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**Freedom of Self-Determination in Planning
The Case of Travellers & Gypsies of England**

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Abstract

The main question of the thesis was to understand the extent to which the English planning system facilitated freedom of self-determination. The inquiry focused on the Irish Traveller and English Gypsy (T&G) groups because of their current state of freedoms in planning compared with larger society. The thesis measures capacity for self-determination through the extent that critical characteristics related to lifestyle choices are allowed equally across all groups and explored at various scales ranging from the intimate to the European.

The T&G have been focused on in literature and practical reflection from a range of disciplines bringing forward key aspects of their marginalization and perspectives on barriers and effects of their limited freedoms. This research utilizes a cross disciplinary approach including: ethnographic, legal, economic, neurological, planning and urban design to generate a complex picture of the tensions and pressures within and outside these communities. This perspective established a starting point for addressing equality in planning. Initial pilot studies served to tie together background studies and inform a methodology for research and analysis. These generated an approach to case studies field research in situations that ranged from evictions to long term residents without tenure to relocation due to the London Olympic Games.

The research delivered a new understanding on the contemporary condition of T&G in England and their continued capacity to adapt to changing contexts in order to maintain the crucial qualities to being a Traveller and Gypsy. That is, their capacity to make culturally relevant decisions critical to perpetuating membership within their respective communities defines them in their various cultural contexts. This methodology is transferrable to the study of other minority groups in their particular situation of loss of freedoms. The approach is also informed by practical reflection to balance literature and field work across applicable fields through the research stages. Finally the research outcomes contributed to developing an operational methodology that was used to derive a local product of engagement. In this third stage of field work testing the operational methodology proved beneficial to overcoming land use conflict and facilitating access to these freedoms.

Dedication

To

Giuseppe and Regina

Vincenzo, Giuliana, and Carolina

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There are so many people to thank drawing from family, friends, trainers, peers and even special landlords. It really takes a village to rise up one of these. As a part-time researcher I have had the honour of meeting and watching as many peers came and went while being exposed to studies across the globe on issues of relevance to land justice and the validating of less visible societies. This comradeship added so much to the sense of privilege of being here and the growth of this research. Anila, Becky, Hanna, Hai, Vera, Avar, Umut, Alex, Celia, Dimitri, Emma, Pam, Wang and so many others; my friends from other worlds, Gordon, Sonia, Len, Julie, Pedro, Mark, Clive; to those who were so caring in the various places I called home, Nick & Ginny and Sr Christine; and my companions in life Giovanna, Eve, Tom, Ananthi and Jowell – joyfully imagining the many life projects we will co-create. To my life-long mentor Michael, who was there from before the beginning of this journey and played a key role in the many life-altering decisions and, who was the first to believe. Thank you to my family, Vince, Giuliana, Mario and Adriana and their children for their special view of life; to my four enchanting God-daughters, Elissa Marie, Dharma, Julianne and Idhaya for pressing upon me what the truly important things in life are, deserving first priority. I want to thank my parents for their life choices, their values and for always doing their very best; the underdog has always held a special place at our table; in this continuity you have been part of my life even if for many years from such a distance. Special thanks to the Gypsologists and justice seekers who trusted and generously included me into their efforts and movements without whom I would still be an outsider looking in: Margaret, Don, Thomas, Alekos, Grattan, Bill and Nando. Most of all I want to thank the Travellers and Gypsies who welcomed me and saw the value in the work, Bernadette, Margaret, Kathleen and Richard. A special thank- you to Regina for joyously pressing forward on all aspects of enlightenment and throughout all the deviations during this time. And finally to my supervisors, Georgia and Brian, your contributions and generosity went well beyond the margins of these pages. You were real, present and gracious in sharing your thinking, professionalism, friendship and your lives with me; it has shaped me and been the most beautiful period of my life. There are no words; forever in your debt.

Preface

The possibility of ameliorated life conditions for minority groups within an ever expanding European Union was the initial interest inspiring this research. The issues surrounding conditions for accession countries joining the EU included specific focus on their Roma populations, the largest European minority group, as an important strategy in the process of European integration (Spirova & Budd, 2008). There were no clear approaches that worked with this transnational minority present in almost every country in the world (Council of Europe, 2007). The decision to focus on Gypsies of England was made because they were not a focus within the EU Roma discourse even though, for many, their quality of life relative to larger society paralleled those in other countries (Van Cleemput, 2008). Irish Travellers were included in this research because of the common ways in which they are affected by and experience life as a Traveller minority group in England.

This journey began with a focus on the prejudiced relations between this minority group and majority society. The course of the research nuanced a more balanced view on these relations, necessary to bring insight on new avenues in the ways forward. The focus was shifted to what was possible.

The fact of a six year part time research facilitated the culturing of relationships with various communities and spokespersons. These sporadic visits were initiated on an as-needs basis and continued where planning advocacy was requested, or important events were occurring.

Those who befriend you also reflect your positionality because you are dependent on the gatekeeper who for some reason has also selected you. Opportunities for engaging with Traveller and Gypsy societies were highly dependent on being chosen by them. Perhaps they had already chosen the people who came before and who they also felt were on their side and the reason some local authorities were a little more apprehensive. As an outsider from Canada of Mediterranean ethnicity and whose complexion could be mistaken for Roma, avenues became available which may not have been otherwise. The various perspectives, personal and public, from everyone involved were received as a privilege.

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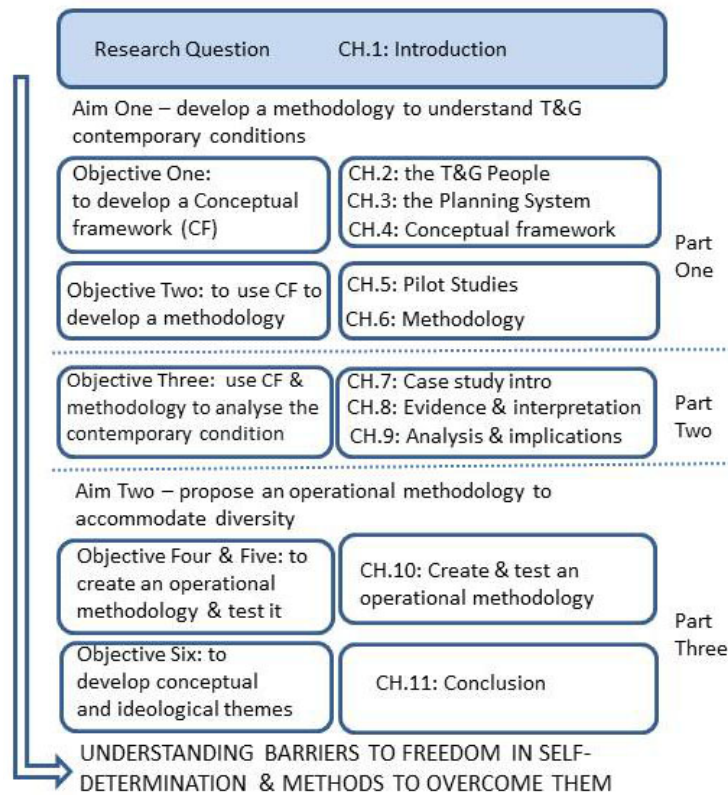
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How many years can some people exist, before they're allowed to be free

Bob Dylan (1962)
Blowin' in the wind

Chapter One

Introduction



This introduction provides a background into the research area, outlines the specific problem focus, and the approach to addressing it. It is organized into the following seven sections:

- 1.1 The background presents the reasons for pursuing this research
- 1.2 The research Problem outlines key theoretical positions surrounding the work, with questions to guide the investigation and address the problem
- 1.3 The definitions will clarify the key actors and terms relevant to the research.
- 1.4 The overall aims and objectives describe the stages and intention of the thesis.

1.5 The research strategy outlines the reasons why the case study approach and the qualitative methodological tools were selected

1.6 The Structure of the Thesis describes each chapter and its content with regards the developing objectives of the research.

1.7 The contribution to knowledge

1.1 Background

In the side aisles of a local authority meeting chamber, an audience pressed tightly together listened attentively to local Councillors discussing planning consent for a German wind farm. Public contention regarding the proposal centred on its prime coastal location and limited benefits to locals. Sudden rapturous applause followed a Councillor's opposition, overwhelming the sound of his voice. While the townspeople gestured around to each other in vindication, there was a most embarrassing pause amongst them. Those Gypsies whose planning applications they had come to oppose were cheering alongside them. When it came time for public representation, the tone with which their letters were delivered did not match the language with which they had been written. Something shifted that evening.

(2012)

Dominant society is unlikely to see a human connection with marginalized people until they are experienced in real terms, becoming real people to them. Travellers and Gypsies (T&G) find themselves in a contentious moment in history in their increasing incapacity to settle, limiting these everyday humanizing experiences. The social injustices they experience have another side though, that of T&G involvement as being key to changing this status. As recently expressed by leading Romanian scholars:

As long as victimhood dominates the spirits of the excluded, and a new civic consciousness does not develop on the basis of the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it makes little sense to hope for integration based on respect, multiculturalism and equal opportunities... attacking exclusively the prejudices and stereotypes of majority attitudes - unacceptable as they are – and ignoring the Roma's own weaknesses reproduces ... the victimhood stance which blocks action and 'explains' the impossibility of changing the status quo (Biró in Biró, Gheorghe, Kovats 2013, p.9).

T&G are English citizens and are made up of a diverse group of people who experience similar difficulties of self-determination in planning. Some critics state that the planning system manages environmental settings but does not facilitate T&G choices (O’Nions, 1996; Niner, 2011; Powell, 2013). This work investigates the nature of this dissonance. This approach will then be tested in the field and the outcomes explored to draw conclusions on its validity. Overall conclusions will then be drawn regarding public policy and planning processes.

1.1.1 Who are the T&G of England?

The image of T&G conjures the sense of the outsider seemingly passing through places they have no connection with (Weyrauch, 2001; Berland & Rao, 2004). The continuous element for T&G globally over many centuries is their relationship to a specific geography: “Nowhere have significant numbers of Roma turned into peasants or farmers, so that their roots and livelihoods have become based on land” (Biró in Biró, Gheorghe, Kovats 2013, p.10) and remains the root cause for associating Roma as the outsider. From the perspective inside these groups, their commonality emerges out of a culture based on shared experience and their ever evolving contemporary history (Hobsbawm, 1969; Vizenor, 2008; Okely, 2011).

Continuity of treatment from their ancestral history up to more recent times is rejection of both their physical presence (Hoyland 2004; Cemlyn et al., 2009); and as outsiders to dominant society (Bhopal & Myers, 2008). Past centuries have included anti-Gypsy laws and sentiments including beheading in earlier centuries to more ‘civil’ types of rejection in the past sixty years. Perception of the outsider strengthens the belief that they have no history or culture beyond that imagined and often dehumanizing one. Some critics believe an implication of this has been the increasingly limited capacity for support in travelling or stopping in England (Clark & Greenfields, 2006). The majority of Roma in the world, with estimated population between 12 to 20 million (Council of Europe, 2007; Liégeois, 2007), are sedentary or more specifically living in fixed housing, while in England where the estimated T&G population is 300,000, (Irish Traveller Movement Britain, ITMB, 2013) 70% of the population is living in

houses (Commission for Racial Equality CRE, 2006). The remaining caravan dwellers find their capacity to remain in caravans increasingly limited. It is important to note that many of those now in housing seek to return to caravan dwelling (Cemlyn et al., 2009; London Gypsy and Traveller Unit, LGTU, 2011).

1.1.2 Why focus on the T&G of England?

T&G discourse, particularly in policy, first emerged in the 1960's and 1970's predominantly in Western Europe focusing on T&G in the UK (Morris & Clements, 2002) and Tsiganes and Voyagers in France (Liégeois, 2007). There were two common misconceptions propagated from this period: that the terms Roma, Traveller and nomad were synonymous; and the over simplification of the Roma made accessible to a global society included limited notions on the many different life experiences and circumstances of Roma people in the world (Liégeois, 2007; Hancock, 2002). These misconceptions were further deepened by the surge of interest, and Roma related documentation in the 1990's by international organizations, activists and policy makers. Contemporary challenges include addressing the propagation of these misconceptions. The European Union (EU) focus on Central and Eastern European Roma due to their large demographics, poverty and exclusion and the extent to which they are more effectively organized also served to shift the focus away from Western Europe (Sigona & Trehan, 2009).

England has been considered by many as a forerunner in the protection of human rights and fighting for fundamental democracy abroad, overcoming the division of Europe and ending the Cold War (Mangasarian, 2013). It serves as a platform for justice and some describe it as being decades ahead in race relations. Thus the position of the Romanichal, whether in examples of control or collaboration, sends a message about what is acceptable to the rest of Europe.

Implications of this research could potentially mean that positive relations and approaches with T&G can tap into this motivation and thereby serve as model for Europe.

1.1.3 Historical Planning Ideology from 1947

The 1947 Planning Act emerged from a vision of the beautiful countryside from the point of view of the middle classes, where ownership of land alone no longer secured the right to develop. While the Wartime Coalition made enough space for T&G, through site provision and allowing farmers' license for T&G temporary accommodation, by 1947 most of these sites were closed down. That problem was hidden because people were still moving (Kenrick & Clark, 1999; Thomas, 2000). The 1960 Caravans Sites Act stopped development of all sites. This was claimed a pure aesthetic class prejudice based on the notion that everyone should just live in a house (Thomas, 2000). The growing number of measures controlling site development paralleled a growing intolerance putting the focus on control as opposed to provision (Morris and Clements, 2002).

1.1.4 Planning and Integration

Brooks (2002) describes societies as cultural pluralisms where different cultural and ethnic groups share a political and social framework. Instead of these cultural diversities disappearing, contact between them will stimulate a creative process that generates new customs and values, inspiring resistance rather than the domination and homogenization of a single culture (Berry, 2011). The degree to which this can be achieved depends on the balance between attitudes of a dominant society; and that of a national framework that balances these interests. The concept of the larger society emerges as the civic arrangement in a plural society whereby all ethno-cultural groups attempt to carry out their lives and where the medium of this shared space is through ever-evolving negotiation, compromise and mutual accommodations (Berry 2011, p.23).

Public institutions reflect the way of life of the dominant and mainstream groups but in plural societies there is also the capacity for minority groups to assert their own visions. In this mainstream view cultural pluralism is a problem and should be reduced, but in the multicultural view it is a resource and the system is designed to nurture inclusiveness through policies and supportive programmes. In England, it is unclear where the T&G minority are

located within these views. Does their legitimacy tend toward a mainstream attitude while their presence as British citizens commands and requires a more multicultural perspective?

