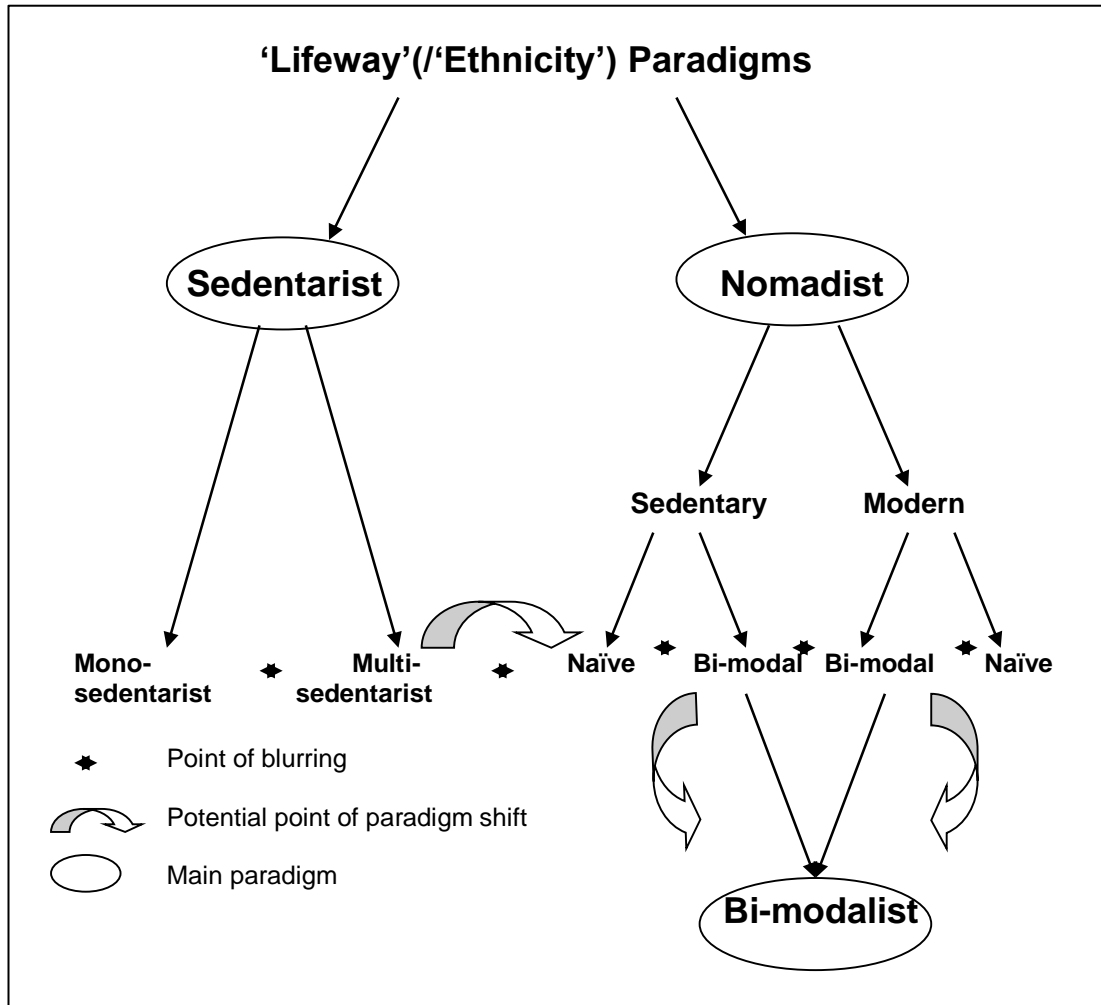
However, I was unable to produce them as such within my original bi-modal framework, since I had not produced any Sedentarily 'Settled' (as opposed to 'Nomadically settled') Traveller, nor any 'Modern Nomad' who was not a member of a Traveller Community; and the two 'Nomadist' parent categories from which I had begun to derive these sub-categories thus appeared to be, while complementary, totally discrete (or again, dichotomous). However after some further thought, I eventually produced, a 'mirrored' deconstruction of the two Nomadist 'parent' sub-categories, as follows in Figure 35, overleaf:

Figure 35. Alternative presentation of the deconstruction of the main socio-discursive category 'Nomadist', (i.e. with 'parent' sub-categories reversed)



in which, from my data, I could represent as a discursive 'continuum' in relation to which the 'naïve' sub-variant of each Nomadist sub-sub-category could blur into the 'bi-modal' version, and the Sedentary and Nomadist 'bi-modal' versions could blur into each other, at which blurred point I was able to propose as a possible *third*, new discursive paradigm, although only tentatively. Having expanded my research framework, I had a further look at my analysis and my data and was able to produce two points of blurring where I could, rather than deconstruct a category into further sub-categories, construct a merging of categories from different paradigms, and thus 'paradigm shift' and/or 'new paradigm creation' as possibly taking place; that between a more 'sympathetic' variant of the multi-Sedentary, and the 'naïve' version of the Sedentary Nomadist, and that between the bi-modal versions of the Sedentary and Modern Nomadist, as shown in Figure 36, overleaf:

Figure 36. Illustration of Lifeway/Ethnicity paradigms



Looking back over my data, I found a beautifully topical example of the Local Authority Traveller Site as potentially central to this process, and thus could present a final, more positive perhaps, (depending on the perspective) social construction of the 'Site' as, in addition (or perhaps due) to being a contested, uncomfortable discursive locus of inter-paradigmatic interaction and conflict, *also* a possible locus or agent of paradigmatic shift, and/or production, and thus even as an active non-human 'participant', in its own terms, within the discourse. I thus conclude this summary of my analysis, and the answer to my research question, with the following illustrative 'social interaction':

Session 1- Talks from Panel of Experts. Session 2- Q&A. Questions for panel members written by audience members on post-it notes.

5 (Settled) Panel Members speak for 15 minutes each (Gypsy and Traveller Services, Community Advice, Health Visitor, Police, Education)

From Q&A session:

Chair: *First, questions from Traveller members of the audience about more sites...[invites G&TS Rep to answer]*

G&TS Rep: *No **council sites** have been built since the duty to provide them was lifted in 1994... planning permission for **private sites** is often refused...due to prejudice.... Some private sites are absolutely beautiful and... I think **Gypsies and Travellers should be able to develop their own sites.***

Traveller 1: *What about... **there is people** that cannot afford a plot of land **who still want to do the travelling life**... I'm not on about the privately owned ones, it is too difficult to get permission even once you've got a bit of land. Is there any new Council ones getting done?*

G&TS Rep: *I don't really deal with that ...Do you think that some people would take that up, if they were able to develop private sites?*

Traveller 1: *Guaranteed. But people don't have the money and they get refused. What about council Transit sites? Can't they be provided?*

G&TS Rep *In Stramshire there are no Transit sites... [talks about problems with Transit sites in neighbouring Local Authority]*

Traveller 1: *...but Transit sites are desperately needed...to go on the side of the road... I realise you want to hide us... but **we too have children... if you cut us we too bleed**²⁶⁷ ...I agree, things need to change, but... you still didn't answer my question...*

Chair: *[Tries to stop discussion about sites for other questions]*

Traveller 1: *[continues]... and we don't agree with [the GTAA]... it says that we don't need accommodation, and we are saying we badly do...*

Audience member: ***All of the conversation is about sites- maybe the next one of these events should be about that subject- invite all the Travellers to take part and have their say about what they are experiencing. It is pointless us all sitting here saying we can do this service and that service, and not addressing this, it's obviously the most important thing to these people who are here today...***²⁶⁸

²⁶⁷ 'Normalisation'

²⁶⁸ Multi-sedentarist – Modern Nomadist interactions produces potential for *Multi-Sedentarist*→
Naïve Sedentary Nomadist Paradigm shift

- Traveller 1: That's one of the main things ... [cut off by chair]*
- Chair: ...Excellent suggestion, put it on a post-it...we need to move on...*
- [...]*
- Forum Organiser: We find it very difficult to get people from the G&T communities to be involved. Why?*
- Traveller 1: Fear of repercussions. Fear of repercussions. Which, I'm expecting. And... we weren't told, we weren't asked*
- Forum Organiser: **There is a Group that meets regularly- we'll invite you to our next meeting...you're a very articulate speaker for your community...***²⁶⁹
- Chair: Moving on to some other questions...*
- [...]*

In this short excerpt, a range of discursive mechanisms can be identified as being concurrently deployed to produce and maintain conflicting 'Sedentarist' and 'Nomadist' discourses. However, their direct interaction also produces the potential for novel understandings and opportunities for discourse transformation, paradigm shift, and new paradigm generation. In the first part of the exchange, the statements made by the Local Authority representative produce a version of the dominant (multi-)Sedentarist discourse, in which the discursive entity of the 'privately owned and developed permanent residential Traveller site' is 'ontologically gerrymandered' into the foreground of the discussion, and any construction of 'Travelling' is noticeably absent. The producer of this representation attempts to build and maintain its facticity through changes in 'footing' for the purpose of 'stake management' and stake inoculation'. However, conflict enters in the shape of overt (Modern) Nomadist resistance, on the part of the Traveller attendee, to this multi-Sedentarist backgrounding of 'transit sites' (closely interlinked in this construction with 'the travelling life'); these are brought and

²⁶⁹ Potential for further mutually positive interaction

kept to the fore in the dialogue by this participant, despite counter-resistance from the Local Authority representative. However, even after further emphasis by the Traveller spokesperson of their fundamental importance, by the inclusion of a pair of quite dramatic 'normalising' statements ('we too have children...if you cut us, we too bleed'), the meeting chairperson continues to resist this construction, by attempting to 'mute' the discordant Nomadist discourse by moving the conversation on, apparently according to a predetermined Sedentarist agenda for the meeting. Nevertheless, the potential beginning of a process of paradigm shift (from, in the terms of this research, a *Multi-Sedentarist* to a *Naïve Sedentary Nomadist* perspective) can then be identified in the subsequent comments of the (non-Traveller) audience member who responds to the interchange. Despite the further attempt of the chairperson to regain discursive control and re-establish the dominance of the multi-Sedentarist discourse, this fourth participant reiterates the *Modern nomadist* concerns of the Traveller attendee. The contribution of this further assenting voice strengthens the original Nomadist resistance to the dominance of the Sedentarist discourse. In particular, the suggestion that the resisted interaction about '(transit) sites' (and thus the 'travelling life'), on the Travellers' terms, is of primary importance and should be developed at a further meeting, is discursively very powerful, coming from an ostensibly Sedentarist participant (constructed within this context as a 'stakeholder'). This resistance is also neutralised in the short term, by the chairperson again discursively manoeuvring the topic *out* of the interaction ('put it on a post-it...we need to move on'). However, towards the end of the meeting, the matter of a further opportunity for direct interaction and dialogue between the different perspectives is raised again, produced this time by means of an explicit invitation to the Traveller attendee, now reconstructed by the meeting organiser as a 'community spokesperson' (and thus presumably a person with equal 'stakeholder' status to other 'representatives' in attendance), to participate. This in turn produces the possibility of further mutually positive, and possibly paradigm-transforming, direct interaction to continue in future.

8.4 Chapter 8 Conclusion: Summary of final stage of analysis

In the first part of this chapter I initially provided a brief summary review of all the previous stages of my analysis of empirical data, from my identification of initial concepts, themes and social categories, to the production, through use of the 'bi-modal' socio-discursive analytical framework developed from these, of two complex, contrasted socio-discursive accounts of 'Travellers', '(Traveller) Residence', 'Traveller accommodation', and particularly, 'The Local Authority Traveller Site'.

I then offered some concluding comments and related further insights regarding various findings of each stage of this analysis. In particular, I highlighted how through a process of inter-paradigmatic socio-discursive interaction, Nomadist contributions to housing needs analysis consultation exercises at the National level in 2004 that I read, in their original form, as producing the 'normal' majority of Travellers in the UK as '**bi-residential**', informed the construction within the dominant Sedentarist discourse (and legislation) of Travellers as a **residentially 'divided'** category. I noted how I later identified closely-related or identical representations to these as (inter)active in the social construction and maintenance of a range of versions of the discursive entities 'Travellers', 'Traveller residence' and 'Local Authority Traveller Sites' in my local level data.

I further discussed how some constructions, produced from the perspective of one or other paradigm or sub-paradigm, fell 'outside' the logic and 'common sense' of, and thus were incomprehensible from the alternative perspective of, one or more of the others. I noted how this was productive of inter- and intra-paradigmatic discursive tension and conflict, and a variety of further 'interpretative' constructions, which in turn often conflicted with each other.

I went on to summarise and offer further comment upon the inter- and intra-paradigmatic conflicts I had identified as fundamental to the social construction of the 'Local Authority Traveller Site', but which I had been unable to explain through my separate analyses of 'Nomadist' and 'Sedentarist' discourse of Local Authority Traveller Sites. I then described a final analytical stage, in which I integrated the two previously essentially separate analytical accounts of the various discursive entities I had investigated through my 'bi-modal' research framework, considering these as an intrinsic 'whole'; and how this allowed me to finally achieve analytical resolution for all of the discursive anomalies that had previously appeared irreducible.

In the second part of this chapter, I have produced an explicit answer to my initial research question, grounded in my analysis and thus in my empirical data.

In the last part of this chapter, I have suggested that the final process, of 'overlaying' my two analyses, transformed the original socio-discursive 'bi-modal' framework with which I had initially worked into an expanded '*tri-modal*' version, that recognises Nomadist, Sedentarist, *and* a third, 'new' '***Bi-modal*** paradigm (which explicitly recognises *both* of the former, and thus *also*, inter-paradigmatic *interaction*, as significant to discourse production). I have made the suggestion that the 'Local Authority Traveller Site' may itself have independent constructive potential as a 'participant' in the production of discourse, and have outlined how, by means of the new, explicitly 'tri-modal', analytical framework, I produced an initial account of the socio-discursive processes of 'paradigm shift' and '(new) paradigm production' in relation to 'Traveller'-related social constructions; illustrating this with an example taken from my empirical data.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION

9.1 General conclusion: Travellers, 'housing', 'residence' and the human 'lifeway': Reflections on current academic research in relation to the findings of this research

Traditional Housing Studies work, whether 'neo-classical' or 'neo-liberal' (Whitehead, 2012) has historically been produced using (superficially) atheoretical, positivist/empiricist approaches. There has been a related predominance of usually contract-driven research, grounded uncritically in *housing policy*. Consequently, much work in Housing Studies since its inception as a field has been preoccupied in some way with the

“...production, consumption, management and maintenance of a stock of dwellings [...] seen as an aggregate”

(Clapham, 2010:253).