1.1.5 Financial autonomy and self-determination

Rudmin (2003) outlines the varying stages of connectivity between minority groups and dominant society as: assimilation; segregation; integration; and marginalization. Minority groups marked by their economic peripherality and nomadism ensure a continued marginalization (Thomas, 2000). This suggests it is not their moving that is at issue but the perceived nature of their relationship with public institutions (Thomas, 2000; Berland & Rao, 2004). Their decisions around economic peripherality and how they are perceived will be important to understand their impacts on cultural thrivance and what, if any, role the planning system plays in this relationship. The question remains as to whether financial independence in itself is a determinant for the degree of cultural thrivance whether voluntary or not. The varying socio-economic conditions of T&G in England and the economic impacts on their capacity to self-determine will be important to understand in the realization of barriers to planning autonomy.

1.1.6 Media representation of T&G

Discourses around minority-majority relations are informed and enforced by everyday interactions and avoidances as well as sensationalized by media portrayals. T&G have been targeted for exploitative journalism and pseudo-documentaries; broadcast in parallel with England's largest ever Traveller eviction at Dale Farm was the documentary *My Big Fat Gypsy Wedding*, MBFGW (2010). It was at once sensationalized across the world as though exposing the mythical Gypsy in modern times (although only Irish Travellers appeared) and the Advertising Standards Association also ruled that its producers were offensive and irresponsible in the sexualized reconstruction of images of a minor, and in their special characterization of Gypsy youth on advertising billboards (Traveller's Times, 2012).

Broadcast by Channel 4 (2010, 2011, 2012) MBFGW had the eighth highest rating programme of all time (The Guardian, 7 Feb 2011). The two seasons, so far, popularized T&G society

which also had its advantages - showing elements of sites under threat of eviction, but in general, de-humanizing and feeding into stereotypes continued in varied forms through advertising even after Parliamentary chastising (Hoc Culture Media and Sports Committee, 2011). For instance, there was also a misinterpretation of 'grabbing' which in broader societal terms was relayed as promiscuity without understanding the intercultural values and methods of mating. Bowers (2011) describes, "We've never heard of 'grabbing', yet apparently it's a time honoured tradition of ours to allow young men to sexually assault young Gypsy women in car parks. Most of us aren't Catholic at all, yet apparently all Gypsy girls prepare for their wedding day through their Holy Communion (ibid).

Media shock-reporting and false generic representation of the T&G community dehumanizes the contexts of eviction and homelessness. Reactions from Romani scholars like LeBas (2014) show another side by self-representing, but which are not as fascinating to the public consciousness as modernized versions of the usual Gypsy stereotype. A recent story of the Gypsy girl in Greece named Maria first made headline news across the world (BBC, Oct 19 2013) under the suspicion she was abducted because she was blonde haired and white skinned. This story reinforced the mythical Gypsy both as child thief and identifiably of dark complexion only and ambivalent to the acculturation of Roma that has occurred within the nations they have been citizens of for centuries. Once investigated, the corrective in that she was actually Roma by birth did not make headline news on BBC, especially relevant as it had been so for days while the parents were under suspicion of child abduction. Does media play a key role in influencing capacity for self-determination and if so, can it be harnessed, in turn, to support a different discourse with the public?

1.2 Research problem

In the context of this research, the T&G are British minority groups and according to quality of life indicators many are not thriving relative to larger society (Van Cleemput, 2008) and increasingly finding barriers to freedom and cultural thrivance (Johnson and Willers, 2007; Home, 2009). The concept of self-determination is tied to both of these and of which the example of the diminishing capacity to live in a caravan is one such example. The purpose of the planning system is to ensure sustainable development in social, economic and environmental terms. Sustainability agenda purports to link service provision to people while protecting the land through the extent and quality of its development. Thus the planning system and processes are considered important mechanisms in understanding and addressing any social and spatial injustices which relate to associated freedoms in planning. Freedom of self-determination is defined as the capacity for agents to carry out actions that are in line with their reasons, motives and desires as opposed to being predetermined by causes and chain of events emanating before that agent's birth (Hobart, 1934).

Examining planning within the concept of freedom of self-determination is a way to refer back to the fundamental nature of a civil and democratic society. As described by Hobart, "Free will as involving determination, and inconceivable without it" (1934, p1). Self-determination is the free will to make choices outside of any external pressure and can be framed from several perspectives and scales. At a local level it can focus on personal or private community pressure while at a larger scale it can refer to societal and majority rule pressure. At each of these scales the freedom is about achieving a balance between responsibility and equal rights. Linking the concept of planning rights in parallel with these basic civil liberties reframes the importance and critical nature of the right to choose and create home and community that the laws and processes of government are designed to protect. This work thus examines the role of planning in ensuring these rights on the one hand and on the other it is an investigation into what exactly it means to a minority group like T&G when the value system determining their creation of home and community is incongruent with these rules while simultaneously profoundly

congruent with the ideologies which substantiate them. It is within this disparity that this research aims to establish and then overcome the barriers to this freedom.

This work is about understanding the contemporary conditions of T&G communities in England and their increasing limitations to self-determine within the processes and system of planning. It relies on understanding the motivations and meanings of their residential and community forms; and the implications of the barriers they experience in planning terms which are also influenced by minority and intra cultural group relations. As a constructionist ontology the research focuses on ‘social phenomenon and their meanings [which] are continually being accomplished by social actors and which are constantly in a state of flux (Bryman 2004, p.17). It is in this search for meanings and motivations behind decisions which control residential settings that we can begin to establish a bridge to supporting this divide and overcoming barriers in planning. Given the often misunderstood terminology related to this research, it is important to begin with the key terms defined.

1.3 Key ethnic groups

The section clarifies the key terms used on the research regarding the various T&G groups and ethnic references made to them.

- *Gypsy* is an English term used to denote ethnic groups formed by the dispersal of commercial, nomadic, and other groups from within India beginning in the tenth century, and their mixing with European and other groups during their diaspora (Kenrick & Clark, 1999).
- *Romani Gypsies* were recognized in 1989 as an ethnic group in the judgement on a case CRE v Dutton that surfaced because of a ‘No Travellers’ sign and at that point defined under Mandla Criteria (Bowers, no date) which are a means of providing evidence of being T&G including: tradition, geography, language, religion and long shared history along with evidence of being a marginalized minority (Kenrick & Clark, 1999; Bowers, no date).

- *Romani* is the contemporary term used as many Romani people consider the word Gypsy to be pejorative outside Anglophonic societies.
- *Roma* in contemporary terms is associated with Romani who live mainly in Central and Eastern Europe with an overall population about 20 million. They have a history of being settled as slaves until 1850's (Berland & Rao, 2004 ; European Commission, 2013). Roma from Eastern Europe began migrating since the fall of Communism in the 1990's followed by another wave in 2004 with expansion of member states into the EU as economic refugees seeking ameliorated poor quality of life conditions. They have very different customs and cultures. They underwent syncretic adaptation; maintaining their core myths, rites and world views but undergoing religious assimilation into the creeds of dominant societies (Hancock, 2002).

The main groups of Romani referred to in this research include:

- *Romanichals* are a Romani sub-group in the UK and other parts of the English-speaking world with close association with the Welsh Kale
- *Roma* who have come to England this century and more recently since the formation of the European Union

The main groups of Travellers (often called Gypsies) in the UK, each with their own cultural heritage and identity in this research include:

- *Irish Travellers* who originate from Ireland and have migrated to Northern Ireland and Great Britain several centuries ago (Redmond, 2008)
- *Scottish Travellers* settled in the UK since 1500-1800 include Romani ancestry
- *Travelling Showmen* run funfairs and protected by the Showmen's Guild of Britain since 1889 (University of Sheffield, 2010)
- *New Age* are not ethnic Travellers, began appearing in the UK since 1960's (Worthington, 2005)

Within England, the housing conditions vary between groups.

- English Romanichals and Irish Travellers generally want to live in caravans even though it is estimated by CRE (2006) that between 270,000 and 360,000 of combined T&G now live in housing. This represents 70% of the total population with the remaining 30% caravan dwellers between 120,000 to 155,000 estimated from the Gypsy and Traveller Caravan Count which takes into account the number of caravans as opposed to people, thus are inaccurate demographics (DCLG, 2013).

1.3.1 Who are the Irish Travellers?

Irish Travellers were recognized by English Case Law in 2008 along with the Romani. Then in 2006 the Scottish Travellers were also recognized (Clark & Greenfields, 2006). This recognition provides the group protection under the Race Relations Act (Legislation UK, 2000) now the Equality Act (Government Equalities Office, 2011). Irish Travellers are Catholics, of Republic of Ireland descent and migrated to England in recent generations (Hoare, 2002).

Demographics from various sources provide cumulative data for T&G groups together. There is no official data on the breakdown between the groups but researchers estimate that Irish Traveller population numbers about 15,000-30,000 or 12% of the total T&G group with Gypsies being the largest group at 70%.

1.3.2 Defining nomadism

Contemporary nomadism does not imply unrestricted and undirected wandering; it is more distinctly based on temporary centres whose stability depends on the availability of food supply and the technology for exploiting it in comparison to sedentary cultures of storage and accumulation. Values of the contemporary T&G become evident in these distinctions where shelter is portable and occupation transitory with possessions including only those convenient to travel with (Hoare, 2002). Thus in its purest sense nomadism does not claim possession of land (Clements & Morris, 1999) which is now becoming increasingly ironic given the current conundrum. T&G movement is linked to both forms of nomadism prevalent today.

1.3.3 Planning classifications of Sites

In the UK, while T&G have the same basic need for a safe and secure home as anyone else in society the distinguishing factor for caravan dwellers is that one in five T&G in the UK today have no legal place they can put their homes (Westminster Briefing, 2014).

Unauthorised Encampment is land which is not owned by T&G and used without permission of the owner. One third of the entire Traveller community has no safe, legal and secure stopping place. Currently, between 2700-4500 additional pitches are needed nationally in

England; this represents at least 1 in 6 unauthorized caravans (Westminster Briefing, 2013).

Along with issues such as accessing education, many have no access to water, refuse disposal and other essential services (Wilkin et al., 2010). Without the right to reside you cannot access national health care outside emergency care and other social services provision, vote, have a residential postal address, telephone and internet lines, or rubbish collection.

Unauthorised Development is land that is owned by T&G, but does not have planning consent for use as a residential or transit site.

Sites Provision or Stopping Places are pieces of land where T&G encamp for either short or long periods of time and contain a number of pitches which roughly equate to one household in planning terms. They are considered a long-term residence, separately managed and have a number of amenities including water supply, electricity, shared toilets and utility rooms (Kenrick and Clark, 1999).

Adequate Accommodation includes provision of both quantity which is based on the knowledge and dimension of need; and quality which is the provision of facilities and workspaces in communion with their everyday functions (Sibley, 1981). Local authorities were empowered but not required to provide adequate accommodation until 2007 the same year that the GTANA (Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Needs Assessment, CLG 2007), was established. This required local authority to quantify quantity of need as outlined under Planning Policy Statement 3, PPS3 (DCLG, 2011) which described this as the number of households unable to access suitable housing without financial assistance. Housing demand was defined as the quantity of housing that households are willing and able to buy or rent noted in the PPS3 (ibid) and that it would also be specific to T&G (CLG, 2007).

Only 4 of 115 local authorities established a 5 year pitch target as of October 2013 even though they were required to as of March 2013 (Westminster Briefing, 2013). Accommodation Provision is distinguished from 'housing needs' because of a recognition that needs of T&G differ from people who live in houses. As described by a housing and health expert, representing the WHO Ministerial group on Environment and Health, the junction between health, environment and wider community is in the residence (Bonney, 2007). This wider

use of the term is important when considering deprivation implications and is a reference to the broad needs within adequate shelter. This is what is at stake when people cannot overcome barriers in planning.



fig. 1.2 Romani Couple, on their pitch on a public site (2008)

1.3.4 T&G support groups

There are a number of key support organizations that are referred to in this research and include academic, practical, legal and human rights groups. They are as follows:

- Housing and Communities Agency (HCA) is a national agency formed in 2008 that provides investment in new affordable housing.
- Friends Families and Travellers (FFT) is the only National charity working towards a more equitable society by disseminating information for protection and support of T&G right to travel and settle.
- Irish Traveller Movement Britain (ITMB) is a resource support centre for Irish Travellers in Britain.
- London Gypsy and Traveller Unit (LGTU) provide advice on development of local, regional and national policy (LGTU, 2012).
- Gypsy Lore Society is academic group focused on T&G studies since 1888.
- The Traveller Law Reform is a legal group campaigning for social policy reform as well as Ethics and Human Rights Commission (EHRC).
- The Roma Support Group (RSG) provides support and engagement since 1998 for Eastern European Roma living in England.
- National Federation of Gypsy Liaison groups (NFGLG) established in 2005 is an association supporting social inclusion and education; and European Roma and Traveller forum (ERTF) established in 2004 working with Council of Europe.

These groups are primarily lead by non-T&G with increasingly more T&G and were established in response to the growing inefficiencies of the planning system to provide access to appropriate housing and basic services for caravan dwelling communities.

1.4 Aims and objectives

The first aim of this research is to develop a methodology to understand T&G contemporary condition within the context of the English planning system. The second aim is to propose strategies and an operational methodology to accommodate diversity of settlement provision. This dialogue will broker a relationship between the marginalized T&G, housed, local authorities and other actors leading to the establishment of vital and democratic shared communities and ultimately a rightful place in society. This aim is achieved by following a sequential set of objectives.

- The first objective is to develop a conceptual framework for analysing the T&G cultural condition from the perspective of their travelling and the context of the planning system.
- The second objective is to use this conceptual framework to develop a methodology for analysing T&G groups representative of a diversity of conditions that exist in England.
- The third objective is to use the conceptual framework and methodology to analyse the contemporary condition.
- The fourth objective is to create an operational methodology for specific case studies by bringing these concepts and proposed theoretical and practical propositions together to achieve the second aim.
- The fifth objective is to test this operational methodology in an appropriate case study in conditions specific to that local context, with the participation of critical groups from larger society, which is influenced by the findings and relevant to the its unique group history.
- The sixth objective is to gain feedback from actors on the outcome of the operational methodology and develop conceptual and ideological themes to inform the conceptual framework as a transferrable methodology and in order to accommodate diversity in settlement provision.

1.5 Research and design strategy

In order to fulfil the objectives, the following research stages are proposed. The background information and theory will be used to develop a conceptual framework. There is a strong body of recent social and legal policy research to draw from. Sociological research is broadly more policy oriented in nature; even higher scale Roma bodies are policy oriented. The ethnographic background emanates from 1970's onwards with and increasingly from T&G themselves. The present framework is situated within these areas of research, bringing contemporary issues of the T&G culture as evidence of impact of policy or their omissions. While policy recommendations can be drawn, the main impetus is to recognize the nature of these gaps and recommend ways forward which will in parallel inform on policy to unite these areas.

This work brings together specific fields of human geography and social ethnography and concepts in planning law and planning processes in order to discover motivations and drivers behind the social injustices faced by T&G and the possibilities in these contexts. In the investigation of this gap between the T&G vision of planning and the processes and system managed by the planning system there were generally four groups of relevant theories.

- peripatetic and majority society (Berland & Rao, 2004 ; Weyrauch, 2001);
- race relations in planning (Sibley 1995; Bancroft, 2005; Morris & Clements, 2002; Thomas, 2000; Clark & Greenfields 2006; Johnson & Willers, 2007; Home, 2009;);
- Gypsies and society (Kenrick & Clark, 1999; Acton, 1997, 2005; Okely, 1983, 2011; Sibley, 1981, 1995; Hancock, 2002; Cemlyn et al., 2009 ; Sigona & Trehan, 2009; Van Cleemput, 2008; Stewart, 2012);
- and relations between minorities in general, migrants and refugees with majority groups (Said, 1993; Berry, 2005; 2013)

1.5.1 Research methodology and plan of work

Part One of the thesis: The first objective is to develop a conceptual framework for analysing the T&G cultural condition from the perspective of nomadism and the context of the planning

system; it lays the groundwork for the other objectives. This is covered by Chapters One, Two and Three.

The second objective is to use this conceptual framework to develop a methodology for analysing diverse T&G groups representative of the diverse conditions that exist in England. Interviews with other relevant bodies and pilot studies will also inform the methodological strategy for research with vulnerable communities. This is covered by Chapters Four and Five.

Part Two of the thesis: The third objective is to use the conceptual framework and methodology to analyse the contemporary conditions of T&G within the context of the planning system, in order to:

- discover contemporary culture and conditions of T&G minority within the framework of a contemporary planning structure
- establish the difference between how they live and how they want to live within a community; and to understand the internal and external tensions of the outsider (Said 1993 ; Okely 2012; Bhopal & Myers 2008) within society; including how they are perceived by their surrounding community
- discuss the governing planning structure and the difficulties encountered by all actors including planning officials

This objective hence will be reached using the case study method. Participant observation along with informal interviews will be used to achieve this objective. Participants will include planning officials, politicians, the local community, media and other relevant actors.

Pilot studies and the practice of ethnographic inquiry articulate the intent of the work conceptually and methodologically. This qualitative research strategy allows for individuals to interpret their social world and incorporates a perspective of a constantly shifting social reality (Bryman, 2004). The case study approach is most appropriate because it is answering a 'how' question and the focus is on contemporary phenomenon within real-life contexts (Yin, 2003, pp.5-9). The stages of the research range from ethnographic inquiry to inquiry by design and case study testing. The methods of recording and using data will also be important.

Knowledge of social culture enters directly into the making of transcripts from interviews and is captured in the texture of those words (Baker, 2005). The range of English dialect and variance in meaning of words will be recorded directly in terms of phonetics and accent in

order to avoid flattening the valuable insights inherent in the nuances and meanings located in the language.

Because there is a range of cultural conditions as well as degrees of integration and nomadism and since the gaps within the planning system vary, understanding the different conditions of T&G communities is relevant to understanding how this relates to existing relationships with local authority and housed residents as the discourse of this research focuses on establishing these links. This will be covered by Chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

Part Three of the thesis: The fourth objective is to create an operational methodology specific to an appropriate case study application. This will use the background studies critical to facilitating input at ground level and will be developed through inquiry by design methods involving key actors from a case study group. The underlying aim is to establish relationships that affect important decision-making mechanisms on issues related to self-determination as these freedoms in turn influence aspects of quality of life as noted earlier. The fifth objective is to test this operational methodology through a case study application using an inquiry by design approach (Zeisel, 2006). The analysis of each stage will inform on the following critical areas:

- To understand planning considerations from the perspectives of T&G, planners and non-T&G; and to understand motivations and goals for community setting and those barriers to achieving this, within a specific case study.
- To analyse and illustrate the opportunities and constraints within existing governing structures and bodies that regulate the movements and physical spaces of T&G people; and to critically examine the innate constraints, discrepancies and omissions of the influences on the development of existing communities and neighbourhoods through the relationships between those parties affected.

These objectives are covered in Chapter Ten.

The sixth objective is to gain feedback from all actors on the outcomes of the operational methodology and propose conceptual, ideological and practical strategies to accommodate

diversity of settlement provision within the English planning system in mutually legitimized and shared socio-political contexts. This will be covered in Chapter Ten.

1.6 Structure of the thesis

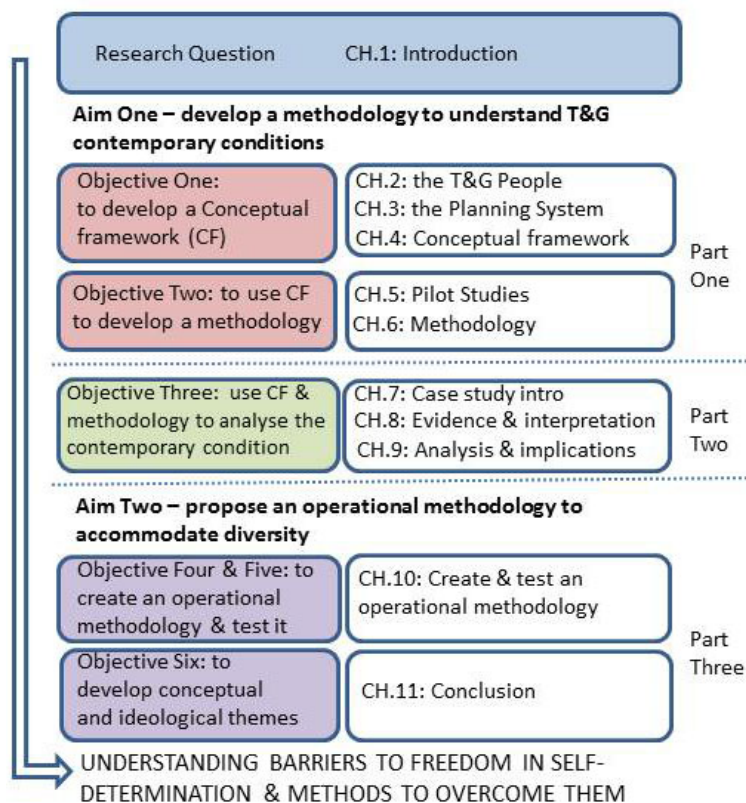


fig. 1.3 the structure of the thesis part one, two and three as shown in the diagram above with corresponding aims, objectives and chapters

1.7 Contribution to knowledge

The issues and contentions regarding T&G accommodation have been grounded in legal, ethical and political debates. These debates have delivered instrumental Government policy based increasingly on market led solutions with the more relational, human and sociological debates challenging this ideological norm. This research utilizes a synthesis of cross disciplines such as cultural anthropology, economic theory, peripatetic theory, integration theory and planning and urban design theory in order to better position itself in the milieu of today’s sites of contestation. Incorporating the influences from a broader perspective in this way will allow a better understanding of the contemporary status and lead to more relevant approaches to ameliorate them. In theory, practice and policy, there is a need to understand the barriers to

freedom in self-determination, but there are no specific cumulative experiences or understanding of how to think about it in ways which are context responsive and targeted at T&G in their contemporary state.

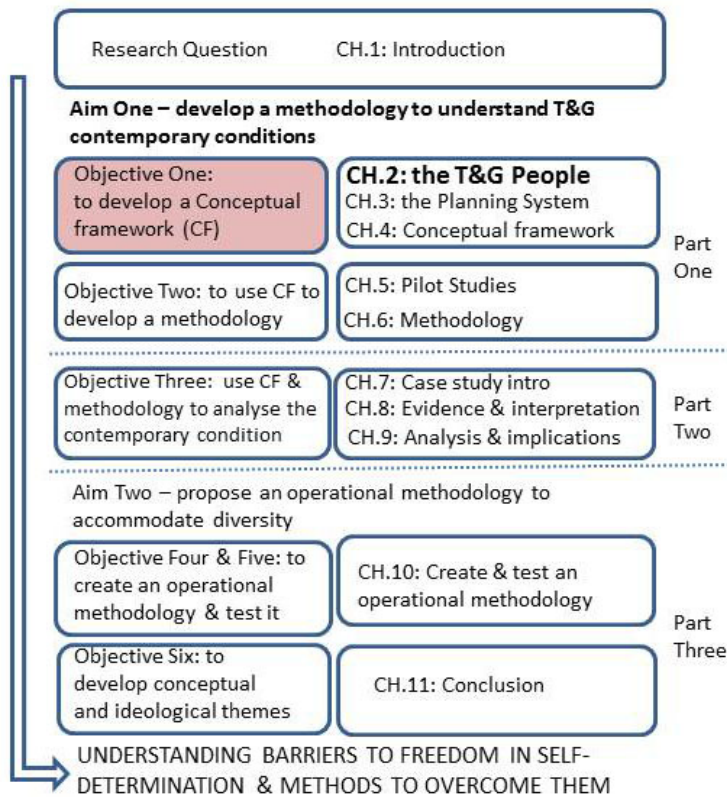
The planning mechanism in the human geographic context informed by ethnographic inquiry is a more holistic way of understanding the T&G minority. Local authorities and other key actors do not know how to engage and thus policy does not have access to critical local and experiential knowledge. This research represents a 'bottom up' approach focused on the T&G perspective with input from other key players in relations with them, providing evidence and direction in the realms of planning and urban design. It is about drawing evidence of their contemporary conditions linked to barriers associated with the planning system and proposing possibilities for citizens to act together to overcome inequalities. The overall aim is T&G inclusion at several scales from local communities in the everyday to larger contexts.

Thus the new knowledge that this thesis will explore and present include the following three areas: a new exercise in cross-disciplinarity with a specific conceptual framework and methodology; secondly from the application of this will emerge both the contemporary condition of T&G and the nature of their barriers to freedom in self-determination; and the third area of contribution encompasses a new methodology for intervention aiming to overcome locally-significant barriers to freedom and emblematic of what would be possible at other scales of intervention.

Chapter Two begins with this broad range perspective and delves into a more explicit understanding of who the T&G are and the roads they have taken to get to their various contemporary contexts. This begins to address Objective One of the thesis.

Chapter Two

The people: conditions and contexts



Introduction

This chapter forms part of the background research contributing to objective one of the thesis: to develop a conceptual framework for analysing the T&G contemporary condition affected by their freedoms in self-determination. The purpose of this chapter is to frame an understanding of the T&G's of England in the historical context of these freedoms and the value of this understanding to society as a whole.

In a quote from the documentary film by Jose Carlos Meirelles (2011), he describes the importance of understanding previously uncontacted tribes in Amazon at Brazil-Peru border:

It's important for humanity that these people exist; they remind us it's possible to live in a different way. They're the last free people on the planet.

It is important that these people exist to exemplify our diversity globally, yet societies impose systems of control on what they perceive as chaos (Neill, 2004) which reflects their broader visions of accepted order. Motivations would be extensive, both internal and external of such minority groups, but there may also be a subconscious desire for the majority that a people exist to fill the place of the least citizen on behalf of greater society, one that segregated minorities in their lack of power to self-determine often fulfil.

Exposure and management of isolated indigenous, like other minority groups, is indicative of a growing intolerance, be it inability or undesirability of them by majority societies they live within, as is the current case with the T&G of England. The influence of globalization and approach towards a one world culture is paralleled by an increased accessibility to media, migration and the movement of people (IMF, 2000), and exposure to both knowing about and being known: *all those processes by which the peoples of the world are incorporated into a single world society* (Martin & King, 1990, p.8). Ironically this increased global view and capacity of movement seen relative to the limitations of movement for specific groups is at the heart of the current marginalized condition of T&G's. Their power to self-determine residential settings becomes increasingly dominated by the single world settled view even if the T&G view is only characterised by movement if not by movement itself (Morris, 1998; Home, 2009; Cemlyn, et al., 2009).

Reactions of minorities who manage to resist change has been to increase resistance, and controls in turn take on new forms of imposed order infringing at the level of human rights (Morris & Clements, 2002; Johnson & Willers, 2007). Right to housing, participation and challenging the normative standards are the most basic human right from which all other rights are sourced (Gheorghe 1997; EHRC 2011). These difficulties are exemplified by ideology of planning that is meant to support access to freedom of self-determination. Critically, it is through planning that access to all other fundamental services that are foundational to quality of life are facilitated (Cemlyn, et al., 2009) so this ideology requires flexibility to meet the variant and evolving needs of minority groups as well.

By exploring this minority intolerance on a critical socio-spatial and inescapable spatio-political front through the T&G in a nation with the capacity to address it, we may discover the internal and external motivations and systemic procedures that allow this. This creates possibilities to address contemporary issues of self-determination in planning of the last place citizen. The ethnographic background presented also references a discourse between the Romanichal and the Roma, given that much of the contemporary political and socio-anthropological research comes from studies of Central and Eastern European Roma. While little in these mentions Irish Travellers specifically, on whom this work also focuses, it is with the understanding that although culturally there are important distinctions, there are key similarities in the conditions, barriers and motivations between Romanichal and Irish Traveller (T&G) groups in their struggle for self-determination. Even if there are differences in their political and ethnic history and culture, the implications of Roma studies today also reflect on the contemporary conditions of both Romanichal and the Irish Traveller and in turn this work will have implications at the European level. Setting the scene within their contemporary culture will begin discovery of the choices and chances of their situations and conditions.

2.1 Who are the Gypsies and Travellers?

Gypsies have been cited as the largest and poorest minority group in Europe. They are not a bounded internally homogenous community with a stable group identity, they are transnational, and the most marginalized and discriminated ethnic group in Europe (McGarry, 2010). Records of their last place position have been recorded in context of resistance to their nomadic movement and migrant status within Europe including England where they have been for 500 years (Bhopal and Myers, 2008). They are still considered foreigners as reflected in policy, discourse, and limited support and inclusion (ITMB, 2010; LGTU, 2010, 2011).