Although recently, and particularly over the past two decades, housing research perspectives have begun to broaden rapidly, one continuing legacy of this former *status quo* is a still-current reification of the singular 'reality' of the dominant Sedentary residential norm (applied without question to both social majorities and minorities, including Travellers), and thus of 'housing' or 'dwellings' understood narrowly, as conventional, static, bricks-and-mortar structures. Predictably, with few exceptions (most notably Niner, 2003), 'travelling people' have been and remain absent from (or invisible within) such traditional-style work, but thus far a very similar situation also persists in the context of work produced in response to the broader theoretical housing discussions developing within the field. For example, within a very recently published, epistemologically eclectic and theoretically engaged general 'Handbook of Housing Studies' (Clapham et al., 2012), despite 'migration', 'ethnic minorities' and '(residential)

mobility' featuring in the research interests of several of the contributors, and even a chapter dedicated wholly to the latter, the term 'nomadism' appears in the book only once, and then it is used metaphorically in describing sedentary (Settled) residential 'rootlessness' (Forrest, 2012:315). There is a single mention of (Hungarian) 'Roma people'. However, this is in a further chapter on 'Homelessness', in which this group is constructed as part of a 'list' of 'ethnic minorities' (situated between 'black British' and '(Australian) Aborigines'). Represented as conventionally housed, they are produced explicitly as distinguishable from their non-Roma neighbours by their greater poverty, and thus, implicitly, constructed unproblematically as Settled/sedentary (Fitzpatrick, 2012:364). Apart from these examples, and despite numerous mentions and discussions of 'residential mobility' and 'migration', I was unable to locate within the text any *explicit* mention or consideration of (literal) 'nomadism', 'sedentarism' 'Travellers', 'Gypsies' etc. In the terms developed within the present work, then, the entire text of more than five hundred pages can be characterised as implicitly and unreflexively *Sedentary*. Even in work on housing that is otherwise extremely critical of Housing Studies, such as Chris Allen's controversial 2009 journal article in which he calls into question all of the most fundamental bases of the field, this Sedentary 'bottom line' assumption, of 'housing' as referring exclusively to *houses* or static 'bricks and mortar', still generally appears, explicit and unquestioned:

“ [...] housing researchers [must] scale back their knowledge claims **[and] afford equal recognition to** the knowledge claims about housing made by others, namely, **ordinary people *that live in houses.***”

(Allen, 2009:55; emphasis in bold and italics added)

By strong if subtle implication, then, housing studies is permeated throughout with a 'taken-for-granted' construction of *normal* human residence as solely *sedentary*.

As outlined in the Introduction, in the relatively few instances where Travellers appear explicitly in housing research, the work usually primarily considers them in the context of *Traveller 'sites'*: fixed locations where caravans may be stationed for the purpose of culturally and/or ethnically differentiated, *static, sedentary* residence. Where the *mobile* residence of *nomadic* groups has been considered at all, it has been represented as abnormal²⁷⁰, or at very best atypical, *sedentary residential practice*, in a *socio-economic* or *culture/ethnicity*-contextualised 'lifestyle' sense.

By my reading, the same 'taken for granted' dominant discourse of the *sedentary* as the *sole* ('modern'/'civilised') human residence norm appears to extend not only to housing studies and related disciplines and fields, but very much more broadly in mainstream academia. Work focused explicitly and directly upon 'Travelling people' and/or their accommodation, or considering these in the context other foci, periodically appears across a wide range of academic domains. Theoretically more thoughtful approaches have undoubtedly begun to be taken in recent, directly Traveller accommodation/ residence-focused work within formalised Housing Studies itself (e.g. Richardson, 2006; Powell, 2008; Greenfields and Smith, 2010) as well as in related work emerging from the sub-disciplines of cultural, human and/or social geography, and multi-disciplinary fields with a strong geographical influence, such as Urban Studies (e.g. see Drakakis-Smith, 2007; Anderson, 2009(:108-109); Shubin, 2011; Kabachnik, 2010; 2012; Powell, 2011, 2013). However, I would argue that even the most sympathetic and theoretically-engaged examples of such work thus far continue to a great extent to unquestioningly follow traditional approaches, in that they tend to produce the Traveller 'way of life' as a 'lifestyle' (either in the sense of an 'habitual' socio-economic practice, a sub-component of social or ethnic/racial minority 'culture' (or of 'ethnicity' itself), or some combination of these); to contextualize the Traveller 'way of life' by highlighting its irregularity in relation to sedentary majority norms,

²⁷⁰ whether 'deviant', 'deprived' (Sibley, 1981:26-29) or unconventional

generally through constructions involving representations of Traveller 'deprivation', 'deviance', or a combination of both; and toward discussing and/or attempting to solve 'problems' that the 'common sense' of Sedentarist 'reality' produces Travellers to *suffer* and/or to *present*.

In particular, in comparison to sociology, and other disciplines that also regularly influence housing and related work (e.g. psychology and economics), *geography* appears to have had a thus far unmatched role in generating and/or informing research on Travelling people that includes as central or significant a consideration of (socio-spatial) residence issues.

The geography-grounded work that I reviewed holds obvious value and clear promise in displaying explicitly some awareness of the sedentary/Settled residence 'norms' which implicitly underpin *all* mainstream discourse, and the existence of alternative nomadic/Traveller paradigms. However, I would contend that, although attempting to develop better understanding of the topic and issues through the application of a range of interesting theoretical concepts, and frequently referencing the attempts of others to do the same, the notional 'parameters' of this work at present remain constrained well within the more fundamental constructions and discourses of the Sedentarist paradigm, which being until now unproblematised in any rigorous or systematic way, remain 'taken for granted'. Such authors, while often alluding to both, and the relationship between them, have thus neither critically explored or theorized *sedentarism* in any consistent or integrated, rigorous way, nor attempted any sustained, theoretically focused investigation of counterpart *nomadic* paradigms, 'lifeways', residence mode, and/or 'being toward housing/dwelling' (Allen, 2009; Flint, 2011), *considered in their own right*. Examples of such work thus, as yet, remain relatively isolated and unsynthesised within the various primary academic domains of the unquestioned dominant paradigm within which they have appeared, their potential remaining largely

unrealised.

Generally speaking then, the *nomadic* residence mode of 'Travellers' (as a diverse multi-ethnic collective in the broad socio-ecological sense intended in this thesis), and its related versions of 'dwelling', 'home' and 'household' etc. have thus far largely been excluded from consideration in formalized 'Housing Studies' within any context other than that of the narrowest and often most negative underlying, unquestioned Sedentarist terms, and this critique applies equally to work in more theoretically aware, critical arenas of the field, distinguished by Allen (2009) as 'housing studies', as well as related work in other areas of academia. In my view, then, despite considerable recent general progress, the kind of research typical thus far of mainstream Housing Studies (whether 'Empiricist' or 'Theoretical' (Allen, 2009)) has not yet, to paraphrase Clapham (2005:37), arrived in any confident or sustained way at the discursive 'door' of the caravan or 'trailer' (in the 'Traveller household' sense (Okley, 1983)), and certainly rarely if ever enters. It generally tends to reach only the 'entrance' of the static/fixed 'site' (or at best, of the 'pitch') designed to accommodate Sedentaristically-constructed 'post-nomadic' Travellers, and arguably, engages only with representations offered by and 'readings' of the residents contextualized to this 'set(ting)' (Morris, 2002:9-10). This may, depending on the perspective taken, be represented as a continuing general failure to have yet arrived, academically, even at the periphery of the 'housing' dimension of the 'Nomadist' paradigm itself.

Nevertheless, due in large part to the catalyzing effect of Kemeny's (1992) seminal text, the type of theoretically aware, critical, primarily *sociological* work, that I envisage as being necessary to complement the explicitly *social theory*-influenced *geographical* ('spatial') engagement with the topic already in progress in ameliorating this situation, has been produced increasingly since the 1990s in relation to other housing phenomena. This now comprises a strong, rapidly growing and diverse body of

literature, which includes 'sociology of residence' research, interdisciplinary work including a sociological aspect integrated with others, including the geographical, and work primarily grounded in these and other alternative fields and disciplines. I do not claim any more than an approach toward or arrival at the notional periphery of the 'housing' dimension of a 'Nomadist' paradigm, and then only very tentatively, for my own, similarly-influenced, but still very much preliminary, work. However, I hope that I have at least convincingly demonstrated the discursive existence and further possibilities that may emerge from rigorous academic consideration of such a paradigm. The following sections will look more closely at some of the ways in which the findings of my very much preliminary and exploratory 'broad-brush' analysis relate to and overlap with extant work in the sociology of residence and other fields related to this and/or to my research focus.

9.1.1 Consideration of this thesis in relation to existing 'sociology of residence' and related work

As discussed in Chapter 2, a range of ideas and approaches drawn from academic domains beyond sociology, including that of general social theory, have in recent years been considered, developed, and put to practical use within the Housing field. Although a 'weak' social constructionist approach was chosen for the present work, I consider the whole range of theoretical and disciplinary perspectives to be of potential value in this regard, with both realist and interpretivist (including social constructionist) work having value to add as 'participants in the dialogue' (Gergen, 1999:228). The general housing-contextualised discussions and developments of theoretical approaches, and related general critiques of housing studies such as those produced by Clapham (2002, 2005, 2009a, 2011), Allen (2009, 2010, 2011a, 2011b, and with Imrie, 2010), King (2009, 2011); and Clapham et al. (2012), all offer valuable insight relevant to the study Traveller residence and its accommodation from (in the terms of *this* preliminary research) *Nomadist (or other non-hegemonic)*, *bi-modal* or *tri-modal* perspectives.

They also hold the same potential with regard to the production of more reflexive research on both the *Sedentarism* of traditional/mainstream perspectives themselves (whether academic or 'everyday'), and the constructions produced in such contexts of 'other' residence modes (which, if conducted, would overlap with the area of work commonly known as 'anti-gypsyism/'anti-nomadism' research within the Romani/Traveller/Gypsy studies work also outlined in the Introduction).

a) Theoretical similarities and overlaps

This thesis was produced using a social constructionist, discourse analytical approach initially influenced by Clapham (2002, 2005) and Kemeny (1992), based primarily upon the work of Berger and Luckmann (1966), Potter (1996), Carabine's (2001) broad formulation of Foucault's (1970, 1972, 1980, 1995) research approach, and Yin's (2003) work on the case study as a research strategy . However, in evaluating my analysis, I have noted a number of interesting parallels between some of the findings of the present work, and concepts that have been considered and applied within previous housing research underpinned by alternative anti-positivistic (both interpretivist and realist) epistemological, theoretical and conceptual standpoints. In particular, I have become aware of the influence within the 'sociology of residence' literature, and relevance in relation to my findings, of the following well-known social theorists (and most certainly there are others), whose ideas are regularly drawn upon and continue to be developed within housing studies and a range of related fields:

- **Pierre Bourdieu** (1977, 1991): There are many examples throughout this thesis, from the Introduction onwards, of observed phenomena that could be interpreted in the basic terms outlined in the Introduction²⁷¹ of Bourdieu's celebrated *Theory of Practice* (1977). Bourdieu's work referenced a broad, eclectic range of influences

²⁷¹ See pp. 26-27

(Susen and Turner, 2001:xx), and has been widely influential. Charlesworth's (2001) phenomenological study of social class, Rowlands and Gurney's (2001) work on young people, Allen's (2004) work on disability and social class and Flint's (2009) study of racial and religious segregation are all examples of specific applications of Bourdieu's theories in housing or housing-related work (see also Savage, 2010a, the comments following this from Allen, Atkinson, Burrows, Mendez, and Watt (all 2010), and Savage's (2010b) final response to these comments). In particular, I feel that Bourdieu's (1991) additional concept of *symbolic violence*, or

“relations and mechanisms of domination and power which do not arise from overt physical force or violence on the body”

(Morgan and Björkert, 2006)

would be interesting to consider more closely in light of the intra-paradigmatic discursive interaction described in the present work, for example in relation to the interactions reproduced in Chapter 6 that produced the social construction of the 'Post-nomadic Traveller' in national-level discourse, and the counter-representation of the 'Modern Traveller' that appeared in direct social dialogue in response to local-level manifestations of this construction of the 'Post-nomadic Traveller', discussed and illustrated at the end of Chapter 8.

- **Michel Foucault** (1970, 1972, 1980, 1995) Although I have been loosely influenced in my work by Foucault's *research approach*, and have touched very briefly upon some of his ideas in this thesis, there are a number of specific concepts proposed and developed within his work that clearly lend themselves to much closer consideration in relation to my findings. For example, Foucault's

concept of power as held and used simultaneously in diverse ways by multiple interconnected agents, and his ideas about discursive discipline and control have resonance (and again could be considered in relation to the examples from Chapter 6 and Chapter 8, given above in relation to Bourdieu). Examples of this type of application of *specific* Foucauldian *concepts* in housing studies work include Clapham (1997), Gurney (1999a) and Richardson (2006, in specific relation to Travellers; see also Drakakis-Smith, 2007). In the case of the present work, Foucault's (1995) discussion of the 'panopticon', and related notion of (perceived) surveillance or the 'gaze' as a control mechanism in the exercise of discursive power is one clearly applicable example, and could form the foundation for further work, for example on the relationship between local authority Traveller Site residents, those involved in planning, producing and managing such sites, local settled neighbours and media, and the site itself (see Chapter 7) See Richardson (2006, 2007) for consideration of this concept in explicit relation to 'Gypsies and Travellers'.