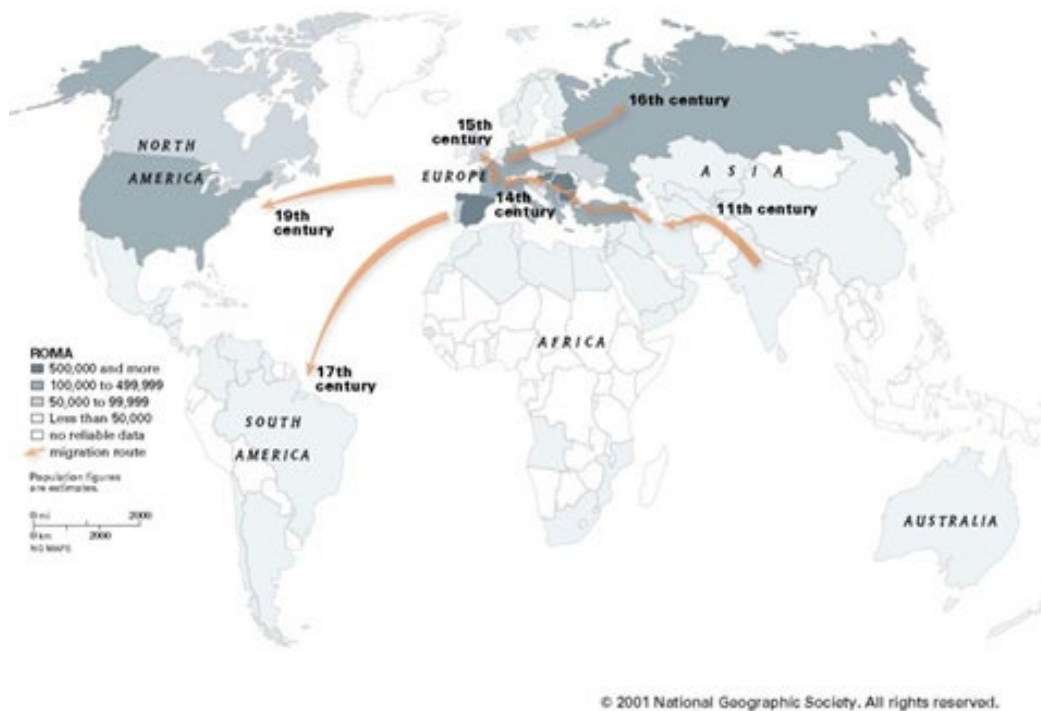


fig. 2.1 World map of migration routes and demographics shows Roma diaspora over the past 1000 years (National Geographic, 2011)

Irish Travellers are another traditionally peripatetic ethnic group with distinct cultural traditions. While the majority still live in Ireland, approximately 36,000 and 4,000 in Northern Ireland (Kelleher, 2010), large migrations occurred during the Great Famine of the mid-19th century mainly to the US. The Irish Traveller migration to the UK occurred in this same period after WWII when they were drawn towards major infrastructure work. While statistics for the English Irish Travellers do not exist, similarly with Romanichal, there was the first chance to self-identify in 2011 with inclusion as a separate census category (Census UK, 2011).

Compared to Central and Eastern Europe the demographic size of T&G is much smaller. There are perhaps 100 families still traditionally travelling and on the roadside (Kenrick pers. comm. 2012). According to the latest Government Gypsy and Traveller Caravan count there are less than 3,000 caravans on unauthorized sites (DCLG, 2013) while the one in five mentioned above are those attempting self-determination and continuously at high risk of homelessness. What is at stake here is urgency not only for these relatively small groups but for the fact of a society exhibiting increasingly limited tolerance. What can be done to ensure there are

approaches for even the most marginalized can exact control over their own destiny? One of the barriers to overcome in achieving this is the popular misconceptions held about T&G people.

2.2 Why does society associate T&G's with nomadism?

Nomadism is not an appropriate description of English T&G movement in contemporary terms. They are not wanderers as nomads and pastoralists (Berland & Rao, 2004) and have until recently followed predictable and timely movement patterns based on their adapted manner of subsistence (Okely, 1983; Kenrick & Clark, 1999; Hoare, 2002). For example, T&G until industrial farming twenty years ago were agriculturalists and followed routes that were a combination of seasonal picking and fairs for horse trading and business networks (Kenrick & Clark, 1999). With less need for such services, they have adapted into middle men traders of wholesale and industrial goods, landscapers, recycled metal collectors and other trades (Bowers, no date). They have also become more known for work as tree surgeons, landscape workers as well as becoming entrepreneurs in antique furniture refurbishing and dealing (Quarmby, 2013). They have for decades been involved in metal recycling but with recent changes in legislation including tightened controls on licensing these itinerant trades are becoming more difficult (ibid).

The declining need for seasonal migrations appears to parallel a loss of social and planning support mechanisms in response to a growing intolerance for their travelling affectively diminishing the demographic size of those travelling. For instance, a travelling school caravan or ability to access local medical practitioner without fixed address are services no longer available (Kenrick & Clark, 1999).

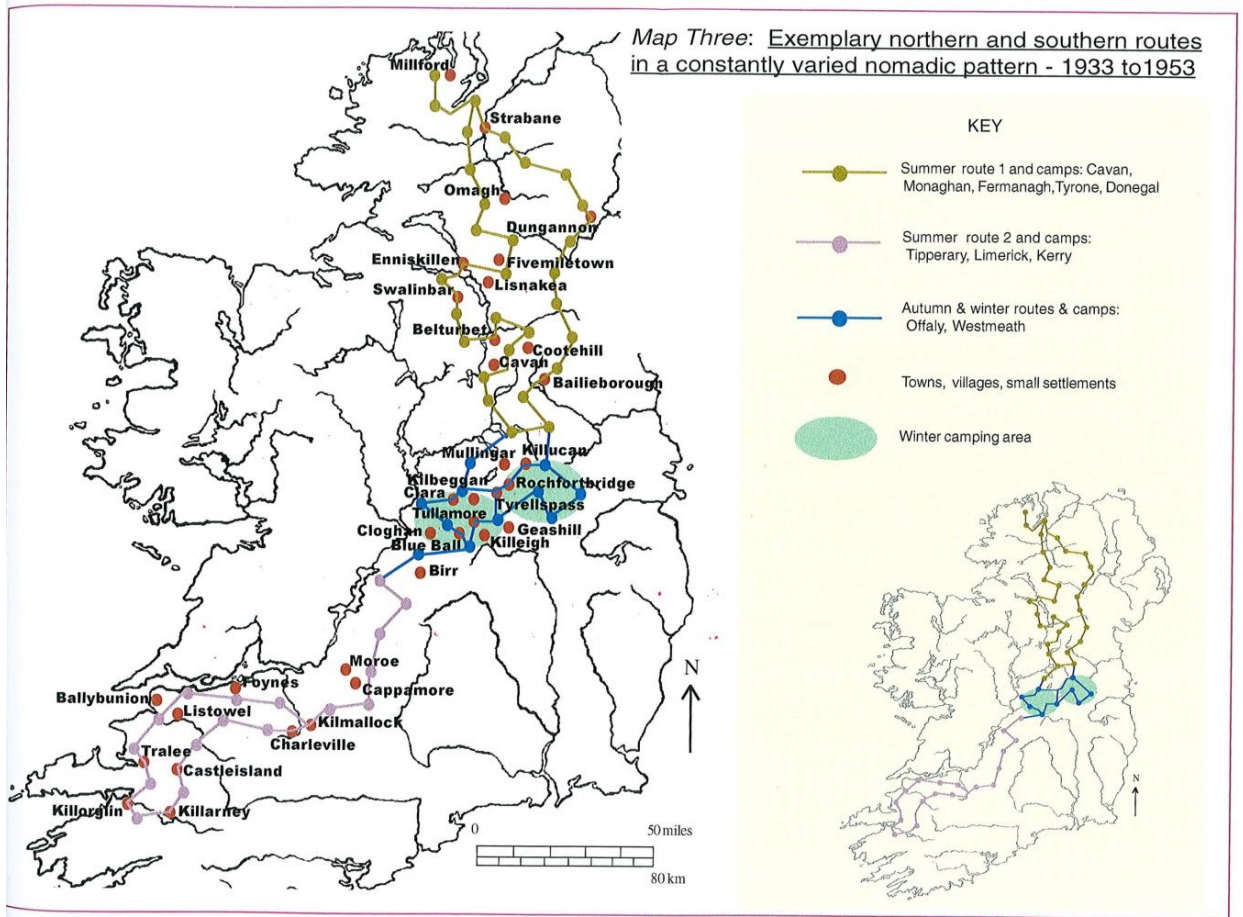


fig 2.2 Traveller movements following set routes for seasonal work and horse fairs (Hoare, 2002, p.95).



fig. 2.3; 2.4 Image above, elderly farm workers and on right Gypsy weaving cloth with bender tent in background; early 20th century (Sandford 2000, p.100 and 127).



fig. 2.5 Image above, family of basket sellers with their brush wagon in early 20th century (Evans 2004, p.20)

Social organization is one of the elements which sustain this lifestyle and enable it to adapt to changing circumstances (Gheorghe, 1997) but increasingly fewer are successful. Currently the 70% who live in houses along with the 30% living in caravans (Bowers, no date; ITMB, 2010) still have their cultural identity strongly tied to the concept of being a Gypsy Traveller (Liegeois, 1986). This outlines the limitations to their adaptability in the contemporary context and in residential terms. Living in a caravan in a fixed place or, for home dwellers periodic use of a caravan, the possibility for even limited travelling is still vitally important. Elements of their culture draw from this tendency of geographic relocation (Okely, 1983; Acton, 1997) but their options to follow this are increasingly balanced against the opportunities and threats of the regulating system (Sibley, 1995; Thomas, 2000; Home, 2009; Cemlyn et al., 2009). There are inherent consequences behind involuntary stopping and moving which have both socio-spatial and in turn cultural implications.

In the discovery of culture what is important about the details of the T&G cultures are in fact not the details in themselves but exploring the difficult of their realization as evidence of their state of freedom. It is from this perspective that we come to terms with culture in context.

2.3 What do we actually know about the contemporary T&G groups?

The social construction of collective identities takes place in a context marked by power relationships and uses from varied cultural building materials from history, geography, religion, sexuality and so forth (Castells, 1997). In the discovery of culture, aspects sought include this holistic total of human experiences and the embedded knowledge of those experiences that a group of people rely on to give meaning to their lives; it is equally important to understand that they are discursively formed and always in process (Breheny and Hall, 1996). This in turn shapes and influences the socio-spatial formations confirming identity and demarcating the differences between people's sources of meaning and experience (ibid). For T&G people this identity is distinctly nomadic, informing the manner, shape, process and meanings of their residential settings (Okely, 1983; Kabachnik, 2009). This distinguishes them as a society and, in the articulations within this, between other Traveller groups. The T&G groups are linked by the common way that planning rules define and control them.

Government documentation refers to a summative Gypsy and Traveller ('gypsy' and 'traveller') community as a whole (Johnson & Willers, 2007). Under the Equality Act (2010), Gypsies, Irish and Scottish Travellers and Roma are recognized as an ethnicity while other Travellers are a social group or community (ibid).

It was not until 1989 that Roma became a culturally distinct population and acknowledgment of their unique history along with policy that incorporated that distinctiveness was pushed for (Stewart, 2010). The major shift took place when Roma culture was considered for things they had as a culture as opposed to what, in comparison to majority society, they did not have and this was reflected in the social policy shift from one of assimilation to one of knowledge of their distinctiveness (Stewart, 2010). For instance, cleanliness rules which are both ideological and physical in nature and which reflect aspects of purity and pollution have both intense every day, and spatial, implications (Okely, 1983). On an everyday level the common ordering of laundry, related to physical hygiene, is paid careful attention to (Trankell, 1973). Aspects of cleanliness also linked with maintaining spiritual and sexual purity by being ritually and

ideally sheltered before marriage along with separation from those outside Romanichal community considered unclean in these regards (Okely, 1983; Kenrick & Clark, 1999). Thus a seemingly minor organizational trait, but as revealed in the only long term study completed following a Romani family's move to housing, the lack of control over cleanliness regarding shared laundry facilities was the breaking point behind intense conflict with neighbours (Trankell, 1973) where this loss of integrity resonated on several levels linked with identity, social values and to a sense of control.



fig. 2.6 Image above, typical public site pitch in Ipswich with mobile and ablution block (2008)

There are recent reports outlining the psychological aversion and sociological difficulties adjusting when T&G are forced out of the caravan and into housing (Bancroft, 2005). The issues surround familiarity of being close to the ground and close to family that multi storey and fixed buildings do not satisfy. Recent research with reindeer pastoralists in the Arctic, have evidenced that spatial cognition of nomads is derived from their specific form of movement and this in turn also shapes their spatial behaviour (Dwyer 2008; 2009) which may have implications on T&G.

Living in a caravan has implications on the internal relationships with the T&G societies as well as on the external ones with non T&G. The very visibility of the caravan along with the diverse nature of sites creates the living space of the 'other'(Said, 1993). Boundaries are not static property lines but spatialized into an intangible quality of life together (Stewart 1997, cited in Kabachnik 2009).

Comparing T&G groups, while there is little difference in planning terms between them, there are key cultural differences including how the cultures deal with their daily time scheduling and child rearing. Gypsy children stay put and are more under control; adults rise early and finish their working day early by going out with a target of income for the day instead of time based approach (Kenrick, 2012). Irish children go off for the day with some money and in general have more freedom; in the past they were distinguishable by the lack of shoes. Adults stay up late talking, rise late. They are mostly Catholics as evident from statues of the Virgin Mary on sites (ibid). So T&G on the same site have not mixed well in the past although there are varying perspectives on this today.

Distinct qualities between T&G include approaches to child-rearing, working hours and relationships with settled communities (Kenrick, 2012). Within family structure, women take care of communication with outside society yet remain tightly woven into the day to day of community life (Okely 1983; Fonseca 1996). Although different views have been expressed by Griffin (2008) on specific sites of cohabitation where for him, cultural and social differences were not evident but instead mixed communities functioned as a single unit from his work with the Westway site (ibid). The traditional adult male role in T&G communities is to work directly with non-Romanichal as employee or as service provider (Hoare 2002; Clark & Greenfields 2006) but to remain ethnically anonymous in these dealings (Acton, 2010). Community social structure is strongly knit and extended families often choose to live and travel together. On a religious level, Romanichal are mostly Church of England and Pentecostals. While this establishes cohesion within the community it is not a definitive identifier among Roma in the world because Roma adapt their religion and language to their national context (Hancock, 2002; Matras, 2002). Roma societies across the world do not feel less connected because of differences in religious dedication (RSG, 2010). Who they are as a people resonates beyond these identifiable systems of belief and into what Wimmer (2004) calls local cultural compromise where people share the meanings of attitudes particular to a locality.

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due to copyright restrictions

fig. 2.7 Image above taken by children on a Traveller site in London (Museum of Childhood Exhibition, Child's View of Gypsy Life, BBC June 2005)

Both T&G groups are steeped in a tradition of oracy where language is a unifying element. The Romani language for Roma extends to include nomenclature used by local host societies. English Irish Travellers speak Cant or Gammon (also known as Shelta), secrecy behind Gammon deepens the internal cohesion of this special language (Griffin, 2008). Recorded words estimated between 65 and 261 (*ibid*). The capacity for concealment is enhanced by word games such as slipping in and out of Gammon when necessary in the midst of outsiders.

These kinds of cultural values only came to light when female anthropologists were first able to establish intimate relationships with Romani women in the 1970's (Okely, 1983; Stewart, 2010). This was a period of increased exposure and unprecedented visibility (Weyrauch, 2001). The fact of this loss of anonymity perhaps reflects desperate measures in response to increasingly desperate living conditions and loss of power in this regards in conjunction with an increase in trust and understanding as to how to access these communities (Okely, 1983; Stewart, 2010). T&G continue to challenge for control over their residential settings and resistance against gentrification (Sibley, 1995; Thomas, 2000; Cemlyn et al., 2009) and appear to be balancing loss of their anonymity with achieving this. Previously, many refused to register their ethnic identity in official census for fear of discrimination and this contributed to the difficulty in obtaining population estimates (Liégeois, 2007). It was only in the latest

census in the UK that distinctions in ethnicities also identified Romani Gypsies and Irish Traveller peoples (Census UK, 2011). The lack of dependable estimates it has been argued, is also used by authority as an excuse not to provide support (LGTU, 2010).

Despite this new visibility they still remain a people apart, largely invisible both to the dominant culture and to other racialized minorities (Weyrauch, 2001). Stewart (2010) argues that the degree and fact of their distinctiveness (in this invisibility) have served to define the Romanichal culture more than any other characteristic or event. This quality has contributed significantly to their survivance on the periphery of a majority society (Weyrauch, 2001). From a Kantian perspective (1781), people develop values as a society, values which must be balanced against their need to exist in the world. Their entrepreneurial enterprise and their capacity to go from basket makers to scrap metal dealers (Smith Bendell, 2010) is a reflection of their capacity to do this. *It is precisely because the Gypsies' work categories are not found in the larger system that they are able to occupy them* (Okely, 1983 p.57). Efforts to overcome barriers in self-determination will draw from this capacity for adaptation.

There are key cultural constructs to the elements of identity for the Romani including social structure, social laws and traditions, economies and nomadic lifestyles (Okely, 1983; Berland & Rao, 2004 ; Smith-Bendell, 2010). While these principles of identity have diversified across the world (Kenrick & Clark, 1999; Matras, 2002), their values, along with the strength of their adaptability, are central to the meanings of their cultural constructs (Stewart, 1997). The Roma culture is one where the quality of adaptability constitutes the organic whole, thus while each culture has a unique spirit which is integrated in their unique system of values, Roma culture comes from an alternative perspective from outside the nation state system giving them the capacity to align meaning, interest and action and this attitude overtakes local memory (ibid). In addition Bourdieu (1990) believed that their culture is not a specific set of articulated conditions but a system of expectations. This makes those identifiable commonalities and expectations all the more intrinsic to interpreting cultural identity on both physical and behavioural levels.

Similarly, Acton suggests that they are a most disunited and ill-defined people, but they do possess continuity, rather than a community, of culture (Acton, 1974 cited in Hawes and Perez, 1995, p.7). Liegeois wrote that the world's Gypsy population forms a mosaic of small, diverse groups:

their propensity to live in wheeled and moveable homes, does not mean that all Gypsies are nomads or that all nomads are Gypsies. It fulfils a number of social functions, is part of their identity and makes for adaptability and flexibility as well as social cohesion. For Gypsies nomadism is a state of mind ...they borrow from the cultural environment in which they find themselves . . . without weakening the essential and distinct collective identity [and] maintain economic and social independence (Liegeois, 1986 cited in Hawes and Perez 1995, p.7-9).

It is in confronting the issue of residentialisation that problems present themselves. The issues inside of culture that loss of self-determination threatens may inspire approaches to overcoming them.

2.4 Socio-cultural values and ethnic inclusion

There are socio-economic divides within the T&G communities. Kenrick (2010) argues that their capacity to overcome these limiting conditions and their degree of cultural involvement is directly related to their socio-economic circumstance; that the degree of their economic thrivance parallels their degree of self-determination in planning terms and in this freedom, in turn, their capacity for cultural participation across varying residential status, that is, legal or illegal combined with the nature of tenure, that is, council site, privately owned, rented land, or roadside encampment. In other words, their socio-economic status is definitively tied to their tenure status and stability; capacity to travel; and participation in Gypsy lifestyle.

Currently T&G regularly travel for subsistence to earn a living while significant portion travel only part time whether living in houses or caravans, retaining their identity and cultural distinction associated with being a Traveller (Hore, 2008; Okely, 2011; Bowers, no date).

Specifically, poorer groups cannot self-determine. They lose capacity to participate in cultural events and in general also lose the capacity for economic thrivance. In comparison, Kenrick (2010) suggests wealthier Gypsy have greater capacity to self-determine but also skew balance towards integration and thus also lose the capacity to participate in Gypsy culture. This leaves

those in-between groups at middle socio-economic level able to balance internal and external participation towards thriving on cultural and economic terms (ibid). But to what extent does this still hold true in the contemporary context and does this contribute to barriers in self-determination in the same ways?

Until the last two decades, majority of T&G in the UK were travelling (Clark & Greenfields, 2006; Bailey, 2010; Kenrick, 2010). They moved in family clusters and community groups that helped them maintain stability and to economically thrive, expanding and passing on through the generation their self-run businesses and in this movement particularly, providing support during critical periods of bereavement, illness or other significant family events (Smith-Bendell, 2010). Even today T&G are often refused when they want to rent a house so will choose to live close to relatives and end up in segregated areas (Griffin, 2008). So T&G who have maintained their traditional itinerant lifestyle are faced with the dilemma of choosing the stability and integration of sedentary society or stay on the road and maintain their livelihoods but lose their socio-political rights which are incompatible with caravan dwelling (Morris and Clements 2002, p.59).

Social inclusion and community support towards thriving becomes even more critical considering the comparative working of Gypsies such as the fact that they do not phase into retirement (Kenrick & Clark, 1999), labour is not linked to an hourly wage and the wide spread family-run businesses mean that there are no pensions accruing (ibid). Thus the dependence on each other as a group and to wider society establishes precarious ties between these business and cultural relationships which directly influence capacity to self-determine. But what if any, are the pressures against acculturation (Berry, 2005) and are these linked with freedom of self-determination in planning?

There is a tension between the desires of the T&G to maintain their identity as a basic human right balanced against society's tolerance of their culture (Gheorghe & Mirga 1997). The choices and chances supporting access to these rights appear to have direct economic implications because apart from internal cultural participation, from a Kantian perspective,

economic contribution to wider society also forms the foundation for legitimizing citizenship on this broader level (Kant, 1781).

Gheorghe (1997) believes that Roma face the basic dilemma of either maintaining traditional differences, which contribute to their different and unequal treatment, or accepting the need for change and modernization. While change may help them gain equality it may also alter their identity. The question is whether tradition and economic capacity have been and continue to be mutually exclusive.

2.5 Stability and security in a caravan in contemporary terms

With the changing conditions in terms of economic sustainability and planning controls, stability and security are redefined concepts where once they meant knowing the seasonal route and having work. This ontological security emphasises self-identity and the need people have to be in control of their environment and to feel secure of their place in society (Jary and Bryant, 1991). This security and stability are threatened where there is lack of opportunity to exercise autonomy and achieve self-realization. It also requires a positive view of the self in relation to others, that is, social status (ibid) so that the fact of their segregated position serves to exacerbate the difficulty of self-realization apart from whether there is the economic capacity to do so.

Stability in contemporary condition is about not being forced to move on and independence is the case of being able to choose when and where to move or travel to. While self-owned land is more stable there are burdensome issues in terms of affordability and planning approval in order to establish this (Morris & Clements, 2002; Johnson & Willers, 2007; Home, 2009).

Self-owned land does not necessarily imply greater independence given the arduous nature of obtaining planning application approval and lands that are generally affordable and desirably isolated enough tend to be in the outskirts of cities and towns or in the much contested Green Belt lands (Johnson & Willers, 2007; CLG, 2007).

There is also limited cultural freedom even on self-owned land, for instance, there are controls over bonfires and funeral rites such as burning caravans with relics of the dead that are not

allowed. “*Blacksmith Joe set light to the wagon that he and his wife had shared ... (anything that would not burn was buried) in a secret grave*” (Smith-Bendell 2010, p. 152).

Council run sites provide stability but often at the cost of deplorable living conditions after many years on a waiting list (Cemlyn et al., 2009; Smith-Bendell, 2010). They are characteristically located in unwanted land areas such as flood zones, next to waste collection sites, beneath electrical pylons or beneath motorways (Griffin, 2008; Cemlyn et al., 2009). In these cases, stability of a site is often chosen to escape desperately inadequate living conditions of being homeless in a cycle of constantly being moved on. This choice of site-settling also means long term, if not permanent, stopping given the fact that unavailability of other sites keeps Gypsies from travelling out of one (Cemlyn et al., 2009).

The issues behind stopping and travelling means there is no longer a freedom to choose, rather stopping marks an inability to travel and travelling is prompted instead by an inability to stop often even on self-owned land (Johnson & Willers, 2007; Cemlyn et al., 2009).

‘Homelessness’ is defined by the UN as a circumstance where there is a lack of appropriate shelter including access to services, opportunity for education, employment health and well-being (UN Habitat, 2009). It is defined similarly in England but with the added caveat of statutory and non-statutory homelessness whereby local authority has no responsibility for the non-statutory (Shelter, 2010).

It is easily misconstrued from a settled perspective because while T&G have the shelter of a caravan, without a place to stop and access to services they remain homeless. The right to establish home is the right to education, access to employment, health and inclusion in society. This confusion is reflected in contradictions between legislations, processes and imposed forms of order (Morris 2006; Johnson & Willers 2007; Cemlyn et al., 2009; LGTU 2011).

Those options available to them within these status’ of semi-travelling or semi stopping are best balanced against well-being, economic capacity to thrive, access to services and cultural activity, but it is unclear how much the planning process has consideration of these. The

intricacies of opportunities within these decisions are important discoveries in this research which is aimed at expanding the options, power and ultimately the improvement of quality of life associated with this freedom to choose.



fig. 2.8 T&G Site under the Westway typical unwanted area of land (2010)

2.6 Contemporary quality of life conditions

About two thirds of Traveller groups live in housing either in response to homelessness; the exhausting cycle of evictions; and where they wait years for permanent pitches on council sites. The locations of public sites have been characterised with appalling conditions including: in flood areas and next to rubbish dumps; under electrical pylons or major roadways. These also all contribute to low health, safety standards and ingrained sense of being the outsider.

These places hold little hope of extended families or growth to maintain ties and live together in groups. The effect of this is visible both externally and internally.

For someone who is part of an ethnic group, the specific ideas espoused by group leaders or even a political agenda may be less important than how belonging to the group brings self-esteem, identity, and feelings of being powerful, virtuous, safe, and loved (Burayidi 2000, p.117). Attachment to the group may be rationalized as loyalty to ideas, but the personal and emotional weigh heavier than the intellectual (ibid). The critical nature of group cohesion is central to the well-being of T&G groups. There has not been a comparison of these quality of life indicators to what could be considered better times (and before a decrease in anonymity) prior to 1960's and to this period of semi travelling and immense tenure insecurity experienced today. However, it can be assumed to have worsened given the need to prompt such studies and the desperate measures including their much valued loss of anonymity.

2.7 A case of mistaken identity; media and the myths

The British media perpetuates the image of the Gypsy as the aimless wanderer, tinker, fortune-teller who is both lawless and a non-contributor to the economic agenda (Bowers, no date).

The connotation of Gypsy sites is that they are viewed as dumps and reporting on them, particularly in the years 2004-5, has focused on the alleged dirt and disorder of Gypsy camps one which was never modified with any suggestions that the Gypsies had their own priorities (Halstead et al., 2008, p.64). When media feeds into expected myths, conflicts with sedentary society are exacerbated (Bower, no date) in turn influencing an imposed version of order and intolerance of difference. On the humane side of things, only the most radical situations regarding loss of power, insecurity and low quality of life situations become public knowledge through media exposure not only in England but throughout Europe (Sigona & Trehan, 2009). The difficulty being that this characterizes and popularizes a specific perspective on them, a kind of incapacity. Hancock (2008) suggests that, *Hollywood has done a terrible thing creating the image of the Roma, if people can't take the Roma seriously then they can't take their problems seriously*. Hollywood films, for the most part, portray Gypsies as the antagonist:

those who put curses on people or portrayed as evil including: Thinner (1996) and Matchstick Men (2003). The question to ask is what role T&G have played in this imagining of them and to what extent, if any, do they benefit from this?

These are relevant questions to ask especially in light of the exploitative nature of MBFGW (2010). It raises the question about the extent of vulnerability and lack of public experience that allowed these communities to trust in the filming and exposure of the intimate nature of aspects of their families and communities especially given the wide reaching implications. Despite being hailed as a cultural expose, Bowers reports that due to the lack of actual factualness: *This "mockumentary" series may entertain people for a few weeks, but Gypsies and Travellers will be living with its effects for years* (Bowers, 2011). This has done little to expose either the real Irish Traveller or other Traveller cultures but critically served to distract from who they really are and contemporary issues such as those surrounding capacity for residential freedom and thus quality of life which has been ongoing for decades. As Gheorghe (1997, p.XI) describes,

Stereotyped images of the Roma have been used, whether consciously or not, to inspire and then to justify attitudes and policies toward them. As a rule, these representations reflected existing policies and tended to blur all cultural characteristics in order to expose a "social problem".

Redeeming elements of the documentary were the disjunctive breaks in later series describing other recent evictions at Hovefields in Wickford and, at the time, pending eviction of Dale Farm, Basildon (Echo, 2011). The timing of the juxtaposition of reporting however is questionable. The eviction threats and living conditions become undermined when reported alongside a portrayal of opulence with glass pumpkin chariot for a wedding of Irish Travellers. Did the humour in the reporting serve to lessen the pending threat of homelessness of a people who cannot be taken seriously?



fig. 2.9 image left is advertising for later series episodes of MBFGW where someone has spray painted onto it “more racist”. (Source brockley.blogspot.co.uk)

These kinds of pejorative documentaries form part of a shift in perception often leading into political agendas (Sigona & Trehan, 2009; Tremlett, 2013): Michael Howard in his 2005 Electoral Campaign advertised *that too many people today seem to think they don't have to play by the rules and they are using so-called human rights to get away with doing the wrong thing* (Hinsliff, 2005). These kinds of electoral stances exacerbate existing tensions and divides in power relations putting pressure on regulating authority governing their self-determination, more specifically discussed in the next chapter. Is media corroborating with the politics and subjective nature of planning? Does this have implications on the relationships between T&G and larger society and in turn their capacity to self-determine?

2.8 Influence of the EU-Roma agenda

alliance, and aim to understand and overcome these drivers that caused it to happen and that allowed this acceptability. There was a feared exodus of more Roma from Central and Eastern Europe from January 2014 once limitations on employment ended (Spiegel, 2014). This also makes the focus on the UK all the more relevant as changes in England's migration policy will be both reference point, and for others a measure, of openness with repercussions across Europe as a whole as will its relations with British minority groups like the T&G in England. For the T&G, even at a domestic level, they have been stopped within their own country. At its most fundamental, they do not have the freedom to move or stop out of choice but as a consequence of a lack of it and this has implications on all areas of quality of life. The caravan as a vehicle to lifestyle is slowly ceasing to be, as represented by the majority population now living in fixed housing, and yet poor quality of life indicators prevail in settled housing (Trankell, 1973). So in England it is more than a question of the caravan and the special planning route in support of residentialization. What these barriers are and how they may be overcome are at the heart of this research. Without responsible ownership of their status and relevant platform for inclusion into the planning process then the contemporary condition will continue in a trajectory of increased T&G in houses in England and continuity of poor quality of life which has implications for minority – majority relations for English society more broadly.