- **Norbert Elias** (1994, 1996) who developed his theory of the "civilising process" in an attempt to explain the way in which human beings and societies develop. Elias saw this as happening through a fundamental interrelationship between power and identity, in the context of networks of interdependence between people, groups and institutions, termed *figurations*, which undergo largely unplanned change over time as a result of traceable social *processes*. Elias saw these *figurations* and *processes*, the identification and consideration of which were fundamental to his analysis, as producing particular, increasingly stable societal power structures and *habitus* (in a use of the word somewhat different to Bourdieu's, meaning 'psychological make-up' (Harrington, 2005:142) of individuals and groups), including modes and methods of exercising control across a range of aspects, within societies. In Elias's view, 'civilising processes' which cause individuals and

groups to develop a particular *habitus* in the context of increasingly stable societal power monopolies, as well as a counterpart notion of 'decivilising' interruptions and reversals of this, can be identified in relation to any society or period in history. Elias' work is another example of more general social theory that might serve as an interesting basis for critique, and/or further consideration and development of a range of aspects, of the present work, in particular in relation to analysis of the way in which the purpose(s) and use(s) of Local Authority Traveller Sites are constructed by the different groups involved with them. Examples of Elias's work applied with housing relevance can be found in Powell (2008, with specific relation to 'Gypsies and Travellers'), Flint (2009), and Powell and Flint (2009).

In addition, the work of the following theorists can all be found serving as influences within sociological housing and other related academic work, and could equally be applied in relation to various of the constructions described and aspects of the analysis presented herein:

- **Erving Goffman** (1970), on the concept of *stigma*, and particularly the diverse ways in which stigmatization may be managed discursively by individuals and groups affected by it (see for example the discussions throughout Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 regarding the use of discourse and discursive mechanisms to produce 'normalisation' in relation to Travellers and their residential practices). Goffman has had and continues to have very wide influence, including upon the extensive more recent work of the sociologist **Loïc Wacquant** (2007, 2008). Wacquant (a former student of Bourdieu) has developed Goffman's ideas in explicit relation to the concept of '*territorial stigma*' and more particularly the '*blemish of place (of residence)*' (2007:67). Powell (2009) has considered Wacquant's notion of the 'Ghetto', developed from these ideas, in specific relation to 'Gypsy and Traveller' accommodation;

- **Zygmunt Bauman** (1989, 1992) on the (relative) nature of poverty in postmodern society, and in particular his notion of consumption (including of 'housing') as a classifying activity, and related concept of the *flawed consumer*, who does not consume in the 'right way', the 'correct quantity', etc. to satisfy social norms, leading to "social degradation and internal exile" (Bauman, 2005:38; See Rowlands and Gurney, 2001 for a housing application);
- **Georg Simmel** (1908, discussed in Harrington, 2005:77-82), whose sociology, which was preoccupied with investigation of the informal conventions of social interaction or *sociability*, has been widely influential. In particular his ideas about the effect of urbanisation and city growth upon human interaction, and his notion of the 'Stranger' (constructed, effectively, in terms of human patterns of 'stillness and motion'), have direct relevance to this thesis and have influenced previous housing studies work (e.g. Blanc, 1986; Jacobs, 2002; Savage, 2010a);
- **Jurgen Habermas** (1984a, 1984b), who produced an explicitly sociological development of the interrelationship between *lifeworld*, or the 'everyday' world as experienced 'pre-reflexively' by 'ordinary' actors, and *system*, or society's economic and administrative structures (in Harrington, 2005:323). Cole (2003) is one example of a housing-contextualised application of Habermas' ideas.

b) Topical and thematic similarities and overlaps

On the topical level, parallels and overlaps may be drawn between a range of key themes and issues drawn from the findings of this research and existing 'sociology of residence' or similar work. These could also thus form the starting-point for critique and/or further developments of the present work, and include:

- **Housing tenure/public versus private ownership** (Kemeny, 1981; Gurney, 1999a, 1999b; Rowlands and Gurney, 2001). For example, see in Chapter 7 the description of Nomadist and Sedentarist constructions of 'housing', 'Local Authority Traveller Sites' and 'privately-owned Traveller sites' as alternative forms of Traveller accommodation;
- The discursive **discipline, control, surveillance etc. of tenants**, in mainstream housing work on Local Authority, social housing and privately rented housing, for example through mechanisms such as 'sanction oriented' (Flint, 2006:127) housing tenancy agreements and/or control-oriented management activities (Clapham, 1997; Haworth and Manzi, 1999; Burney, 1999; 2009; Flint, 2002, 2006). See, again in Chapter 7, the description and discussion of Local Authority Traveller Site licence rules/agreements, and Traveller perceptions of these and of their 'enforcement' by site management personnel;
- **Isolation, stigmatization, marginalisation and social exclusion** (particularly in relation to work on (periphery) Local Authority housing estates (Burney, 1999, 2009; Flint, 2002, 2006; Hancock and Mooney, 2013)). Again in Chapter 7, see my discussion of the construction of and significance accorded to the socio-geographical location of Local Authority Traveller Sites;
- **The social perspectives and (related housing needs) of minority groups.** Compare, for example the findings of housing-oriented work on religious groups (Flint, 2007, 2009) with the Nomadist construction identified in Chapter 6, of 'Travellers' as an equal counterpart '*Nomadic Society*' rather than as a sub-community in the context of mainstream '*Sedentary Society*';

- **Liminal/contested residence modes and settings, and their discursive/physical limitations and** restrictions, for example, in relation to work on immigrant and/or ethnic minority settlement areas (Flint, 2009; Musterd, 2012; van Kempen and Bolt, 2012; Powell, 2013; Markkanen and Harrison, 2013)). See in Chapter 8, my conclusions regarding the complex, contested social construction of the Local Authority Traveller Site;
- The approach taken and general critique of housing studies produced by researchers taking a **Feminist** perspective (e.g. Watson, 1986; Saugères, 2009; Satsangi, 2013) and through work on **housing and working class people** (Charlesworth, 2001; Slater, 2006; Allen, 2008a, 2008b). See in the introduction to this section (9.1), my conclusions regarding the ‘treatment’, thus far, of Travellers and their accommodation²⁷² as a topic within Housing Studies.
- In the related field(s) of human/cultural/social geography, the **limitations of, and challenges to, popular constructions of ‘space’ and place’ in the context of human mobility** (e.g. Drakakis-Smith, 2007; Kabachnik, 2009, 2020, 2012 all with specific relation to Travellers and nomadism). See Chapter 8, and also my comments on the sedentarism-nomadism dichotomy construct in the remainder of this Conclusion.

In addition, the issue of

- Traveller perceptions of Local Authority *motivations* in site production and management, particularly, in this work, in relation particularly to the residents’ construction of Local Authority Traveller Sites as ‘*hidden*’ or ‘*vanished*’ (as

²⁷² Both meanings intended.

noted in Chapter 7, and reminiscent of Morris, 1999, 2002), by contrast to, for example, notions of the same entities as 'secluded', 'private' or 'screened', again appear interesting and worthy of further investigation.

I have contended in this section that although the extant 'housing studies' and related literature directly focused on Travellers and their accommodation has thus far been relatively sparse and narrowly-focused, present-day housing studies is nevertheless now a field rich in material with close relevance on multiple dimensions in relation to the topic of this thesis. The potential for much broader, open and more illuminating housing research focused directly and explicitly on and from Traveller perspectives (not least through the application of theory, concepts and perspectives already in use within the field, and, of course, related disciplines, sub-disciplines and fields, in particular geography and those closely related to it) thus clearly exists, and is beginning to be realised.

9.1.2 Consideration of this thesis and the extant Housing Studies research in relation to academic work directly focused upon or relating to Travellers

The four fields of study at varying stages of development and levels of formal organisation described in the Introduction to this thesis, within which Travelling people in general or some Traveller groups in particular (depending on the perspective) are central, *have* produced and/or discussed explicit academic theorisation of Western nomadic itinerancy and its relationship with sedentarism (e.g. McVeigh, 1997; Roughneen, 2010; Kabachnik and Ryder, 2013). However most of the work of this type that I reviewed has been primarily focused in a way that either:

- produces the Travelling 'way of life' in the sense of '*lifestyle*', as a manifestation of 'culture', thus conflating 'lifeway' and (particularistic) 'ethnicity' in a way that

reduces the former to a sub-component of the latter; or,

- focuses, when taking a perspective that produces ‘way of life’ more in the essential socio-ecological sense intended in this thesis, on the socio-economic (or ‘subsistence’) sub-aspect of this, with the sub-aspect of ‘residence’ peripheralised or absent; and sometimes constructs ‘lifeway’ in a purely socio-economic way that bears no direct relationship to ethnicity/culture at all.

Very generally in this work, the essential nature of nomadism and sedentarism, the relationship between these, and their ‘everyday’ *residential* aspects, central to “the organisation of daily existence” (Kemeny, 1992:9), and in particular Traveller *dwelling*s, appeared (in a parallel to Kemeny’s 1992 argument in relation to Housing Studies), again due to their deep ‘embeddedness’ in social structure, to be ‘taken for granted’ in the same ‘perceptual illusion’ identified by Kemeny in relation to mainstream housing; producing the same kind of unquestioned, superficially insignificant ‘bottom line’ as can be seen elsewhere in the academic world. Everyday aspects of Traveller residence and ‘being toward dwelling’ (Flint, 2011), for example, Traveller constructions of ‘home’ (Kendall, 1997) , or the notion of the ‘trailer’ as a nomadic equivalent not only to ‘house’ but to ‘household’ (Okley, 1983), have been occasionally considered directly, but this has tended to be peripherally or as secondary to other foci (e.g. ethnicity/race/racism; general ‘culture’; socio-economic practices) and thus have not been clearly defined or explored further in any comprehensive way.

Although I would argue that most authors in these related areas of ‘Traveller-sensitive’ academic work sidestep Traveller ‘accommodation’ (i.e. in the simple sense of ‘housing’) itself for other primary foci²⁷³, again this *has* been considered explicitly and

²⁷³ See for illustration the broad content of the Journal *Romani Studies*’ as a whole, within which ‘housing’ or ‘accommodation’, whilst appearing periodically within articles, are certainly not

directly, most notably recently in 'Gypsy and Traveller Studies' material (e.g. Clark and Greenfields, 2006; Richardson and Ryder, 2012). However, the majority of the work concerned that I reviewed tended to produce a discursive disjoint between '(the actual practice of) nomadism' and 'residence', and whilst usually offering discussion of 'Travelling' as a 'lifestyle' or 'cultural' practice, focused primarily upon (static) 'sites', again producing the distinction between 'transit' and 'permanent residential' variants. This work thus fell squarely within the prescribed (government policy-grounded) conceptual parameters found within Housing Studies (interesting, again, when considering Bourdieu's (1991) notion of 'symbolic violence' as outlined in the last section), thus representing not 'Nomadist (or, nomadism-sensitive) housing analysis' but simply an uncritical account (in *fundamental, theoretical* terms) of 'Travellers in housing' (again see Watson, 1986). This again illustrates my contention that the exclusively sedentary, 'Sedentaristic' version of the socio-ecological human lifeway, inclusive of the concept of 'Settled' human residence, and fixed, 'bricks-and-mortar' housing, is not limited in its fundamental, previously unproblematised and unquestioned role as the basis of Housing Studies alone, but also can be seen to implicitly underpin academia in general. In socio-ecological, 'lifeway' terms, the dominant paradigm within which which the formal mainstream 'Academic World' is produced and maintained is the Sedentarist, with identical 'taken-for-granted bottom-line', fundamental constructions, and the discourses and available linguistic resources are limited in line with this. Quite predictably then, this 'bottom line' is common to all the mainstream academic fields and disciplines in which 'Travellers' appear as subjects or objects of study, or which influence and provide the implicit 'framework(s)' for English-language academic research and literature. This has inevitably had, and will continue to have until consciously explored and challenged, a profound impact upon 'Romani'/'Traveller'/'Gypsy'/'Gypsy and Traveller' Studies' work (despite the common representation of these fields, both internally and externally, as 'non-mainstream' central topics of interest.

and/or 'standpoint').

Again, in more recent years, a range of work across and in collaboration between these directly Traveller-related research areas (and others, in particular again, mainstream human/cultural/social geography, and in addition, history/historiography, and linguistics), is beginning to be consciously focused and produced in ways both theoretically and topically that offer transformative potential (e.g. Mayall, 2004; Matras, 2004; Belton, 2005; Bancroft, 2005; Acton, 2006, 2010; O'Donnell, 2007; Marsh, 2008a, 2008b; Hancock, 2010; Kabachnik and Ryder, 2013). However, in my view this work again remains constrained, limited and 'scattered' at present by a number of combined factors, including:

- the absence within/across these fields of open, rigorous, sustained and *primarily Roma/Traveller/Gypsy-contextualised* debate of *general* social theory and a subsequent relative dearth of theoretically-engaged, rigorously *sociological* and/or sociologically-informed research in these fields, leading to a related lack of *steadily developing/openly debated* work on Roma people/Travellers/Gypsies that is fully engaged with the related recent/current epistemological and theoretical debates within mainstream social science and beyond;
- the related, still-general, systematically unquestioned reification of many of the constructions that fundamentally underpin Sedentarist discourse, and unproblematised 'bottom line' acceptance of the construction of 'nomadism' and 'sedentarism'/ 'Traveller' and 'settled' as a simple dichotomy;
- reductionist constructions of the dominant discourse and practices of 'sedentarism' from the 'anti-Gypsyism' research perspective, that narrowly

pathologise this (i.e. reducing 'sedentarism' to, primarily, 'anti-nomadism');

- the sheer poverty (or arguably, absence) of appropriate, available vocabulary within the English language to linguistically construct non-settled, including Traveller, versions of the human lifeway/residence modes, and in this regard,
- multi-dimensional linguistic blurring/contestation within the English language medium of discourse of 'Romani' 'Gypsy' and 'Traveller' 'ways of life' and/or the relationship of these to majority population norms in relation to their socio-ecological nature and characteristics, and to culture/ethnicity, leading to persistent intra- and inter-paradigmatic discursive confusion and tension.

As noted at a similar point in the Introduction, the present work was primarily grounded in interpretivist sociological work in the field of housing studies, and focused topically on Travelling people in the UK and the 'Local Authority Traveller Site' in England. The present sub-section of my Conclusion has been simply an initial 'broad-brush' evaluation, of, whilst I made my best attempt to include a varied range of material, only the work within these academic domains external to this, but intimately related to my research focus, that I was able to review within the time constraints of this project. In relation to the above summary, further review and consideration of the Romani/Gypsy/ Traveller studies literature (the opportunity for which lay outwith the scope of the project described in this thesis) in specific relation to overlaps with the Housing literature discussed in the previous section, and the findings of this thesis, will undoubtedly yield further overlaps and areas of common interest. However, as discussed in the Introduction, although their applications and attendant debates appear to have been less developed thus far than in housing studies or elsewhere in mainstream academia, a range of epistemological approaches have nevertheless been attempted in these fields, including those of social constructionism and realism (as discussed in Chapter 2). In addition, overlapping attempts have been made to

consider and/or apply (albeit to vastly varying degrees) the work of a range of mainstream social theorists in relation to the subject area, including all of those mentioned in the previous section, for example Bourdieu (Sibley, 1981; Richardson and Ryder, 2012) Bauman (Hawes and Perez, 1996; McVeigh, 1997; Acton, 2004; Bancroft, 2005; Richardson, 2007; Bhopal and Myers, 2008) Foucault (Clark, 2004; Belton, 2005; Richardson, 2006, 2007; Richardson and Ryder, 2012) Habermas (Sibley, 1981; O'Donnell, 2007); Simmel (Bancroft, 2005); Goffman (Richardson and Ryder, 2012) and Elias (Bancroft, 2005).

The work that I located taking some notion of Traveller 'lifeway', 'residence' or a related theme as its direct, explicit focus, that I found also to be most rigorously engaged in ways that complemented the type of theoretical work common in sociological housing studies, has generally been produced outside both Housing Studies and Romani/Traveller/Gypsy/Gypsy and Traveller studies. Forming an emerging theme of this conclusion, I found particularly that Traveller-relevant material published within *human/social/cultural geography* and related fields was the best developed and overlapped, topically and in terms of its explicit engagement with social theory (for example, Drakakis-Smith, 2007 Shubin, 2011, Kabachnik, 2009, 2010; Powell, 2013). Positively, at least one such author has also published on Travellers formally within Housing Studies (Powell, 2008) and further examples of collaborative interdisciplinary work between geography and Romani/Traveller/Gypsy/Gypsy and Traveller Studies are now beginning to appear formally within the latter (e.g. Kabachnik and Ryder, 2013, an integration of political/cultural geography and Gypsy and Traveller Studies, published in the journal *Romani Studies*). I feel that further consideration and development of the sociological aspects of this work, and more specifically, an integration of the existing socio-geographical material with an *expanded, nomadism-sensitive, sociology of residence* (for example through close consideration of overlapping themes such as those identified in the previous section between this

research and mainstream housing studies), in conjunction with explicit epistemology and more rigorous and sustained engagement with social theory, could prove to be very fruitful, and potentially transformative and more generally integrative for Romani Studies and related areas of research.

Thus far, this in this section I have described and discussed academic work on '**Travellers and housing (accommodation)**' produced from a range of housing studies and related academic perspectives that overlaps either theoretically, thematically or topically with the findings of my analysis. I have also offered a brief evaluation of similar work produced from Romani/Gypsy/Traveller studies or related perspectives. Again 'adapting' from Watson's (1986) *Feminist* critique of 'Housing', and in reference particularly to Allen's (2009) *social class*-focused critique of 'Housing Studies', but also influenced by more general critiques of dominant discourse produced from both these and also *postcolonial* perspectives (e.g. Noyes, 2004)), I have noted that no (rigorous, radical, explicit) '**Nomadist** (or, nomadism-sensitive) **housing analysis**', or other socio-ecologically non-hegemonic critique, has thus been as yet, as far as I have been able to ascertain, produced either from within or without Housing Studies.

9.2 Travelling, Settledness, and human socio-ecological identity: 'cultural'/'ethnic'/'socio-economic' 'lifestyle', or 'lifeway'?

In general, I feel it is safe to conclude that theoretically promising critical work, with increasing epistemological awareness and interesting potential, has begun to emerge within the last two decades from both Housing Studies and the overlapping Traveller-related fields identified and discussed, as well as most recently from collaborative efforts. However, within this work, 'nomadism', where explicitly theorized, has still tended to be constructed as an alternative *cultural*, (*particularistically*) *ethnic*, or (*habitual*) *socio-economic* activity. 'Sedentarism' has tended, variously, to be

'particularistically' absent from such representations; presented either explicitly (Hancock, 2002; Zachos, 2011) or implicitly as the 'norm' of most *Romani* groups (which can be interpreted as an example of a discursive reaction to, and attempt to manage or eliminate, *territorially-contextualised* stigmatization (Goffman, 1970; Wacquant, 2007, 2008; Powell, 2008, 2013)); or from *Traveller* 'standpoints', defined narrowly, either explicitly or implicitly, as an 'anti-nomadism' variant or aspect of cultural/ethnic 'anti-Gypsyism' (McVeigh, 1997; Kenrick, 2004; Roughneen, 2010). As discussed in the Introduction to this thesis, 'anti-Gypsyism', in turn, has been predominantly constructed in the literature as a form of 'new *racism*' (i.e. of the 'cultural variety), or ethnic/racial prejudice and discrimination, perpetrated transnationally by 'gadže'/'settled'/'house-dwelling'/'country people' majority populations, against *both* ethnic Romani (regardless of lifeway) *and* non-Romani 'Travelling people'. However, this 'racism', in parallel with many representations of 'Romani' and 'Traveller' ethnicity itself, is again constructed as *uniquely* 'distinct':

"[...] whereas most racism consists of complaining that people resemble too much various ethnic stereotypes, when it comes to Gypsies, the most common racist complaint is that they do not resemble the historic stereotype of "the true Gypsy"."

(Acton, 1998:2)

A sense of the inadequacy of this construction of anti-Gypsy/Romani/Traveller prejudice and its attendant discrimination purely as 'racism' has been expressed in the literature, in constructs producing 'nomadism' as separate from 'race' and/or 'ethnicity', whilst, simultaneously, implicitly exposing the total lack of appropriate English-language conceptual vocabulary suggested earlier in this section for describing the phenomena observed:

[...] the[re is an] intrinsic difficulty [in] making the hostility to the Gypsy minority fit into the pattern of racial prejudice and discrimination which black and Asian people and other minority communities suffer. As Banton (1983) says, **the relationship between Gypsies and settled society does not fit well into the sociological categories for analysing intergroup relations** [...].

[...] A new generation of academic writers, perhaps responding to the developing multi-culturalism of British society, has [...] ground[ed] its analysis in the concept of the politics of difference. **Ethnicity, gender and disability** are all at the heart of this debate, **as is the difference represented by nomadism**, whether manifested in the Gypsies and Travellers or the more recent New Age groups.”

(Hawes and Perez, 1996:148, 158, emphasis added).

Within this literature, the above idea of ‘nomadism’ as representing a fundamental dimension of Traveller identity that cannot be as clearly labelled, but is nevertheless recognised as *distinct* from other fundamental identity aspects and prejudices; and a counterpart recognition of the uniquely contradictory nature and discursive inadequacy of currently-accepted descriptors for and constructions of Travelling and other non-sedentary/non-‘gadže’ people and their ‘ways of life’, have continued to appear and be discussed periodically (see Mayall, 2004). Outside Romani/Traveller/Gypsy Studies, the common English language construction of the category ‘Roma/Gypsy’ has been represented as ‘code unknown’ (Robins et al., 2010), referencing its general exclusion from academic consideration. From within Romani Studies (in parallel with similar developments in relation to certain race/ethnicity and gender/sexuality pejoratives), calls have recently been made for the word ‘Gypsy’ to be reclaimed, stripped of its negative associations, to represent *all* Romani *and* Travelling peoples as a distinct ‘community’ (Uzpeder et al, 2008; Marsh, 2008b), in some kind of broad sense not easily articulable in English (i.e. as a diversely heterogenous, but equally non-*gadže* group). However, I was unable to find work that focused directly upon and further

explored/theorised the discursive discomfort underlying these ideas in any sustained or rigorous way.

9.2.1 A (*social science*) mobilities-contextualised 'lifeway': dichotomy, or continuum?

As discussed, in my reading I did not come across any work either in Housing Studies or any of the Romani/Gypsy/Traveller-focused academic work that explicitly produced 'nomadism' and 'sedentarism' in the fundamental, multiply binary, socio-ecological 'lifeway' sense that I have developed here. However, in a range of superficially unrelated work, the 'mobilities turn' in mainstream social science (Urry, 2007) and some parallel or related developments in individual academic arenas, such as the increasing challenges made to traditional 'linear' theories of human societal development in archaeology (as discussed in Emerson et al, 2009:29-35), and an 'anti-sedentarism' perspective in anthropology (see Malkki, 1998; Turton, 2005), some academics have begun to focus upon the notion of all human beings as essentially mobile, and thus, of patterns of stillness and motion being fundamental to human 'existence'. Work has been produced in this context on the previously unconsidered 'mobilities' of *Sedentary* society (see Malkki, 1998; Noyes, 2004); on human 'lifeways' expressed in nomadic/sedentary terms not as a dichotomy or inevitable linear progression, but as a 'continuum' along which human groups and individuals can and do move in both directions according to both need and preference (Emerson et al, 2009); and even on Travelling people themselves (Drakakis-Smith, 2007). The notion of *human mobility* as universal has begun to appear explicitly in some Housing Studies (e.g. Gwyther, 2009; Hedman, 2011; Dufty-Jones, 2012; Clapham et al, 2012) Romani Studies (e.g. Kabachnik and Ryder, 2013) and related (Shubin, 2011) work.

In both academic (e.g. Jenne, 2000; Hancock, 2002, 2010; Lucassen and Lucassen, 2005; Hayes and Acton, 2007) and professional (Poole and Adamson, 2007; Fremlova,

2009; CCF and Whiting-Bates, 2011) terms, despite the differences and conflicts between the varied perspectives, there is near-universal agreement that many 'Rom(ani) people' can be characterised as

“[...] **migrant**, [with] 'gypsy' referring to their behaviour rather than their ethnicity.”

(Hancock, 2010:97, emphasis added),

and thus I would argue, as most essentially neither *sedentary* nor *nomadic*, but **migratory**, as a directly parallel concept to these (i.e. in socio-ecological *lifeway* terms).

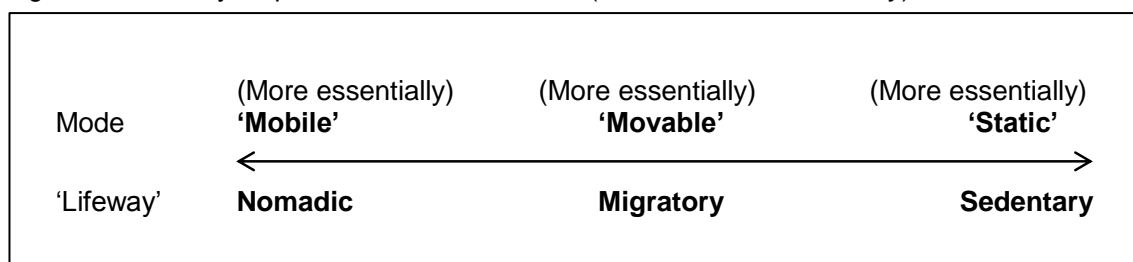
The lay dictionary produced 'sedentary', 'nomadic' and '*migratory*' as, in specific relation to humans, *anthropological* terms in what would appear to be an equal, but anomalously *ternary*, rather than binary, relationship in discursive categorization terms. In this, all three elements corresponded equally to the socio-ecological lifeway/residence dimension. Unlike 'sedentary' and 'nomadic', 'migratory' was not afforded its own dedicated entry in the edition of the OED used for the purposes of this thesis. However, it did appear as a derivative of

migrate v. **1** (of an animal, typically a bird or fish) move from one region or habitat to another according to the seasons [...]. **■** (of a person) move to a new area or country in order to find work: *rural populations have migrated to urban areas.* [...]. **2** move from one part of something to another [...]. - DERIVATIVES **migration** n. **migrational** adj. **migrator** n. **migratory** adj. – ORIGIN early 17th cent. (in the general sense 'move from one place to another'): from latin *migrat-* 'moved, shifted', from the verb *migrare*.

Although in this case the lay English language dictionary does not offer a 'human' or 'anthropological' variant of the main, explicitly 'habitational' sense, both the traditional anthropological and archaeological literature amply filled this gap, explicitly producing

many representations of essentially 'migratory' (as distinct from both sedentary and nomadic) 'other' and 'past' human groups. These were constructed as adhering to a further variant of the socio-ecological dimension of the essential human lifeway, suggesting, even if explicitly and consistently only in 'other' and 'past' human terms, the possibility of a lifeway 'continuum' rather than a stark 'dichotomy' between 'static' and 'mobile' extremes:

Figure 37. 'Lifeway', represented as a *continuum* (in contrast to a *dichotomy*)



This formulation offered the possibility of myriad, rather than simply two, 'lifeway' sub-variants on this socio-ecological dimension, each combining the essential human capacity for both stillness and motion in a potentially limitless range of ways, combining socio-ecological lifeway, cultural lifestyle and individual action dimensions. An overarching implication of the work presented in this thesis is that the above or similar is a 'current'/'present', rather than exclusively 'past'/'other' discursive phenomenon.

Whilst the present research took as one of its conceptual starting-points the notion commonly accepted in the literature and more widely, of a *nomadic/sedentary* dichotomy, my analysis has triangulated to some degree with the implicit conceptualisation within lay English of such a continuum, along which human individuals and groups may discursively shift given varying circumstances and different levels of contact with each other. This formulation produces, as with ethnicity and all other dimensions of human identity, 'lifeway' identity defined primarily in terms of what it is *not*, and is thus flexible to change and transformation making space also for myriad

essential socio-ecological mobility-stillness variations between the 'extreme' and 'mid' points represented as 'sedentary', 'migratory' and 'nomadic'.

This notion of a continuum greatly interests me not only because it promises an integrative, discursive 'place' for, in particular, Romani people to become more externally comprehensible, but also because it offers similar potential in relation to my own self. After the reflection that has resulted from completion of this thesis, I now construct and characterise my personal socio-ecological identity (discussed in Chapter 4), in terms of three (possibly four) equally influential but quite different aspects of my social/cultural/ethnic personal and family identity, as most essentially to the ('migratory') left of 'sedentary' in its traditional 'common' sense on the continuum shown in Figure 37 (pg. 395). The importance of the concepts of 'residence' and 'home' in defining these points on the continuum is clear from my analysis, since, as established in the Introduction, lifeway is not essentially about 'travelling' but about the way, in conjunction with the essential, symbiotic human capacity (and basic survival need) for 'stillness' and 'motion', in which 'home' is produced, maintained and consumed, both discursively and otherwise.