2.9 Are the T&G participants in European society?

This political relations issue is relevant not only at the local level but also at national and European scales. Relevant to this research is the large scale context of the largest minority group in Europe and the fact that they experienced and still experience intensive programs of assimilation and little to no cultural freedom (Sigona and Trehan, 2009). The Romani are a minority both in the UK and as a broader nation state within the EU. The issue of self-determination impacts cultural, socio-political, economic and technical realms and is relevant given the tailored support mechanisms in place in the EU engendered to promote participation and empowerment within these areas.

While the social and political debate on all forms of anti-Semitism and xenophobia relies on a variety of instruments, beginning with education up to advocacy with political and social representatives as well as legal restrictions, anti-Gypsyism remains almost a normal thing to which no attention needs to be drawn (Guet, 2008 cited in Sigona and Trehan, 2009)

This is predominantly the case given the socio-political changes in Europe in the past two decades that have contributed to this increasing marginalization of the Romani:

unprecedented economic, political, and social transformation – the collapse of the Soviet Union and its satellite states, the neoliberal restructuring of the post-WWII welfare system in Western (as well as Eastern) states, the violent disintegration of Yugoslavia in the 1990's, ... and the European Union to include former socialist countries (ibid).

The expansion and growth in contemporary history has had paradoxical impacts on empowerment, protection and political perspective on Roma. This has been evidenced in the rise of unemployment and poverty, increased controls over movement and decreased tolerance across Europe (ibid). This era reflects a decrease of support and increased restriction to personal and social freedom and in particular participation. The Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005-15 is an inter government, political commitment by European Government to enhance their welfare in areas of education, employment, health and housing with founding partners including the UN, World Bank and Council of Europe (<http://www.romadecade.org/>). Their mandate of “Nothing about us without us” is committed to Roma inclusion from the onset. This focus on inclusion can also be directly related to the rootlessness that has led to low levels of participation in spatial determination at the local level. Gheorghe (1997, p. XX) describes,

Romani leaders are not seeking an ethnic territory to legitimize their nationhood. Instead there is a desire to participate within a political framework in order to ensure the perception of a Romani nation is lucid to the communities they live within. The idea that problems confronting the Romani population can be addressed by dealing at the fundamental level of establishing a level of human dignity is linked directly with their ethnic identity.

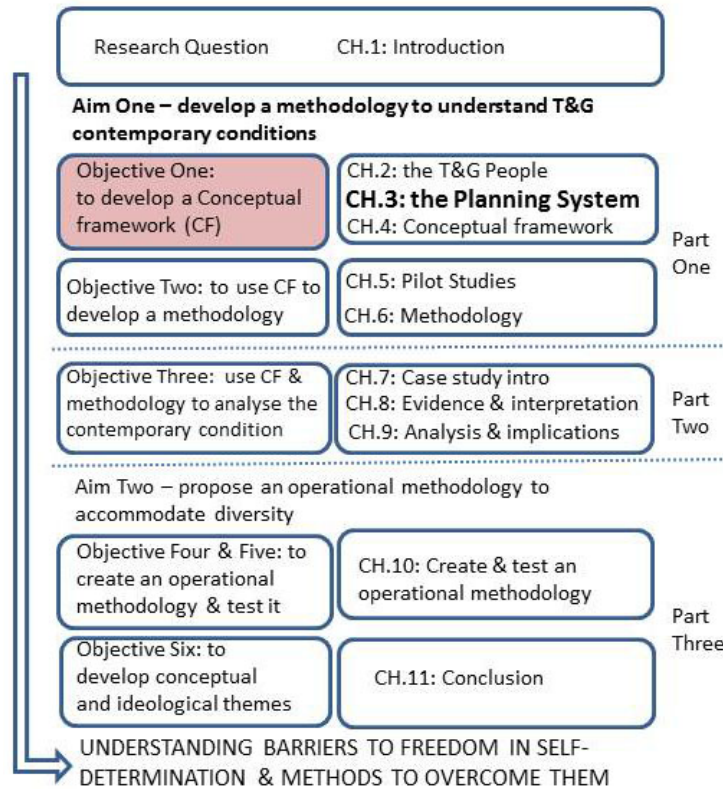
For T&G, spatial determination is very relevant to establishing a platform from which to seek an ethnic territory and the matter of participation given the distinction of their ways into the larger political framework needs to be incorporated into the discourse.

Conclusion

Past issues limiting effectiveness of participation have related to who has been taking leadership roles on behalf of Roma. It has predominantly been non-governmental organizations who have taken these roles with little changing in the past decade in terms of Roma circumstances. In a certain sense, the Romani 'movement' does not exist at all because it appears more as if non-Romani people are presently making the movement with the participation of some Roma (European Roma Rights Centre, 2001 cited in Sigona and Trehan, 2009). Further conflicts in representation are the competing autonomous voice of a truly democratic Roma society diminishing the space within which NGO's operate and thus competing interests between them and bodies representing them (Biró, Gheorghe and Kovats, 2013). The government manifesto of *the Big Society* reframes its role by placing power into hands of local people (Conservative Manifesto, 2010). It is unclear whether this platform creates the context for those who have never before participated to do so. Chapter three will frame this view by establishing the context of policy, decision-making processes, and ground-level technicalities of the British planning system within these larger, all-party type movements.

Chapter Three

The Planning System in Context



Introduction

This chapter provides the context for understanding the T&G situation within the English planning system and provides the legal framework behind the caravan dwelling issues raised in Chapter Two. This will include a brief historical overview of key eras in English planning relevant to understanding the periods of influence on Gypsy and Traveller efforts to self-determine. This background presents three key aspects of planning in terms of its values, its processes and its tools, as indicated through other researchers, how they have impacted on T&G freedoms in self-determination. Values are the ideologies which underpin the system and outline the aims; the processes are the ways that policies which emanate from these standpoints are interpreted and enacted; while tools are the guides and devices which facilitate a balanced

framework for delivery of the process. The impacts of the system as a whole will also be introduced.

The contents of this chapter changed significantly as the time of the research progressed. Many changes in the planning system have taken place. The laws and policies referred to here are balanced against contributions from those implementing them and provide some indication of the contemporary issues faced by T&G. This context of the planning system will form part of the background research which Chapter Four will draw from in establishing the conceptual framework for analysing the T&G contemporary condition. Understanding aspects of the planning system, which limit freedoms in self-determination forms part of Objective One of the thesis.

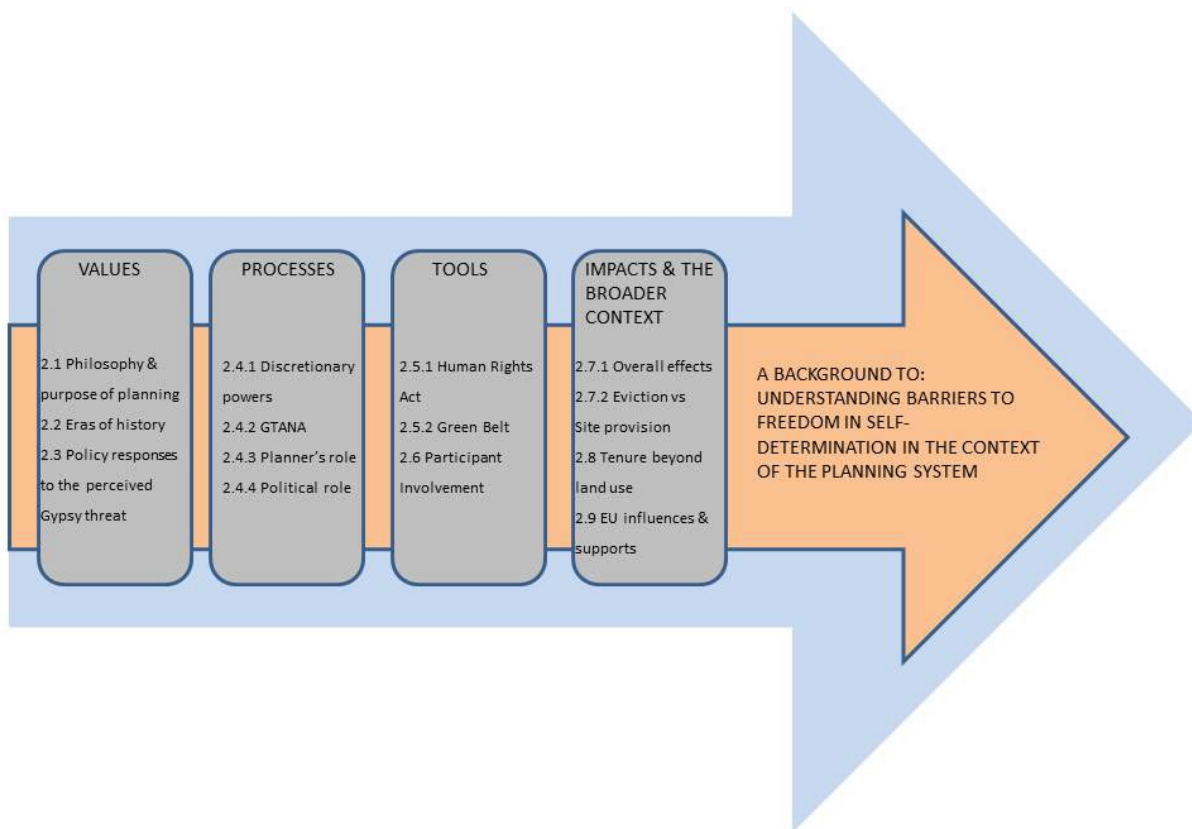


fig. 3.1 The illustration above outlines the groups of topics discussed in this chapter in order to set the context for understanding the T&G situation in the English Planning system.

Section One: Values

3.1 Ethos and Purpose of Planning

In keeping historically with the purpose of planning practice, the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF, Legislation UK, 2012) outlines that planning is about pursuing development that is economically, socially and environmentally sustainable. Controls and resources are designed to corroborate these values. The ideology behind this valuing is founded on democratic intentions that aim to benefit everyone in society in both the contemporary context and long term. A particular test of its efficiency is to measure its applicability to minority groups.

Through the case of T&G it is evident that not all groups benefit from these aims and instead experience barriers in freedoms to self-determination. T&G are a critical group to understand in this regards across many contexts in the world and serve then as a comparative marker. Vaclav Havel described the importance of this investigation to the National context being examined:

The Gypsy problem is a litmus test not of democracy but of a civil society (Kamm, 1993)

Havel suggests that not only legislation but also human behaviour must embody the values of humanity and inclusion. He also suggest that democratic legal systems empowering people also have another side, that of responsibility. Within the context of a volatile post-communist period of the Czech Republic and of timeless relevance he describes,

The law is one of several imperfect and more or less external ways of defending what is better in life against what is worse. By itself, the law can never create anything better ... establishing respect for the law does not automatically ensure a better life for that, after all, is a job for people and not for laws and institutions(1985, pt.1, sect.17)

Laws which are founded in human rights, articulate a shared vision of the future while conscientiously protecting fair and free societies. So the job of creating a better life for all people is everyone's responsibility and this effort is supported by the reference points of rules

and regulations governing equality and freedom. The planning system is one such frame of reference which prescribes the rights and responsibilities of the built environment. For the purposes of this research, the focus is on how aligned or flexible the system has been with regards to the intentions of marginalized caravan dwellers in the establishment of the intimate spaces and ways that they make home. Planning has a coordinative function and correlates these rights and responsibilities in a generic way. Issues arise because policy often becomes about implementation, in which case the objectives in some cases can become lost.

3.1.1 Specialized planning rules for T&G

Planning for T&G in contemporary terms is a specialized policy field given the important differences in settlement type and it is these specific differences that policy has had a negative effect on them (Sibley, 1995; Thomas, 2000; Home, 2004; Johnson & Willers, 2007). As we look in parallel at the history of planning eras alongside the eras of influence and support of T&G caravan dwelling communities this becomes clearer.

3.2 Changes in planning ideology

The eras of planning changes saw a progress towards control and market-driven ethics. Town and Country Planning Acts in 1947 brought all development under control by making it subject to planning permission. The financial provisions included in the 1947 Act underpin the whole system but in later years represented a vital piece of missing machinery (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2006). The following Table 3.1 characterizes periods of Legislative developments affecting T&G capacity for freedom in planning and suggests historical implications of changing levels of tolerance.

3.2.1 Lack of response by local authorities to allocate sites as required in 2013

Planning Policy for Travellers Sites, PPTS (DCLG, 2012) requires local authority to use robust evidence base to establish need. The problem is that there is no clear definition of what this means and it is left up to local authorities who get different interpretations between them and more dangerously who do not form part of a sub-regional picture of provision. There is little clarity on who is responsible for spelling out what is missing or how to get this information and thus the growing deficit of the larger emerging need for T&G accommodation continues to grow (Cottle, 2013). In March 2013 all local authorities were required to establish five year supply of sites and to identify broad locations for 6-10 year supply. Since October 2013 only 4 of 115 have set these pitch targets (ibid) but the more important omission is the lack of any management, penalty, or plan in reaction to the apparent eschewing of their obligations. There is a failure to have proper decision-making or the capacity for bottom-up to inform, influence and in this specific instance to inspire the process.

3.3 Categorized responses to the perceived Gypsy threat

From the development of agricultural capitalism and nationalism of the 16th century, the state defined itself against new perceived threats. Since then there has been a rotation of approaches of different policies in a bid to conserve social order. Acton (2007) categorizes these in theoretical terms as being either Status Quo Policies (affirms the rightness of existing order and applies them more rigorously); Repressive policies (declaring the existing laws are insufficiently repressive and need strengthening); and Integrative/Inclusive Policies (declaring that existing laws are insufficiently integrative and need strengthening to ensure threatening populations are brought within social order). Structurally each of these approaches attempts to change the T&G (ibid; Stewart 2010). Even those policies of inclusion can only work if everyone can agree on who is being unjustly excluded and the terms of this boundary (ibid).

As mentioned, the 1994 Criminal Justice and Public Order Act further removed the duty for local councils to provide sites. Section 61 of this Act was a signature moment in the breakdown of how to deal with unauthorized encampment because it gave police strengthened

powers of eviction (Morris & Clements, 2002). That legislative reversal underscored the laws requiring that Gypsies “should henceforth provide their own sites” (House of Lords, 1994 in Morris and Clements, 1999: xiv) through private land acquisition and acquire planning permission for specific caravan and residential use. This also meant applying for retrospective planning permission and the beginning of this wide scale use approach to seeking consent.