9.2.2 Suggested use of Capitalisation to enhance the comprehensibility and clarity of socio-ecological lifeway-related terms

Blurring of the meaning of lifeway-related terms within the Romani/Traveller/Gypsy studies and related literature, for example between 'sedentary', 'Settled' and 'settled', and between 'migrant', 'migratory' and 'Traveller'/'Travelling', often makes it difficult to be sure of what is intended in some of the work and also to make comparisons between different sources. Quite early on during my reading I felt that clarification and standardization of these terms in English would be helpful (not least to aid 'common sense' communication in collaborative work between different academic domains), and would like to suggest that capitalisation could clearly be used here in a way separate

from its use to denote ethnicity; in other words, words could be differentiated by capitalization not in reference to broader ethnic/cultural identity (where all Traveller groups already have some other additional qualifier, e.g. for travelling groups, 'Irish', 'Romany Gypsy', 'New (Age)', 'Showman', and for settled groups, nationality, religion etc.), but to distinguish 'essential' lifeway identity from temporary individual stillness/motion behaviours, or more superficial 'cultural' lifestyle.

For example, '**S**ettled' could denote essentially sedentary people, '**T**raveller', essentially nomadic people, '**M**igrant', essentially migratory people, and lower-case could be used in the case of a person who, whilst still retaining their primary lifeway identity and associations with one of these groups, engages more superficially (and thus potentially, 'abnormally') in the behaviour fundamental to another. For example, 'settled Traveller' (person whose primary lifeway identity remains 'Traveller', but who currently lives in a house) as distinct from 'Settled traveller' (a person whose primary lifeway identity remains 'Settled', but who is on a journey or who frequently goes on journeys; and the same for 'settled Migrant'/'Settled migrant', and so on.

Due to the persistence of an ontologically narrow, 'Sedentarist', 'taken-for-granted bottom line', despite its theoretical transformation over approximately the past two decades, I view the field of Housing Studies (and academia in general) as having thus remained largely 'lifeway-centric' and/or lifeway-blind' (as parallel concepts to 'ethno-centric' and 'gender-blind'). Consequently, within its current parameters, regardless of advances and improvements on other (and in particular theoretical) dimensions, housing research has remained severely limited with specific regard to a more critical approach to the nature and functions of Traveller (or any other non-Sedentarist forms of residence and accommodation), and equally, to any more general, or positive consideration of these (i.e. as I have attempted to demonstrate in this work, not as 'problems' to be 'solved', but as they may be socially constructed in the 'everyday')

sense from a range of 'non-Sedentarist' perspectives ' by interactions between Travelling people themselves, or by their interactions with non-Travellers who develop good relationships with them through *positive*, close, sustained *proximity* (Newcomb, 1956) and/or *contact* (Allport, 1954; Wright, 2009; Otten et al, 2009; Laurence, 2013)).

By contrast, I would characterise Romani/Gypsy/Traveller Studies very much as essentially 'lifeway-sensitive', but as having been and thus far remaining, for the reasons outlined in this section, 'blind' to the fundamental importance and essential nature of *residence* to the human lifeway. Although thus far the housing studies conception of 'residence' itself has largely remained Sedentaristically limited, and direct, sustained attention within Romani/Gypsy/Traveller Studies to the same concept largely absent, the combination of developments of the last twenty years within both areas of research, and similar work conducted from alternative perspectives interrelated with one or both of these, suggest that this need not continue to be the case. If sustained, positive 'proximity'/'contact' between researchers in or associated with these two research areas could be shifted from the narrow area of atheoretical, positivist/empiricist social policy where it has tended to take place thus far, to the far more academically 'open' disciplinary domains with which both also overlap (and I would suggest particularly human/social/cultural geography and sociology); and begin to develop in an epistemologically explicit context of, initially at least, social theory that is already familiar and has been usefully applied in both research areas (for example Foucault, Bourdieu and/or Bauman), this would produce a potentially very fruitful starting-point to begin inter- or trans-disciplinary (Clapham et al, 2012) exploration of any of the themes developed in this thesis.

In particular, I feel that in addition to the broadened concept of 'residence' that I have proposed should be understood in the context of what I have termed the human 'lifeway' , the notion of a 'lifeway' as a *continuum* rather than a dichotomy is also worthy

of further consideration, since this alternative construction produces the capacity to include not only Travellers equally alongside Settled people, but also those from among the many 'Romani people' who represent themselves *socio-ecologically*, in terms that transcend presently-available English language cultural/ethnic explanations, as *neither* quite like 'gadže' (*non-Romani* Settled/sedentary people), *nor* as essentially nomadic.

However, as stated in the Introduction, I consider this thesis and its conclusions to be preliminary, tentative, and merely one of potentially many valid and useful constructions of the 'reality' of the Local Authority Traveller Site and of non-sedentary residence, representing a very partial and non-generalisable view of the subject matter. Critique and development of, or alternatives to, the formulations I have proposed, produced through application of any of the range of different ideas, concepts and theoretical standpoints, or exploration of the topical parallels outlined in this section (or indeed others), would thus be very welcome and of great interest to me.

9.3 Contribution of this research

The first way in which I produce my research as having made an original contribution is to the academic discipline and field in which it was primarily grounded, sociology and Housing Studies, in, through an initial return to the notion of 'housing' as *shelter* in the most fundamental sense (Maslow, 1954; Balchin and Rhoden, 1998: i.e., not limiting its 'bottom line' definition to '*bricks and mortar*' houses), my **problematism and re-conceptualisation of the sociological Housing concept of 'residence'** as an essential sub-component of the construct of the human 'lifeway', produced as the 'socio-ecological' counterpart subsense within the 'common sense' concept of 'way of life', to its further, more 'cultural/ethnic' sub-component, of 'lifestyle'. Within the context of a 'universalist' construction of 'ethnicity', my representation of 'lifeway' is as a

dimension of human identity that is discrete from but universally cross-cuts ethnicity, in a construction that produces all 'ethnic'/'cultural' groups as having differently formulated internal 'lifeway' composition in terms of majority/minority sub-groups.

Represented within this context, 'residence', both in relation to its primary counterpart category of 'subsistence', and to two distinct, contrasting, but symbiotic aspects of motion and stillness intrinsic to 'lifeway' as the 'higher level' integrative concept (and thus shared by its sub-components), opens new possibilities for the more comprehensive, integrated theorisation of 'residence' (and likewise the furtherance of the project of better integration of Housing Studies within the social sciences, both through 'more theory' (Kemeny, 1992) and more *home-grown* theory (King, 2009:50-51). In particular this work has intended to show the great, and as yet hardly explored, potential for *inter-* and *transdisciplinary* (Clapham et al, 2012) collaboration between the disciplines of sociology and geography in the context of the fields of Housing Studies and Romani/Gypsy/Traveller/Gypsy and Traveller Studies. I suggest that Housing researchers could radically further the 'broader in-field analysis' advocated by Kemeny (1992:9) that would enhance its contribution and relevance to, and thus 'anchor' it still more securely within, mainstream sociology, by considering the *mobilities* of residence as these are manifest, albeit often implicitly, within the Romani/Traveller/Gypsy Studies literature, and within everyday non-Sedentarist discourse; and residence as an essential aspect of the higher-level concept of 'lifeway' as developed in this thesis. I further feel that Romani/Traveller/Gypsy Studies could benefit greatly from a close, epistemologically explicit consideration of the *sociological* concept of *residence*, as this is manifest within the Housing Studies literature, as a central aspect of *Traveller mobilities*. This could contribute to a similarly broad and potentially transformative "in-field analysis" as continues to take place within Housing Studies, with 'lifeway' or a similar socio-ecological concept serving as the "higher level integrating concept" that would allow for a more developed "internal [...] rationality"

(leading similarly to a Romani/Traveller/Gypsy Studies with the theoretical underpinning necessary to “anchor” it more visibly and comprehensibly within mainstream academia (paraphrased from Kemeny, 1992:153; see Chapter 1)).

Such in-field exercises would naturally produce opportunities for active, theoretically engaged collaboration both between these two areas of research, and between one or both of these and disciplines and other fields with complementary foci. In turn, explicit problematisation within such *inter-* and potentially *trans-*disciplinary collaborative work of what is at present a widely-shared, ‘taken for granted’ concept that implicitly underpins current dominant ‘versions’ of ‘reality’ (‘social’ and otherwise), could prove to have clear and profound relevance, implications and effect for general academia and beyond.

This research has thus suggested and begun to explore a more holistic way to consider ‘residence’, in terms of ‘nomadism’ (living/residing most essentially ‘(*mobile*) on the road’) and ‘sedentarism’ (‘living/residing most essentially (static) in one place’)- whether as a dichotomy, or as I would further develop this, as the two extremes of a notional ‘residence’ continuum, somewhere between which would lie the notional category of ‘**migratorism**’ (living/residing most essentially ‘out of a suitcase’, i.e. ‘*ever-ready to move*’/‘*easily movable*’), by its explicit description and equalisation of the latter two phenomena not as ‘lifestyle’ sub-components of ‘culture’/‘ethnicity’ but as socio-ecological sub-components of the human ‘lifeway’ that is distinct from, but simultaneously cross-cuts culture/ethnicity and other identity dimensions. In doing so it explicitly suggests (as did the Travellers who contributed to my research) that while ‘nomadism’ and ‘sedentarism’ are constructed in a way that produces them as distinct from and not reducible to each other, the common notion of these as ‘dichotomous’, and incompatible with one another, is not necessarily or inevitably the only version of the construction available.

I further hope that this thesis has 'contributed' by serving as a **demonstration of the continuing potential of the more epistemologically explicit and rigorously theoretical approaches developed over the past two decades within Housing Studies**. I feel that interpretivist perspectives, and in particular the *social constructionist* approach (and consequently further developments from this (e.g. Clapham, 2009a, 2011)) is epistemologically 'open' in a way that can allow Travellers and other non-hegemonic 'residents' to be considered directly within housing studies, and in particular within the sociology of residence, in new ways that are able to transcend the narrow, positivistic, 'abnormalising' views that still remain within Housing Studies' of their lifeways and 'being toward dwelling' as described at the beginning of this conclusion. Many of the theoretical concepts and approaches that have been proposed and developed within Housing Studies, for example, a broader constructionist conception of 'home'/'home ownership' (Gurney, 1997), and Clapham's (2005) 'Housing Pathways' approach; and in related fields, such as the broadening over the same period of the concept of 'place' within Human, Social and cultural geography (see Anderson, 2010; Kabachnik, 2012) and resulting from the general social science 'mobilities turn' (Urry, 2007) could very easily, and I imagine fruitfully, be adapted and integrated toward the study of broadened senses of 'housing' ('dwelling', 'household', 'home') and 'residence' that can accommodate sedentary, migratory, nomadic and potentially other manifestations of these, and thus a **broadened 'Housing Studies' and 'sociology (and perhaps, 'socio-ecology') of residence'**.

Such approaches developed from within Housing Studies could also inform, and indeed have the potential to become fundamental and central to, 'lifeway'-contextualised research (including of 'residence') within 'Gypsy'/'Romani'/'Traveller'/'Gypsy and Traveller' Studies perspectives, broadened in sociological, socio-

geographical and socio-ecological directions. In turn, these could ultimately, given the interest and will, collaborate both internally and externally toward development of a new, integrated, inter- and trans-disciplinary (Clapham et al. 2012) field of 'Lifeway Studies', comparable for example to 'Gender Studies' (the central concept of which, of course, also took initial shape in terms of a dichotomy, has long since moved on from this, and remains largely driven from 'marginalised'/'non-hegemonic' perspectives (e.g. see Butler, 1990, 1993a, 1993b.).

I would also argue that this thesis has taken a further step in relation to the *topic* (which remains, most recently with the ongoing events at Dale Farm in Essex²⁷⁴, and the presence (and expected arrival of more) 'European Roma' economic migrants (or perhaps in the case of at least some groups, simply 'Migrants') to the UK under the EU 'freedom of movement' provision²⁷⁵, that have both been periodically widely reported during all phases of producing this thesis, ever-'present' in the 'social' world). It represents neither simply an exploration of the Traveller/non-hegemonic lifeway 'world view' nor a critique of the dominant 'world view' from a Traveller/non-hegemonic lifeway 'standpoint' perspective, (both of which I consider to also be potentially very valid and valuable), but a reflexive socio-discursive exploration of marginalised and dominant, hegemonic perspectives with a specific focus upon the way in which these *interact* with each other in the shared construction and maintenance of the 'accommodation'/'housing' 'reality' within which all human beings, regardless of paradigm or perspective, *reside*, both socio-discursively and otherwise. I therefore feel that a third original contribution made by this work constitutes **a deepened understanding of how**

²⁷⁴ See e.g. BBC News articles 'Timeline of events at Dale Farm' (19/10/11) <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-15367736>, 'Dale Farm: Basildon Council considering further action' (19/10/12) <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-essex-19990136>, 'Dale farm Travellers get £4.3m eviction bill from basildon Council' (22/03/13) <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-essex-21898098> [All accessible online December 2013]

²⁷⁵ See e.g. BBC News articles 'David Blunkett riot fear over Roma migrant tensions' (12/11/13) (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-24909979> and 'Challenging Stereotypes: Teesside's new Roma' <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/in-pictures-25101956> [Accessible online March 2014]; also see Powell, 2014, and generally, *People, Place and Policy* 8 (1) (Special Issue).

'housing' for, and the use of 'housing' by a *lifeway* minority (a group that may also be (even officially) categorised as a minority in the *ethnic*, and possibly other senses, e.g. *religious*) **is socially constructed in the 'everyday' lay world, from the contradictions in the official national-level discourse to the conflict produced by the particular constructions and discourse of the Local Authority Site on the local level-** in particular by drawing out the way in which different groups use the same or extremely similar language to describe very different concepts (and in this a parallel can be drawn particularly with some housing studies work on social class, and notably, Allen (2008a, 2008b, 2009)).