Paralleling this, the trend towards ownership and demise in the available rentable accommodation contributed to an increase in homelessness. As the urban context became more specifically classified the more difficult and increasingly illegal became the mixed uses and itinerant work of T&G so structural changes in cities as a whole contributed to deriving the ‘Outsider’ (Sibley, 1995).

In Britain, change in the housing market, in tenure categories and in the composition of the housing stock, coupled with a series of acts that have increased local authority control over the use of land, have effectively strengthened the boundary between travellers and the rest of society (Sibley 1981 p.84).

In these ways there has been an other-ing (Said, 1983; Okely, 1983; Bhopal & Myers, 2008) of groups who live differently from the way policy states and who do not respond to the way that local authority’s control. This makes them appear to be outside the rules; as though acting intentionally illegally especially when their ‘ways’ differ significantly from the ingrained idea of what it means to be English (Bhopal & Myers, 2008). This is particularly true where these differences are physically visible. But what is required of pluralistic societies where equity around self-determination for dominant and minority groups are accessible and valued? Berry (1984) who theorizes within the minority-majority relations of the multicultural context of Canada describes isolation where a minority is seen to be choosing ethnicity over dominant culture and that these come about through distinct choices made by the minority for diverse reasons. It will be important to clarify what choices T&G are making within the context of planning and within their own cultural groupings that form part of the picture of their current conditions.

Regardless of the reasons for the choices being made about self-determination, it appears that their physical marginalization has also left them outside of the planning discourse. In this way articulations to support them have until late not been in place or taken forms of control rather than provision. While issues of race serve as an articulating social construction by which planning policy is tuned and delivered, it is only since the 1970's that the subject of Travellers and Gypsies (T&G) has been included in this discourse (Home, 1994) during the era when sites and stopping were no longer being facilitated by planning.

This omission in the past actually served them in their autonomous forms of self-determination. In fact it has been their specific and targeted inclusion into the discourse, criminalizing their movements and increased support over their control in recent decades, which has limited this autonomy so that travelling has become more about being pushed off than about mobility choices.

3.3.1 Implications on T&G capacity for self-determination

The English planning system is highly effective in stopping development and much less effective in facilitating it (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2006, p.12). In particular, rural policies have faced serious difficulty and political controversy over hunting and the right to roam (ibid).

This is particularly the case for those minority people set within an illegal status while attempting to meet their own needs because of barriers and limitations within the planning system. Planning law is *formulated to regulate the gradual evolution of settled communities ... it is an inappropriate tool for regulating Traveller communities* (Hore, 2008, p.4), thus T&G are seeing increasing refusals on applications. It may be that the planning system inappropriately values these developments or that it is lacking processes and elements to guide them in contemporary terms.

Attainment of order requires domination and results in conflict. Sibley (1981) states that even the case of permanent sites by government, are methods of imposing order on T&G who are

seen as non-conforming societies (Sibley, 1981). The fact that these arrangements conflict with the spatial arrangement of their social and economic spaces was not and continues not to be an issue for government (ibid).

The implications for a failed planning application for T&G have far reaching consequences including homelessness and loss of access to land that in many cases they spent their life savings to purchase (Morris, 1998). The severity of planning refusal has financial and personal implications beyond what it would be for other applicants as most settled residents apply for alterations instead of new builds (Morris, 1998). T&G are pressed to seek appeals on the high degree of failed applications but preparing a case for appeal calls on skills which few Travellers have (Chapter Two) and the costs are often very high. Many years of stress and strain are often evident with some families spending up to 12 years in the application process and many thousands of pounds spent before achieving planning permission (Niner, 2011). The effects on individuals of the stress of the planning process has led to marriage break up, depression based illness, despair and gross insecurity, impacting particularly on children (Van Cleemput, 2008)

The question to ask then is why do they take such risks, repeatedly, despite the arduous nature of remaining in a caravan? This question will frame the discourse surrounding the research aim: understanding the barriers to self-determination for T&G in the context of the English planning system and how they can be overcome.

Spatial determination is the springboard from which all other forms of equality can be exercised and achieved. Laws protecting this not only convene access to provisions in healthcare, education, employment and economics but outline planning rights which are important in the construction of discourse within which power is mobilized and exercised (Thomas, 2000).

3.3.2 Conclusion

Planning values which aim for sustainable development are intended to be in the best interests of the majority and with an underlying land preservation ethic (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2006).

Land speculation, where the increase in attractiveness of the land as a source of profit, has become a priority and continues increasingly to be so today. The extent of change in planning attitudes towards market forces has been dramatic; market forces which are following socio-economic trends. Planning is a servant of the market in the sense that it comes into operation only when market operations are set in motion (ibid) and this is, in the contemporary era, not the best news for minorities like T&G seeking 'exceptions' on land use where their presence does not appear to be in line with this type of valuing.

In the contemporary planning system, the directives influencing decision-making do not benefit or seek out an understanding of the ways, needs and conditions of minorities. The processes of decision-making are not conducive to incorporating an inclusive and non-dominant agenda. The political philosophy behind Localism (Conservative Party, 2010) intended to release power at the local level but was not about creating a link between need and where government money was used (Avebury, Lord, 2012). This public vision lacks a focus on inclusion and this means that there is as yet no place for the unheard voices to enter the local dialogue.

Section Two: Processes

The processes, as noted earlier, are the ways that policies which, emanate from the values of planning, are interpreted and enacted. The system has elements of a technical-rational approach, meaning that problems are established by realizing evaluation criteria and is influenced by monitoring progress and impacts. However, in reality the planning system is a discretionary one and much of the critique on the process with regards to T&G barriers in planning focus on this characteristic.

3.4 English planning process: expediency and discretion

From 1988 to the contemporary era, policy guidance along with circulars has been the central government tools to guide local authorities on government policy aiding in the interpretation of the law. Policy has to be translated into action: the problem is that policy is general while action is specific. This interpretation requires a balancing of conflicting considerations. British planning system embraces discretion and general planning principles in order to achieve this.

There are also problems with these processes in that they establish an informal planning system which operates within the formal structure; and which can continue despite major legislative changes (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2006). Part of the reason for this is the lack of constitutional restraint which allows for a wide degree of discretion in the UK. Local authorities are guided by the local plan but not bound by it; they have the discretion to take into account other material consideration. These material considerations include: siting, appearance; suitability and accessibility; traffic and infrastructure; landscape; and impact on neighbourhood design. The focus of priority was on design and appearance of development along with amenity (ibid).

The planning decision-making process is characterized by expediency and discretion and it allows local authorities to contextualize policy and legislation for the good of all those under its jurisdiction. The mandates for local authority to use expediency and discretion in

interpretation, application, and enforcement of planning controls are especially pertinent to the T&G discourse (Harris, 2010).

In policy and in the day-to-day routines and procedures inequalities are sustained, which often undermine official policies to counter discrepancies (ibid). Even vocabulary of the regulatory system is limited by normative definitions, for instance, houses are homes in the planning system while pitches are not (Johnson & Willers, 2007). This is a key concept in the battle towards legitimizing caravan dwelling in that evictions are only legal when suitable alternative accommodation is offered, from Council perspective this alternative is a settled home but from T&G perspective houses are not a viable option.

The mechanisms, processes and thinking at policy level include economic, legal, and social issues. The methods and roles playing out this normativeness at local level including history, resources, and political and professional leadership will be important factors to understand (Thomas, 2000). It is inside of this understanding that we can come to terms with congruent thinking and delivery of an inclusive planning process allowing self-determination for diversely settled groups.

Currently discretion emanates from local authorities' subjective interpretation of policy and in their perception on decisions regarding development being effective and expedient and has lost their flexibility. Where earlier conceptions of enforcement were seen:

as a means of implementing and ensuring conformity with a detailed plan to present-day enforcement guided principally by the more flexible and loosely defined concept of expediency (Harris 2010, p.676)

Motivations behind enforcement action need to be examined conceptually in terms of their impact on T&G. It is important because apart from being one of the defining principles of the planning system it highlights the reality of governance with limited information by those with the responsibility and power to decide on behalf of those included and those excluded from the detailed plan.

Concerns emerge from the fact that discretion is not limited to enforcing legality but to “what is within the ‘effective limits of the officer’s power’” (Pepinsky, 1978, cited in Harris, 2010, p.676). While enabling flexibility through discretion will help ‘accommodate’ marginal circumstances, it also allows a degree of both formal and informal versions of political and professional discretion (Harris, 2010). This is particularly relevant to areas not properly, and often only abstractly, articulated by the system like T&G urban setting issues. This increasing allowability of discretion in its various forms is framed at a strategic level between central and local governments allowing the former freedom from the detailed operation of local areas (ibid).

On the one hand this discretionary power is the great advantage of British development controls but it also sets the stage for confusion, inconsistency and disharmony (ibid). While discretionary powers are not new to the 20th century, it is rather the context within which it is being exercised that is new in key detailed ways and which are particularly relevant in consideration of T&G communities and to which they have not acclimatized.

The other side of discretionary powers is that other tools can be used to accommodate needs. Certificate of Lawful Existing Use in the Town and Country Planning Act (Legislation UK, 2012) was first incorporated in 1990 and is a kind of planning permission which allows a use without the requirement for full application. It is an in-between circumstance which allows T&G to stop on land without planning consent or fear of enforcement. It also holds the benefit of securing return to a site if T&G travel off-pitch for a time compared with a formal planning application where consent could be lost on long terms vacant pitches. It is expected that these are accepted in more tolerant communities that appreciate the wider T&G context and where T&G also have some trust in the system in order to risk application. Where these conditions are not possible and T&G are able to, they aim for private sites and planning consent.

3.4.1 Implications of a discretionary planning system on T&G freedoms

In the current context 'expediency' moved from being a general discretionary power to one exercised where the local authority perceive it to be 'expedient' to exercise this power (Harwood 1996 in Harris, 2010). The two rather loose concepts guiding decision making today give local authority the power to decide what is lawful regardless if it is authorized or not. Where enforcements are based on 'planning considerations' a number of tensions and issues are introduced in the defining of this (Harris, 2010). These considerations (Harwood 1996 and Alder 1989 in Harris, 2010) include: general planning considerations; administrative and financial considerations; systemic considerations; and professional, organizational and core values. Each of these areas poses difficulties in constructive decision-making towards protecting T&G settlements. For instance, in the event of pressure from public complaint (systemic consideration) planning authorities have a duty to justify the expediency of their action / inaction to a complainant with inaction being a less formal mechanism (Planning Portal, 2002). So if local authority believes enforcement serves no useful purpose to take action it must still explain this decision to parties who believe there have been damages due to the breach of planning controls through enforcement appeals (ibid). With expediency and discretionary powers, authorities are the first and main reference point for decision making. The capacity for consultation with other actors bringing diverse perspectives on understanding the nature of an issue, will contribute to alleviating pressure and to solutions with long term value.

3.4.2 Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Needs Assessment

The only method of getting information about the T&G communities is through the Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Needs Assessment first developed in 2007 (GTANA, DCLG). Despite these kinds of discrepancies and the limited methods of getting information about the T&G communities, the GTANA was scrapped by the current Coalition Government under the terms of the PPTS (London Gypsy & Traveller Unit, LGTU, 2011). The GTANA can be seen

as both a process and a tool in that it exemplifies methods of accessing information from T&G and which can then become a tool for inferring needs that are required.

The GTANA have presented facts to local authorities about what, and where the needs are. Although open to misuse and misinterpretation, they have presented the first evidence base taken from ground level in order to establish this link between need and resource (Niner and Brown, 2009). The GTANA is based on numbers of caravans to determine demographics but even this starting point is a contentious issue.

we soon realized that the biggest problem that the government had was the caravan count, which was nowhere near accurate how could counting a caravan tell you if there were one two or six people living inside it? (Smith-Bendell, 2009, p.262)

Limitations in the way GTANA's are collated and how outcomes from them are misappropriated forms part of a larger political dialogue (Niner and Brown, 2009). Traveller sites differ in design, size, tenure, length of stay (transit, short, long or emergency), mixed uses, legality and the varying needs of who lives in which type of site. Changes in the 2011 census, which now also lists the ethnicities of *Romani Gypsies* and *Irish Travellers*, are designed to aid in addressing this disparity of information. But this too is limited given the fact that an under-declaration was expected (Niner, 2011) and then realized with less than 20% declaring (BBC Radio 4, 2013).

Local authorities are responsible for interpreting this data and responding with a decision of either being required to provide a site or not, along with provision of integrative communication strategy; this kind of system includes participatory exchange. The question remains: just how fair can a planning system be when there are poor avenues and support for including marginalized groups who have a lack of familiarity with the rules of the game or of how and which evidence to present? (Niner & Brown, 2009). In light of the withdrawing of public funding in an area of litigation in support of T&G planning advocacy (Cottle, 2013) this question is becoming more relevant.

The planning system aspires to a technical-rational approach; similarly the GTANA outcomes guided decision-making based on factual and quantifiable information (Niner & Brown, 2009). Where there is disconnection with T&G, information to serve them is insufficient and easily misunderstood leading to poor decisions or worse still, none at all relative to support of their communities. It is the economic growth of larger society that is supported by planning (discussed in greater detail in 3.2.5).

3.4.3 The role of the planner in overcoming barriers to self-determination

Design professionals share a common desire to restore order to chaos where neatness and regularity reduces associated anxiety (Sanoff, 2000), but whose chaos is being tamed by which notion of what is comfortable? Embedded thinking by planners appears to be that concepts regarding neighbourhood, environmental quality and even privacy come from a commonly shared belief system. Planners also design out of a need to represent simple concepts to bureaucrats, none of whom live in the contexts being considered and it is articulated to serve the needs of production, technology and corporate organization instead of to develop needs of its eventual inhabitants (ibid).

There appear to be three options for the professional: to continue in the traditional role as planners for people with little inquiry by them; to plan with people with strong collaboration in an equal setting; or to withdraw almost entirely from the process of planning and support development of planning by the people themselves (Thomas 2000; Harris 2010). Referring back to the changing paradigms of planning, even though trends to distance planners and bring community into the arena have been a priority, there has been a parallel increase in barriers for T&G to access these powers.

3.4.4 The role of the politician and public influence in the delivery of equitable policy

Importantly, it is politicians who actually make larger scale decisions, not planners (RTPI, 2013). The scrutiny of the public voice is inherently tied into this decision-making agenda.

The case of the T&G, for who ethnic characterizations are continuously being recreated is being ordered by a system attempting to fix them into defined legal, policy or social practice definitions. While they have not historically been a people tied to a specific geography the ensuing largely negative impact of planning on T&G (Home, 1994; Morris, 1998) outlines the power of planning to mobilize a social construction (Thomas, 2000) and a particular spatial-political discourse.

In pragmatic terms, the idea of interaction stems from public opinion which has some influence over public policy. The political agenda is a response to the specific public sentiment on T&G, in fact politicization of the issue has fundamentally warped the provision of sites, where the last new transit site (temporary site) was pre 1994 (Westminster, 2013).