9.4 Limitations of this research

'Weak' social constructionism recognises that, in order to explore any construction, the exploration of surrounding, potentially equally problematisable constructions must be, to some extent, suspended, leaving them temporarily intact in order to have a stable enough analytical environment for the exploration of the entity or phenomenon of interest. 'Reductionism', and the practice of inadvertent 'ontological gerrymandering' within academic work is to a great extent unavoidable; the social constructionist perspective holds that *all* academic work, this thesis included, is produced from the particular, particularly bounded and limited, paradigmatic 'viewpoint' of the researcher who constructs it. Although I have attempted to take an epistemological 'step back' in looking at this topic, I thus do not claim to have done so 'objectively'. In the terms developed in this work, it was produced from a perspective (my own) that itself became unstable, beginning as a relatively 'naïve' Sedentary Nomadistic perspective with unarticulated bi-modal tendencies, and gradually transforming to a more explicitly 'bi-modal Sedentary Nomadist' perspective during the research process. However, due to my not being a Traveller, being a woman (etc., as discussed in Chapter 4), my perspective and understanding, and thus, the thesis I have produced, however 'nomadist' or 'bi-modal', remains inevitably 'sedentary' (or perhaps 'sedentary-

migratory') and gendered, as well as influenced and limited by my own unique ethno-socio-cultural, religious and class identity. Endless re-problematisation of new category or concept would have been neither possible nor necessary within the scope of this thesis, although it was intended, in addition to exploring the topic, to demonstrate an example of this practice being used consciously and purposively as an analytical tool. Inevitably, some themes, categories and aspects of the discussion that could be fruitfully problematised have been left undisturbed (an obvious example being the universalist concept of 'ethnicity' accepted after a brief discussion of this in the Introduction), and inadvertent discursive mechanisms, such as 'ontological gerrymandering', will concurrently be present. I expect that all of the critiques of social constructionist work discussed in Chapter 2 will apply to this thesis, and I welcome this as part of the 'dance and clash' that drives academic debate and progress. In addition, of course, the findings and conclusions of this work apply *directly* only to those people and groups within the single Local Authority area in which I conducted my research who were good enough to participate, and to the sites and time period in which it took place; a project following an identical research design and protocol during another time period, in another area or even within the same area and time period but with different participants²⁷⁶, case sites, etc., could have resulted in a significantly different thesis.

9.5 Future Directions

In conducting this research, my primary purpose was to produce new academic knowledge and understanding towards achievement of a PhD. I thus do not make any specific 'practice' recommendations, nor intend for this work to directly influence non-academic practice in Housing, Planning or any other field. However, in general, I feel that current understandings of the Local Authority Traveller Site still tend to be

²⁷⁶ for example, although there I heard that there were some 'New Travellers' in Stramshire at the time of conducting my field work, I was unable to make contact with them to offer the opportunity to participate, and whilst the 'Housed Travellers' I came into occasional contact with were happy to be present for participant observation, none wanted to participate in an interview.

expressed only in the *social* terms used as a starting-point for this research:

*P22: The **Local Authority** are under pressure(...) to keep [Traveller Sites] away from people that might complain... The Council is stuck between the **Travellers** and **Settled people**(...) ²⁷⁷,*

and that this has contributed to Traveller accommodation-related issues and problems often being viewed within practice domains as 'intractable' (Crawley, 2004)). In this regard, an awareness of the categories of the socio-*discursive* re-construction presented in this thesis may help to produce some potentially helpful new questions and approaches (and perhaps thus new 'castings' of old problems and issues) where 'consultation' is planned, including but by no means exclusively in relation to accommodation, between 'Settled' authorities and 'Travelling' people, and between socio-ecologically hegemonic and non-hegemonic (but not necessarily 'Travelling') groups in general. This may be useful, adapted to each particular circumstance, in achieving goals such as enhanced reciprocal understanding, mutually meaningful dialogue, and satisfactory outcomes for *all* involved.

With regard to future possibilities for academic research related directly and explicitly to this thesis, I feel that the present work has produced many further theoretical and topical questions worth exploring both within and collaboratively between academic fields, including, but not in any way limited to, those which I outlined earlier in section 9.1. In general, I hope that alternative, more broadly-contextualized and multiple-modally integrated constructions of 'residence', 'housing', the symbiotic binaries of 'stillness/motion' and 'residence/subsistence' and other related concepts might begin to be more explicitly and directly considered and eventually become 'normal' within

²⁷⁷ Excerpt from Interview 15, with Settled female Stramshire Local Authority Education worker, direct experience of both case sites and residents, and other Travellers in the area, 2009

Housing Studies, further afield, and in interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary work, in the same way that the need for and benefits of, for example, 'gender-sensitivity' are now generally recognised in social science. The adoption of 'lifeway-sensitive' ('bi-modal, 'tri-modal' 'continuum' or other) research approaches within housing studies might result in the general consideration of Travellers and other 'lifeway'/'residentially' non-hegemonic groups within the field, through adaptation or adjustment of the theoretically aware work, for example, explicitly realist, or social constructionist ('and beyond') research current in Housing Studies to an application within other fields (including the four Traveller-related fields I have discussed). In producing a rigorously-analysed, loosely Foucauldian 'snapshot' of the discursive construction of the Local Authority Traveller Site in one local area during one relatively short time period, my PhD work has opened up various possibilities in relation to further exploration and development of its initial conclusions (and remaining questions). For example:

- Complementary Discourse Analysis case study work focusing on other types and aspects of '*Traveller* accommodation ('housing')'. For example, a similar 'snapshot' study of the social construction of the '**Local Authority Transit site**', in an alternative Local Authority area to the one used for this research, in which these have *actually* been produced (not the case in the Local Authority area chosen for this research); a study of the '**private site**'; focused positively on the '**permanent[ly mobile] homes**', in the 'Nomadist' sense (i.e. caravans, trailers etc.), of 'bi-residential' 'Modern Travellers'; or work exploring the notion of '**Nomadic society**', since this, from the constructions produced in this work, while not appearing to be organized and structured in the same way as 'Sedentary Society, does clearly have organization and structure. Such work could be based upon a more traditional social constructionist epistemology and discourse analysis research strategy as in this case, or could take one of a number of alternative epistemological starting-points, for example it could

explore the 'affordance' approach proposed by Clapham (2011), or use critical realism (Sayer, 2000; Fairclough, 1995, 2005) as a theoretical framework. In addition, it could utilize any one, or a combination of the explanatory concepts offered by general social theorists, and could explore any of the parallels and overlaps identified between this and other Housing Studies work, as outlined in section 9.1.

- More 'traditional', 'longer-range' Foucauldian 'genealogical' work in relation to the Local Authority Traveller Site, or to the general social construction of Gypsies, Travellers and Accommodation (for example, more developed discursive analysis of the social construction of the CJPOA 1994 and/or the Caravan Acts of the 1960s, and the genealogical relationship between these and the particular constructions produced for the area and time period focused upon in this thesis; or further 'update' studies of present-day constructions of Gypsies, Travellers and Accommodation.)

Finally, I agree with Clapham (2009a) that in some cases limited collaboration between epistemological approaches previously considered incompatible, while needing to be approached with great care, may be achievable; and also with Clapham et al. (2012) in that debates on this topic and in housing studies and the sociology of residence in general are likely to be best progressed, and transformed, through not simply multi-, but inter-, and ideally *trans-disciplinary research*. I hope that, in broadening out from both starting-point discipline and field, this thesis has in a modest way offered ideas and an example of one way in which this might begin to be achieved. On this quite different level, just one of many potentially interesting and illuminating future possibilities in this regard for which I consider the interrelated fields of Traveller-related research hold unique potential, would be

- Trans-disciplinary, discourse analysis-grounded, *(socio)linguistics and comparative (socio)linguistics research*. This could combine the lifeway-sensitivity of Romani/Traveller/Gypsy/Gypsy and Traveller Studies, and the theoretical rigour and engagement with general social science debates that is now well-developed within Housing Studies, in exploring and developing new understandings of the discursive construction of ‘everyday’ geographical, socio-ecological, social, ‘housing’ and ‘lifeway’ phenomena, such as place and space, (modes of) ‘residence’, ‘household’, ‘home’, ‘dwelling’ and so forth, *from the paradigmal perspectives of non-sedentary social groups retaining a primary language distinct from that of sedentary ‘host populations’*, (e.g. Romani languages, Shelta, Gammon, Cant) as well as the *relationships regarding the construction of discourse between these languages, and between such languages and English* (or other majority population languages).

Many important developments have taken place within Traveller-related fields of research in recent years. In my view, it is now through a more thorough, sustained and open engagement with social theory and mainstream theoretical debates, and through this type of collaborative social science and more broadly transdisciplinary work, that I imagine significant additional progress now might be made in the parallel project to that begun by Kemeny within Housing Studies, of

“[...] end[ing] the marginalisation of Romani [/Traveller/Gypsy] Studies in the world of knowledge”

(Acton, 1997:5, text in brackets added).

9.6 Final thoughts

Finally; increasing numbers of Traveller children have now been accessing mainstream education for some time. I hope that this work will have produced *not* a stone in a

'foundation', but rather, a 'wheel' (or at least a spoke) for the eventual 'wagon' (or trailer) of an integrated, theoretically aware 'Traveller Studies' in the broad sense produced in this work, that will complement and support the work of Traveller Studies, Romani Studies and all other related fields, in both aiding the further development of Traveller-constructed education opportunities and networks independent of formal, hegemonic 'Sedentarist' systems; and in allowing the gradually increasing numbers who have, and will in future continue, to enter mainstream academia, to eventually do so both openly within their own self-constructed identity, and also explicitly on 'routes' of their own terms, whatever their particular field or discipline of interest.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

PART A

'SITE UNDER CONSTRUCTION' RESEARCH PROTOCOL:

INTERVIEWS

The interviews for this research are designed to be only very loosely structured from a common starting point. This schedule does not therefore contain set questions to be asked directly or in a strict 'order', but rather general themes and lines of inquiry to be investigated as appropriate in each interview (David and Sutton, 2004). The interviewer will:

- Explain the interview process and the purpose of audio-recording or note-taking, and inform the interviewee that their responses will remain confidential, that data will be anonymised before use within the research, and that they have the right to stop at any time during the interview.
- Signed agreement to participate in the research as it has been explained, and consent for material obtained during the interview to be used in the study, will be obtained from the interviewee before the interview starts.
- Each interview should last no longer than one hour
- Responses will be audio recorded where informed consent is obtained, and recorded in handwritten note form where it is not. Interviewees will be offered the opportunity to view or have read to them, and comment upon, the interviewer's notes at the end of the interview if they desire, where notes have been taken.

Interview Schedule (Site Resident)

1) BASIC INFORMATION:

Age group, gender, family, time living on the site

2) CURRENT PERSPECTIVES ON THE SITE:

'Starting-point to be used for all interviews': **"Tell me about this Site..."**

A) What are the respondent's current views about the site? (e.g. what is important about the site/ what is it 'for'/ what does he/she like/dislike about it / what would he/she change/not change etc. and how/why?) Does he/she think that other Travellers on the site feel the same? If not, how does he/she consider that their views are different?

B) What views does the respondent think that Travellers living within the local

community, but not living on this site, have about this site? (What is the site for/ what is important about the site/ what do they like/dislike / what would they change/not change etc. and how/why?)

C) What views does the respondent think that people involved with the site on behalf of the Local Authority currently have of the site? Are there different views amongst these people? If so, how and why are these people and their views distinguished from each other? (What is the site for/ what is important about the site/ what do they like/dislike / what would they change/not change etc. and how/why?)

D) What views does the respondent think that local non-Travellers currently have about the site? Are there different groups of settled people in the community with different views of the site? If so what are these groups? What are their views of the site, and how/why do they differ? (What is the site for/ what is important about the site/ what do they like/dislike / what would they change/not change etc. and how/why?)

3) HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF PERSPECTIVES ON THE SITE:

A) Have the respondent's views about the site changed over time? If so how/why? What about other Travellers living on the site?

B) Does the respondent think that the views about the site of other Travellers living elsewhere in the local community have changed over time? If so how/why?

C) Does the respondent think that the views about the site of people involved with the site from the Local Authority have changed over time? If so how/why?

D) Does the respondent think that the views about the site of local Settled people have changed over time? If so, how/why?

4) DOCUMENTARY (PHOTOGRAPHIC) EVIDENCE GENERATION:

After all interviews where this is considered appropriate, ask Traveller respondents to photograph (or direct interviewer in photographing) spatial/physical/visual aspects of the site that have been mentioned as significant). Interviewee to be informed that they do not have to participate in this aspect of the interview and that in any case, no people, complete plots/pitches, homes, or any other particularly distinguishable features of the Site, should be photographed.

PART B

Research Fieldwork (PhD in City and Regional Planning, Housing Research Group) IS1

Name of Researcher: Ruth Whiting

CPLAN, Cardiff University

FURTHER INFORMATION FOR RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

The interview and/or observation you are invited to participate in forms part of an **independent PhD research project**, funded by Cardiff University School of City and Regional Planning.

The research will contribute to an academic study of different ideas and perceptions of Local Authority Traveller Sites, how these different ideas and perceptions relate to each other, and how they influence the production, management and maintenance of Local Authority Traveller accommodation.

Individual interviews will take between 30 minutes and one hour and will be **confidential**. Any information about individuals gained from participant observation will also be kept **confidential** by the researcher.

Interviews will be **audio recorded** wherever consent for this is given. This recording is for the purpose of accuracy and to ensure as complete as possible a record of the research process. The recording will be **anonymised** before being stored (personal details will not be directly associated with the recording). Notes made by the researcher as part of the participant observation process, relating to individuals, will also be **anonymised** before being stored.

If appropriate, the interview might include taking **photographs** of the site (location, facilities, condition etc- NOT of site residents) which then also may be used in the study, as long as the researcher is satisfied that they do not identify any individual or family.

The information obtained from both interviews and observation will be used **for academic research purposes only**.

The information obtained will be made **anonymous** (real names and addresses will not be used and other details will be omitted or changed as necessary) before being used in any report or study, in order to prevent identification of individuals.

No personal data will be stored electronically, and any paper records containing personal details, (e.g. consent forms, contact details), will be kept securely by the researcher and will not be accessible to anyone else.

Questions about the research should be addressed to the researcher.

Should you have concerns about any aspect of this research, or the way in which it is conducted, these may be addressed to:

Professor David Clapham (Chair of the School Ethics Committee),
C/o CPLAN
Glamorgan Building
King Edward VII Avenue
Cardiff
CF10 3WA
Tel: 02920 874 022

CONSENT FORM (This form to be either read by, or read aloud to (with explanations given where necessary), and signed by each research participant and the researcher.)

I (name) _____,
agree to take part in a research project that will study different perceptions and ideas about Local Authority Traveller Sites. I understand that my role in the research might include being observed, talking about the site, and taking photographs of it.

I have read (or have had read to me by the researcher) the further information sheet for the project. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions, and all my questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

I understand that the research is independent, and that **only** the researcher will be able to see the record of how I have taken part in the project.

I understand that the researcher will keep confidential any information I give her about the site, and that this may be used anonymously in the research report (My name will not appear, and I will not be identified in any other way).

I understand that

- I can refuse to take part in the project,
- I can take part in the project but refuse to be recorded,
- I can agree to take part in some research activities and decline others,
- I can answer some interview questions but decline to answer others,
- I can change my mind and stop taking part in the project at any time,

and there will be no negative consequences.

Participant: _____ Signed: _____ Date: _____

I have defined and fully explained the research and the role of the participant to the above person.

Researcher: _____ Signed: _____ Date: _____

CONSENT FOR AUDIO-RECORDING OF INTERVIEW

- I understand that the interview I have agreed to participate in will be audio-recorded.
- I understand that the recording will be securely stored electronically (including password protection), and will be labelled with an ID number only.
- I understand that the ID with which the recording is labelled will be linked directly only with my research ID, and not with my name or any other personal details.
- I understand that the purpose of the recording is to ensure accuracy of the information I give during my interview and continuity of data for the research project.
- I understand that only the researcher will have access to the recording of my interview.
- I understand that the recording will not be used for any purpose other than this research project, and that it will be deleted once the researcher's PhD is completed.

I agree for my interview to be audio-recorded.

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

PART C

Summary of 'Site Under Construction' data collection activities

List of Interviews (conducted between March and June 2009)

- Interview 1: Group Interview with 4 female adult Irish Traveller Ivyhill park residents (P1, P2 (who is also P7 of joint Interview 3), P3 and P4), 2009 (conducted on-site in home chalet of P1, 2009). Initially audio-recorded.
- Interview 2: Individual interview with female Stramshire Local Authority Education worker (P5), direct experience of Ivyhill Park site and residents, at Adult education venue and sitting in researcher's car near Ivyhill Park site, 2009. Initially audio-recorded.
- Interview 3: Joint interview with Irish Traveller married couple (husband, P6, and wife, P7, who is also P2 of Interview 1), resident on Ivyhill Park site. Conducted on-site in home chalet, 2009. Initially audio-recorded.
- Interview 4: Joint interview with with two teenage female Irish Traveller Ivyhill Park residents P8 and P9), conducted off-site at Women's Group meeting (local Church Hall) , 2009. Initially recorded in written shorthand, as audio-recording declined.
- Interview 5: Individual interview with adult male Fairground Traveller (P10). Minimally participating wife (P11) and non-participating child present in the trailer during interview) living roadside and in private (both authorised and unauthorised) developments in the general Stramshire area. Conducted on-site in touring trailer at temporary fairground venue, 2009. Initially audio-recorded.
- Interview 6: Individual interview with adult female Romany Gypsy (P12) living roadside in the general Stramshire area. Conducted roadside in touring trailer, 2009. Initially recorded in written shorthand as audio-recording declined.
- Interview 7: Individual interview with young adult female Irish Traveller Gorsecroft resident (P13) with non-participating teenage female (sister) and teenage male (cousin, housed, visitor to site) present. Conducted on-site in small 'girls' touring trailer, adjacent to main chalet on parents' home plot, 2009. Initially recorded in written shorthand, as audio-recording declined.
- Interview 8: Joint interview with adult female (P14) and minimally participating teenage female (P15) Irish Traveller Gorsecroft residents. Conducted on-site in P14's main mobile home trailer, 2009. Initially audio-recorded.
- Interview 9: Individual interview with adult male Irish Traveller Gorsecroft resident (P16, with non-participating wife present during interview). Conducted on-site in main mobile home trailer, 2009. Initially recorded in written shorthand, as audio-recording declined.

- Interview 10: Individual interview with female settled resident (P17) of Efford (village geographically nearest to Ivyhill Park site). Conducted at the participant's house in Efford, 2009. No experience of the site itself; limited, general experience of Travellers, including some Ivyhill park site residents. Initially audio-recorded.
- Interview 11: Individual interview with female Irish Traveller (P18) resident of Gorsecroft , with minimally-participating husband present. Conducted on-site, in mobile home trailer, 2009. Initially recorded in written shorthand as audio-recording declined.
- Interview 12: Individual interview with female Settled resident of 'Greater Stramington' area (P19), direct experience of Ivyhill Park site and residents, 2009. Conducted sitting in researcher's car, near to Ivyhill Park site. Initially audio-recorded.
- Interview 13: Individual interview with adult female Irish Traveller (P20) Gorsecroft resident, 2009. Conducted on-site, in participant's main mobile home trailer. Initially recorded in written shorthand as audio-recording declined.
- Interview 14: Individual interview with female Settled resident (P21) of Efford (village nearest to Ivyhill Park site), Conducted at the participant's home, 2009. No experience of the site; very limited, general experience of Travellers, including some Ivyhill Park residents. Initially audio-recorded.
- Interview 15: Individual interview with Settled female Stramshire Local Authority Adult Education worker (P22), extensive direct experience of both case sites and residents, and of (working with) other Gypsies and Travellers in Stramshire, 2009. Conducted at adult education venue. Initially audio-recorded.
- Interview 16: Joint interview with adult female Irish Traveller Gorsecroft site resident (P23), and 12-year old daughter (P24), 2009. Conducted on-site, in participants' mobile home trailer. Initially audio-recorded.
- Interview 17: Individual interview with young adult female Traveller resident (P25) of Ivyhill Park site, 2009. Conducted off-site by request, at the researcher's temporary residential accommodation in Greater Stramington. Initially audio-recorded.

Summary of 'Site Under Construction' Participant Observation opportunities and events (undertaken in Summer 2007 and Spring/early Summer 2009)

Participant observation in the case of my research was by daily 'immersion', in the primary role of a local Settled resident, for the duration of the two field work periods. From this primary position I sought out and accepted all available opportunities (where I was satisfied these were ethically appropriate and safe) to come into direct and preferably extended contact with Traveller people, Local Authority employees and other professionals working with Travellers in

the field work area, or both. I thus was offered and took on the secondary local roles of volunteer Traveller Education Support Worker (helping with basic literacy, numeracy and Driving Theory) and a temporary paid Adult Learning Tutor (Gypsies and Travellers), within which, drawing upon my previous professional experience, I designed for my employer (the 'Stramington' Learning Network, a voluntary organisations whose work is part-funded by Stramshire County Council) and a 'Traveller Accommodation-specific' short course in Domestic Energy Efficiency Awareness , and co-delivered this on location to residents of Gorsecroft Site.

Activities involving direct contact with the Local Settled community

- The general business of daily life as a local 'Settled' resident of 'Greater Stramington'- observations made and conversations had in e.g. shops, libraries, community centres, parks, on the street, post office, leisure centre, church, and whilst spending time with old and new friends, and housemates, both in private and public locations
 - Time spent in and near Deeston (fieldwork base)
 - Small shopping centre
 - Large supermarket
 - Occasional eating out (evenings/daytimes- restaurants/café's)
 - Playground (2009 only)
 - Library
 - Village Parish church community/family events
 - 'Deeston Park House'- gardens, community centre and events- local attraction
 - Weekly Farmers' Market
 - Student accommodation centre events (2007 only)
 - Open fields, river walks
 - Walking and jogging in local area
 - Time spent in Stramington city
 - Shopping centre
 - Stramington Public Library
 - Stramshire Local History centre
 - Local College and College library
 - Local University, University library and Students' Union events
 - Parks (2009 only)
 - Leisure centre/swimming pool
 - Community centres- family events/childrens' activities (2009 only)
 - Local church family/community events and services
 - Occasional eating out (daytime- cafés)
 - Occasional evenings socialising with friends/housemates (local pub/students union events/restaurant meal/cinema)
 - Walking in local area

- Daytime hours spent regularly (at least once a week) in Aitchden (village geographically nearest to Gorsecroft) (2009 only)
 - Library/Local History centre
 - Village shops
 - Large Supermarket
 - Playgrounds (2009 only)
 - Local Attraction- 'Aitchden Hall' and grounds
 - Walking in local area
- Daytime hours spent regularly (at least once a week) in Efford (village geographically nearest to Ivyhill Park) (2009 only)
 - Shops
 - Local recreation fields and playground
 - Walking in local area
 - Efford 'Village Centre and Library'
- Visits to the nearest villages within each case site's District council area (x3 visits for Ivyhill Park, x2 visits for Gorsecroft)

Activities involving direct contact with Travellers

- (Daytime and evening, both week-day and weekend) visits to Travelling Fairground (Showman Travellers) local to the Stramshire area (x5) (3 temporary Fair locations and 2 'roadside' locations between fairs (layby, private field))
- (Daytime, week-day) visits to 'actively nomadic' Romany Gypsy woman at roadside stopping place (field) (x2)
- (Daytime and early evening, week-day and weekend) visits to Ivyhill Park and Gorsecroft Sites (minimum of two visits to each site per week, at different times of the day and the week):
 - Informal/social visits (alone in 2007; both alone and with my family in 2009)
 - Attending Gorsecroft in a work capacity as a (paid) Adult Learning Tutor (x5 visits)
 - Attending Local Traveller Education Group meetings (Wednesdays, off-site) attended mostly by Ivyhill Park residents, as a volunteer support worker
 - Visits to Ivyhill Park and Gorsecroft to conduct interviews (often overlapped with informal or work visits)
- Accompanying Local Authority Traveller Site resident participants on off-site trips within the local and Greater Stramington area (all in 2009):

- From Gorsecroft site to formal dress shop in South Stramington (by car)
 - From Gorsecroft site to go food shopping at the large supermarket in Aitchden (by car)
 - From Gorsecroft to the primary school attended by the children resident on Gorsecroft Site (by car, to pick up at the end of the school day)
 - from Gorsecroft site to the motorway service station (on foot)
 - from Gorsecroft to Aitchden village centre (on foot)
 - to go clothes shopping/window shopping in Stramington centre with Ivyhill Park residents before returning back to the site after the Gypsy and Traveller Stakeholder Forum meeting (on foot)
- Attending Information/Discussion Meetings (re Government Local Authority Site provision and refurbishment grants) between groups of male and female adult Irish Travellers from Ivyhill Park Site (off-site) and (separately) Gorsecroft Site (on-site) with a FFT (Friends, Families and Travellers- voluntary organisation) Advisor

Activities primarily involving direct contact with Local Authority employees and other professionals working with local Travellers

- Attending East Stramshire District Council public planning consultation event (informal, outdoor covered poster display)
- Attending ‘Stramshire Gypsy and Traveller Stakeholders Forum’ meeting as a local Stakeholder (Gypsy and Adult Learning Tutor employed by Stramington Learning Network) in addition to my research capacity.

List of secondary documentary data collected with direct relevance to the ‘Site Under Construction’ field work area (anonymised for ethical reasons)

- 1) Regional GTAA (Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Assessment) document with direct relevance to ‘Stramshire’, 2007
- 2) Partial Review of the Regional Plan with direct relevance to ‘Stramshire’, 2008
- 3) ‘Stramshire’ County Council Website, accessed 2007/2009
 - Web page: ‘Problems with Gypsies or Travellers encampments’ [Accessed 2009]
- 4) ‘Stramshire’ County Council ‘Permanent Site Licence Agreement’ used for residents of all Local Authority Gypsy and Traveller Sites in Stramshire [collected from resident]

- 5) 'Stramshire' Gypsy and Traveller Services Team website, accessed 2007/2009 (last accessed 28/05/09)
 - Web page: 'Unauthorised Encampments Policy'
- 6) 'Stramshire' Police Policy Document: 'Unauthorised Encampments', 2005
- 7) West 'Stramshire' District Council website, accessed 28/05/09
- 8) East Stramshire District Council (responsible for Gorsecroft site) Local Development Framework Core Strategy Documentation, collected 2009
- 9) 'Stramshire' Local News print article 2005, [Accessed at Stramshire Local History library, 2007]
- 10) Stramshire Local News online article, 2006, accessed 2007
- 11) 'Stramshire Times' Local Newspaper online article with 'Readers' Comments', 2007 [Accessed 2007]
- 12) Stramshire Local News online report, 2008, accessed 2009
- 13) 'Stramington Mail' Local News online article 2007 [Accessed 2007].
- 14) Personal letter from 'Stramshire' Irish Traveller community spokesperson to senior 'Stramshire' Local Authority Official, 2007 [Collected from author of letter]
- 15) Original Architect's plan for Ivyhill Park Site (See Appendix 4) [Collected from longstanding site resident after informal conversation during participant observation]

APPENDIX 2

Summary of research material collected, by relevance to case study sites, main initial category, and deconstructed sub-category

Key:

- * Interview notes/recordings/transcriptions
- ♠ Documentary material
- ◆ Notes from participant/non-participant observation activities
- † Other material

a) General Data (Relevant to both case study sites)

MAIN INITIAL CATEGORY: 'LOCAL AUTHORITY'

National Authority material with local relevance

- ♠ Criminal Justice and Public Order Act, 1994
- ♠ Housing Act 2004
 - Related Parliamentary Reports, supplementary Documents and 'official' online discussion
- ♠ Statutory Instrument 2006/3190, 2006
- ♠ ODPM 'Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Assessments: Draft Practice Guidance', 2006
- ♠ Planning Circular, 2006/01
- ♠ CRE Report, 2006
- ♠ Report of the LGA (Local Government Association) Gypsy and Traveller Task Force, 2006
- † Maps

Regional Authority material with local relevance

- ♠ Regional Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Needs Assessment (GTAA)
- † Maps

County Council

- ♠ Website
- † Maps

Local Authority Employees

- ◆ Public talk given by Police Officer (+ Q&A)
- ◆ Public talk given by Traveller Education Team Officer (+ Q&A)
- ◆ Public talk given by Health Visitor (+ Q&A)
- * Interview with Local Authority Employee (Adult Education worker), direct experience of Gypsies and Travellers in Stramshire, including both case sites and residents

County Traveller Services Team

- ♠ Website
- ♠ Codes of Practice
- ♠ Letters to Local Authority Site Residents
- ♠ Local Authority Traveller Site- Licence Agreement and other documents
- ◆ Public talk given by Traveller Services Officer, Q&A session between team member and audience including Travellers

MAIN INITIAL CATEGORY: 'TRAVELLERS'

- ♠ Responses to relevant national legislation from other national (or other) agencies, Travellers, and support organisations.
- ♠ National 'Traveller Media' reports
- ♠ Local media reports
- * Interview with nomadic Travellers living in the wider local area
- ◆ Time spent informally with nomadic Travellers living in the wider area
- ◆ Traveller audience member contributions in Q&A session after professionals' talks at public event

MAIN INITIAL CATEGORY: 'SETTLED COMMUNITY'

- ♠ National media articles mentioning relevant national legislation or about Travellers in the local area under study

- ♣ Regional Planning Aid materials aimed at Gypsies and Travellers
- ♣ Local media articles
- * Interview with settled resident of wider local area, experience of Ivyhill site and residents
- ◆ Public talk given by CAB Advice worker (+ Q&A)
- ◆ Contributions from settled members of the local community during Q&As after talks by professionals at public event
- ◆ Time spent living as a temporary settled resident in wider local area

b) Data specific to Case Site 1 (Ivyhill Park)

MAIN INITIAL CATEGORY: 'LOCAL AUTHORITY'

County Council

- * Interview with Local Authority Employee (Adult education worker), experience of Ivyhill Park site and residents

District Authority 1 (South Stramshire) Planning Department

- ♣ District Plan documents

Parish Councils

- ◆ Visits to/time spent in public in geographically nearest settlement
- ◆ Visits to/time spent in public in settlement with political responsibility for the Site
- † Maps, photographs

MAIN INITIAL CATEGORY: 'TRAVELLERS'

- * Interviews with Residents of Ivyhill Park
- † Photographs taken at, and original plans for, Ivyhill Park
- * Interviews with Residents of other Local Authority Site
- ◆ Meeting between playground designer and Ivyhill Park Traveller community group members (off-Site)
- ◆ Meeting between FFT advisor and Ivyhill Park Traveller community group members (off-site)

- ◆ Time spent informally with individuals and families on Ivyhill Park site

MAIN INITIAL CATEGORY: 'SETTLED COMMUNITY'

- ◆ Visits to/time spent in public in Efford (geographically nearest settlement)
- ◆ Visits to/time spent in public in settlement with political responsibility for Ivyhill Park site
- ◆ Ivyhill Park Traveller Community Group volunteer adult literacy support worker role (off-Site)
- † Photographs
- * Interview with local Settled Resident of Efford (nearest geographical settlement), no direct experience of site and very limited general experience of Gypsies and Travellers
- * Interview with wider Local Area Settled resident, knowledge/experience of Ivyhill Park site

c) Data Specific to Site 2 (Gorsecroft)

MAIN INITIAL CATEGORY: 'LOCAL AUTHORITY'

County Council

- * Interview with Local Authority Employee (Adult education worker), experience of Ivyhill Park site and residents

District Authority 2 (East Stramshire) Planning Department

- ◆ District Plan document
- ◆ Public Planning Consultation Event

Parish Councils

- ◆ Visits to/time spent in public in Aitchden (geographically nearest settlement)
- ◆ Visits to/time spent in public in settlement with political responsibility for

- Gorsecroft site
- † Photographs

MAIN INITIAL CATEGORY: 'TRAVELLERS'

- * Interviews with Residents of Gorsecroft
- † Photographs taken at Gorsecroft
- * Interviews with Residents of other Local Authority Site
- ◆ Meeting between FFT advisor, Settled architect and Gorsecroft Traveller residents group (on-site)
- ◆ Time spent informally with individuals and families on Gorsecroft site

MAIN INITIAL CATEGORY: 'SETTLED COMMUNITY'

- ◆ Visits to/time spent in public in Aitchden (geographically nearest settlement)
- ◆ Visits to/time spent in public in settlement with political responsibility for the Gorsecroft site
- ◆ Adult Learning Tutor role (trailer to trailer, on-site, Gorsecroft)
- * Interview with wider Local Area settled resident, experience of Gorsecroft site
- † Photographs

APPENDIX 3

Initial deconstruction of starting-point social categories from data collected in the field (see Chapter 5)

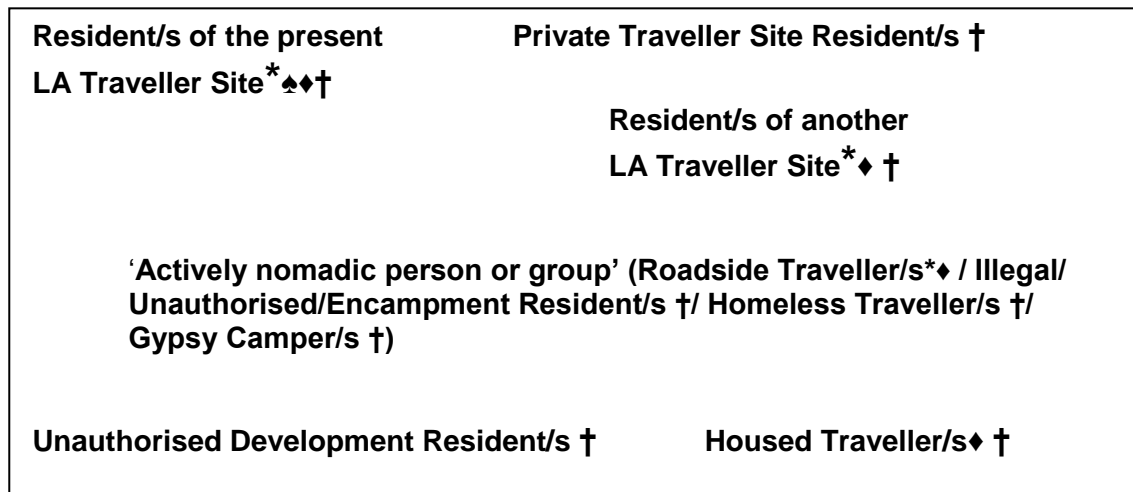
Key:

- * Category self-identified as part of interview process
- ♠ Category self-identified in Documentary Data
- ◆ Category observed or self-identified to researcher during participant/non-participant observation activities
- † Category identified to researcher by someone from another category (either in interview, via documentary data or during participant observation)

Deconstruction of Initial Main Social Category: 'Travellers'

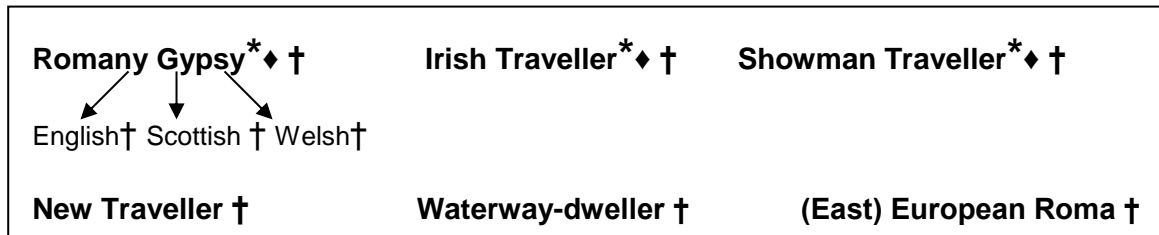
The 'Travellers' category initially broke down simultaneously in terms of **lifeway/ residence mode**,

(Diagram 1)



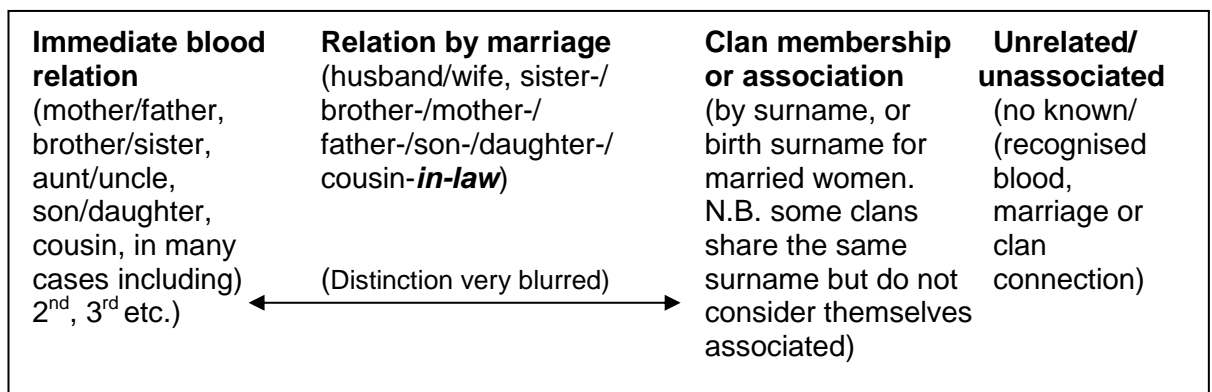
ethnic/cultural categories,

(Diagram 2)



(extended) family and clan relationship categories:

(Diagram 3)



and into further categories on a continuum related to ‘distance’/‘proximity’ to and experience of the Local Authority Site/s, ranging from

(Diagram 4)



Deconstruction of Initial Main Social Category: 'Local Authority'

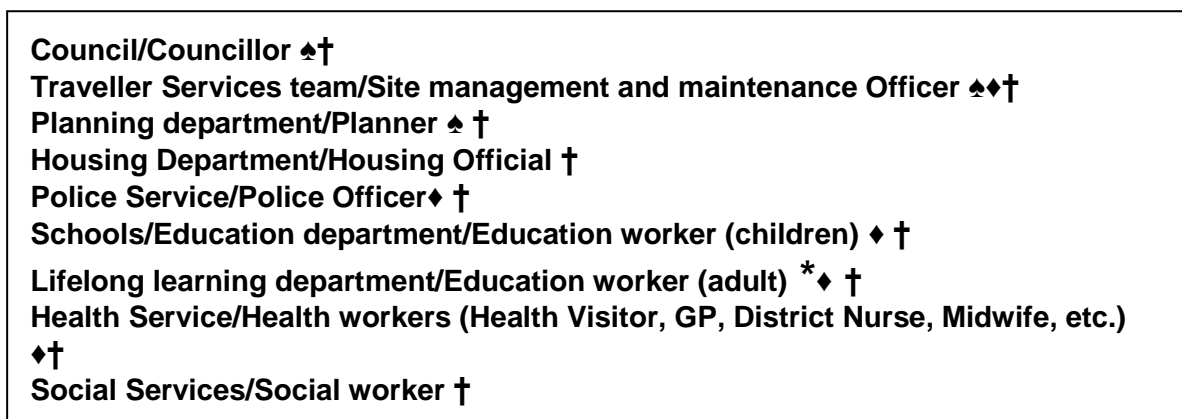
In collecting documentary data, this category initially broke down in terms of **geopolitics**:

(Diagram 5)



departments and roles:

(Diagram 6)



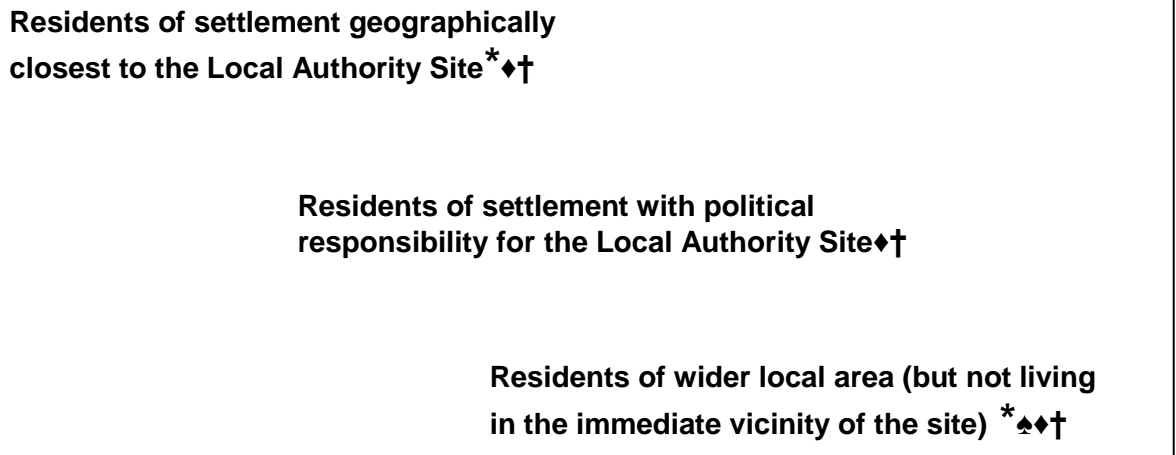
and again into categories on a similar continuum related to **'distance'/'proximity' to and experience of the Local Authority Site/s** (See Diagram 4, above)

Deconstruction of Initial Main Social Category: 'Local Settled Community'

I mainly explored this category through participant observation, and first-hand data collected from other initial category sources and initially broke it down according to:

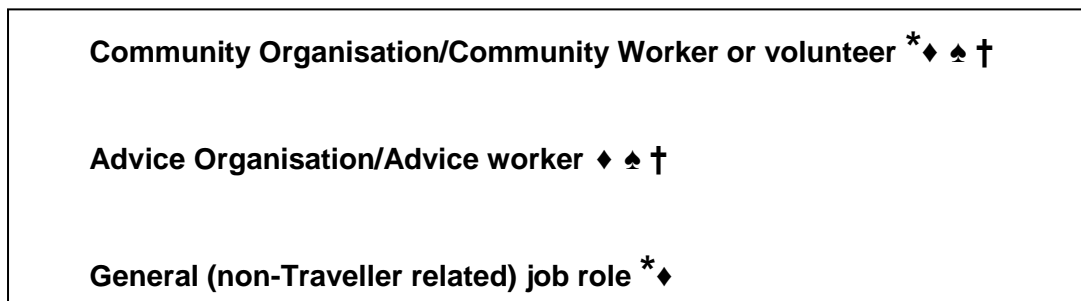
residence location:

(Diagram 7)



Including those who, while not working for the Local Authority self-identified or were identified by some kind of **organizational, professional or job role**:

(Diagram 8)



And, once again, categories on a continuum related to **'distance'/'proximity' to and experience of the Local Authority site/s** under study (see diagram 4, above)

APPENDIX 4

(Section 4.1.3 Research-related maps, photographs and site plan)

[REDACTED]

For ethical reasons, and at the explicit request of some research participants, this Appendix is currently available only on personal application to and at the discretion of the author.

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