These periods of flux in planning within the critical evaluation of field work in terms of the politics, policy and publicizing of this minority group are ongoing. They encompass both the world sentiment on Roma (T&G in the UK) in contexts of increased exposure as well as policies of control and enforcement. A critique of the draft NPPF (DCLG, 2012) and PPTS (DCLG, 2012) by London Gypsy and Traveller Unit outline contradictions between the two documents and describe planning policy as misunderstanding and lacking inclusive processes (LGTU, 2011).

These misunderstandings in policy are evident from political leaders' perspectives on T&G. In response to the Conservative Green paper in 2010 which aimed to scrap needs assessments, as mentioned, and limit site development, Lord Avebury wrote to Spelman MP that the thinking and policies are "based on false assumptions and little if any research" (2010). Eric Pickles, Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government (CLG) and Caroline Spelman MP are examples of prominent political leaders propagating misconstrued ideas about T&G which have far reaching implications on barriers to self-determination. For instance: Spelman stated: "The Travelling community should indeed be travelling, the problem with our authorized site is people come and they stay so it fills up the site" (2011) which outlined a lack of understanding of the broader picture, that of nowhere to go in this travelling. This kind of

erroneous thinking justifies actions of evictions and in the long term actually forces the settled condition.

3.4.5 The current rate of planning applications achieving approval

A decline in T&G planning approvals has been documented between the years 2010 and 2012 with 55% of decisions by planning inspectors approved compared with 35% decided by Ministers (Johnston, 2013). This means that for private site planning applications Ministers becoming for involved in the final decision over inspectorate decisions. The overall issue of concern by planning consultants is that the transfer of decision-making to the Secretary of State means decreased possibilities of securing positive decisions and much longer delays in reaching those decisions in an area of planning already dealing with substantial backlog (ibid). The planning inspectorate heard cases where there was a history of local authority decisions refusing permission based on pressure from local community and this means that fewer will be allowed permission to reside on what is often their own land. The cyclical nature of not allowing stopping places has implications on the capacity to travel and has its roots in misunderstanding the T&G communities. The English Government uses this same political discourse to position itself within the EU through their links to the Human Rights Act (Legislation UK, 1998) as described in 2.5.

3.4.6 The role of the urban design processes facilitating inclusion

These processes will work in conjunction with policy guides such as the Planning Policy Statements (PPS) which set out Government's national policies on aspects of planning. Specifically relevant is PPS3 s.16 (DCLG, 2011) which outlines design quality which focuses on quality of life values including access, inclusion, efficient use of resources, enhancement of distinctive character and environmental protection issues like bio-diversity. Specific needs of children is key with recreation, play, stimulation and safety in public areas (ibid, s.17). The way these are achieved more specifically frame the role of urban design. In PPS3 the idea of collaboration is a partnership between builders, designers and planners while in the urban design context it is about partnering with the user groups as well.

During the time of the case studies policy statement such as PPS1 (DCLG, 1997) which set out Government policy on sustainable development and PPS3: Housing (DCLG, 2011) setting out Government's wider objectives for economic and environmentally sustainable community development and Housing and others were still in operation. Even though both are now superseded by the NPPF (Legislation UK, 2012) there has been incremental transference of one system to another over time and with a time lag. From the local authority perspective, some policy statements are superseded in full or part while others are still in place so the framework of rules guiding decision-making varies with each local authority creating confusion between them and for applicants.

Urban design as described within PPS3 (DCLG, 2011) and the NPPF (Legislation UK, 2012) articulate the delivery of healthy communities, good design and within an inclusive process of local level decision-making. Urban Design Group (UDG, 2011) describes urban design as a field which included everyone whose focus is on the quality of life in our cities, towns and villages and that good urban design is achieved through appropriate and inclusive processes of collaboration between professionals and non-professionals alike.

Thus urban design is both a criteria on quality and its impacts along with a process for delivering it. The process itself is a partner in deriving community cohesion and a knowledge base which are fundamental to quality of life in a community and with influences up to and beyond city scales.

Section Three: Tools

Tools are the guides and devices which facilitate a balanced and just framework in the process of delivery and decision-making in planning. Tools outside the realm of planning are also used to establish the rights which underlie planning values.

3.5 Human Rights Act

For T&G the increase in policies of control and limitations to self-determination combined with a move away from valorising local knowledge has led them to lean increasingly on the judicial support of The Human Rights Act (Legislation UK, 1998) in dealing with appeals of decisions by local government.

In 1997, the Labour Government incorporated the European Convention on Human Rights into British Law. This outlined freedom from discrimination and the right to peaceful enjoyment of property marking an increase in the power of the courts over Parliament with increased judicial review which focused on the merits of the decision as opposed to the fairness of the way it was reached (Cullingworth and Nadine, 2006). There are two European Courts: European Court of Justice and the Court of First Instance. The Council of Europe has its own called the European Court of Human Rights which is the body appealed to when proposing injustices according to the Human Rights Act. These are all separate bodies from the EU itself.

The Act actually came into force in the UK in 2000 through the Race Relations Act (Legislation UK), and effectively codifies protection outlined by the European Convention on Human Rights into law. Right to ethnicity, housing and freedom of self-determination afforded within the Act are not paralleled by processes and aims of planning (Johnson & Willers, 2007). Reliance on The Act in the appeals process has not been enough to prevent the short term economically guided decision-making process and in turn the degradation of autonomy in self-determination (ibid). The increasing tendency to treat housing as a commodity rather than an amenity is also evidenced by other legal changes such as the criminalization of squatting (BBC, 2012).

The European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) first established in 1959 heard legal arguments against planning refusals referring to the Race Relations Act (Legislation UK, 2000) in requiring councils to plan for sites (Richardson & Ryder, 2012). These cases were in reaction to the comparatively low quality of life of T&G. These efforts have been curtailed by the 2010 Coalition Government ending all proactive policy in the provision of sites (ibid). Planning rules not only make it difficult for T&G caravan dwellers to self-determine but have also seriously harmed T&G relations with wider society by top-down policy as well as the perception of fair play for settled society undermined by the planning system which, in itself, also reflects badly on T&G (Bennett, 2013).

3.5.1 Green Belt restrictions

The growth in land included in Green Belt has further complicated this era of the ‘exception’. The original concept was to balance supply of ample council houses in order to protect middle class property owners with the defining boundary of the Green Belt which was introduced in 1955 (Abley, 2011). But the designated girdle of protection went ahead while council houses development did not, so that those already on the margins remained more deeply embedded (Morris & Clements, 1999; Thomas, 2000).

These restrictions do not include any provision for Gypsy ‘greenfield’ considerations and paralleled increased difficulty for Gypsies to gain permission on land close to urban or settled areas, even though this is exclusionary (Home, 1994 in Morris, 1998) and resulted in a significant proportion of the UK being inaccessible for Gypsy residential use.

Given the price of land, the selected tracts have and continue to be marginalized lands and Green Belt areas which leads to and frames the current crisis faced by T&G. The land they want to use for living on, and can afford, is not available for their use. In addition local councils have not been proactive in designating appropriate tracts (Cottle 2013), a conundrum, one which means as a caravan dweller stopping somewhere will be against the law while continuous travelling is physically taxing and leaves them without access to services and also

leads to illegal stopping. Both are conditions of insecurity and are linked to health issues (Van Cleemput 2008; Cemlyn et al., 2009) as noted earlier.

3.5.1.1 Current trends in decisions

Appeals to the Secretary of State; the Government Cabinet Minister at the DCLG, in the instance of planning refusal are normally decided by the Planning Inspectorate (PINS) who represent Ministers. The right to appeals is based on a question of law, policy or discretionary space of the local authority. While the Secretary of State has always held the right to make a final decision, in 2012 there was increased Ministerial intervention on appeals involving Green Belts and T&G sites. A Ministerial Statement from DCLG outlined that the Secretary of State for Local Government “will *consider* recovering appeals for traveller sites in green belt for his own decision, so that he can ... test the relevant policies at national level rather than leave them to inspectors” (Johnston, 2013, p.6). In October 2012, Eric Pickles upheld a decision by a local authority that PINS was attempting to overturn. The decision regarding a refused application for planning consent by T&G at Meriden was justified as being due to “the serious loss of openness ... and danger to highway safety and to trees” (Quarmby, 2013). While some weight was given to the immediate needs of T&G including lack of suitable alternative, general health needs and continuity of education it was decided that these did not outweigh harm to the area (ibid).

While the Secretary of State for CLG suggests that 86% of T&G are on authorized sites (BBC Radio 5, 2013) there have also been no clear numbers of T&G population or evidence that the Duty to Cooperate is actually a duty. The Duty to Cooperate was introduced through Localism Act (Legislation UK, 2011) and amends the Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act (Legislation UK, 2004). It places a duty on local planning authorities and public bodies to engage constructively to maximize the effectiveness of strategic matters in Local Plans which is justified and in line with the NPPF (DCLG, 2012). The Duty to Cooperate is not a duty to agree and effectively requires local Councils to set targets based on evidence with increased powers to tackle breaches in planning (ibid).

According to the percentage figure above, it means approximately 16,000 caravans are authorized while 2,700 have no security of tenure (Westminster, 2013) but these estimates are based on the assumption that there are about 100,000 T&G people living in caravans. If the population is assumed to be much more as historically suspected (Council of Europe, 2007; Liégeois, 2007) then the numbers related to unmet need will also differ significantly.

3.6 Local level empowerment through devolution

In 1997 the Labour Government made constitutional changes including 'devolution' where examinations in public were held to direct Regional Governments. Through successive governments this eventually led to the complete devolving of regional powers in 2011 with increased powers at the local level. During these changes little has developed to include minority groups into this locally empowered context. It is inside of these omissions that the impact of planning on the human experience becomes clearer. The experiences coming from the bottom-up and which draw from the everyday realities of who T&G are as peoples does not appear to have fed into these processes. Ministries as the interlocutors, need to incorporate a route to allow direction from the local level that includes minority groups.

3.6.1 What has Collaboration with T&G rendered historically?

The first consultations with T&G took place in 1947 with Norman Dodds who was Labour MP for Dartford at the time. He helped establish a Committee where for the first time Gypsy and non-Gypsy people worked together to draw up a nine-point charter. The demands included surveys of Gypsies in England and Wales; provision of camps with infrastructure; and schemes for educating children, and training T&G as teachers. It took 20 years of evictions, arrests and lobbying before the 1968 Caravan Sites Act, established with these in mind, was legislated.

The 1968 Caravan Sites Act was trying to accommodate the T&G travelling lifestyle, as it was readily described in that era, and the 1994 Criminal Justice and Public Order Act was an attempt at resisting their movements. Both have now been declared failed propositions by government of both parties in their aim to repress the perceived threat of criminal behaviour by

Travellers on the 'ordinary citizen' (Hayes & Acton 2007) and with regards to the nine-point charter that emerged from the Dodds consultation.

The Children's Society in 1992 undertook a consultation with children of T&G sites in Wessex which they called 'my dream site' (Children's Society, 1992). Even from a children's perspective, sites are about the need for diversity, flexibility, choice and control over the decision-making process (ibid). Apart from the few reported experiences of engagement, there has been little by way of including the T&G into the discourse in planning at any level. The reasons for this disconnection will serve to derive approaches to establishing relevant methods of inclusion in the effort to bridge the gap between what the planning system is capable of doing for T&G and what is actually happening in the contemporary context.

3.6.2 *T&G participation within the larger context of Europe*

This is as true in England as it is for Europe as a whole:

Without a discussion on the options for and costs of integration, without investment in the capacity building of Roma, and without systematized support from local authorities, no inclusion programme, whatever its nature, can possibly be successful. If the top-down process from Europe to the towns and villages does not encounter a bottom-up process propagating in the opposite direction, the funds will have been spent in vain and in some cases done more harm than good (Biró 2013, p.6).

The key issue with enrolling minorities like T&G into the participatory process is a lack of history, confidence and knowledge on how to do it aside from the lack of a balance of power that would be brought to the table. Jake Bowers, a Romany journalist and editor of Travellers' Times magazine gives his perspective on the potential of the Localism Act (Legislation UK, 2011):

If you give local people decisions over who lives in their area, the monoculture already there will not allow there to be a multicultural ... rich, middle-class white people ... will not allow people from other cultures to come in. We're slipping back to the time of the Enclosures Act of the 1700s, when gypsies were marginalised (2011)

Localism Act (Legislation UK, 2011) was enacted to devolve more decision-making powers from central government back into the hands of individuals, communities and local councils. It requires the overall development plan for the local area to include consideration of the community's neighbourhood plan and local plan which sets out rules for development over time. Inspiration and support could be tapped into at a European level to achieve this.

Section Four: Impacts

The impact of a discretionary planning system means that there may be limited transparency at times which exacerbates issues. Schemes can be formally competent but lack explanation or justification. There is a lack of interest or commitment to promoting race equality; the lack of transparency means reasons and impacts of their decisions remain unaccounted for (Thomas, 2004).

3.7 Implications of decisions

Appeals by exception in conjunction with this lack of transparency on decisions have denigrated legitimacy of T&G sites particularly in the instance of Green Belts. In these areas protected from development, T&G are not allowed to have a privileged position with regards to Green Belt designated land. Conservationist policies restrict development but there have been instances where private Gypsy sites in such areas are accepted where there are no alternatives (Morris, 1998).

This contradiction has caused more controversy than it has resolved. Eras of legislation have been aimed at repealing this special status and no additional advice given in terms of preventing situations; and with 'no alternatives' (2.2.3) appeals on refusals have been overturned by PINS.

In addition to this, the public and political outcry that Gypsies should be treated as equal fails to recognize the influence of often prejudice-based opposition not suffered by other types of applicants and which stems from a combination of classic racism, and a lack of understanding of nomadism ... which can result in discriminatory treatment of Gypsy attempts at self-

provision (Morris, 1998, p. 4). But T&G are not equal with larger society in terms of the implications and consequences of limited access to planning approval.

As Aristotle described,

The worst form of inequality is to try to make unequal things equal (Peter, 1979, p. unknown)

Where the need and consequences differ so immensely for T&G, the idea of equality needs to be considered in context. Retrospective planning consent occurs where a land owner seeks to inhabit land which does not specifically include habitation in its designated land use. Much of the criticism regarding T&G retrospective applications for consent is focused on the laws allowing this. This in turn demonizes T&G in light of their being seen as receiving exceptional considerations. Caravan dwelling requires specific land use consent within residential terms of use. Cases where retrospective approval has been achieved were in reaction to long term injustices and planning refusals of specific families in specific locations. A longer term approach would be to find legal places for people to stop or to find processes that address the high application rejection rate to begin with. With the increasing refusals to this exception, local authority are encouraging T&G to seek advice before purchase but T&G report that the fear of rejection is too great (Planning Aid England, 2010).

The cases of planning consent that are exceptions in law, specifically at appeal levels, occur because judges recognize and seek to make up for historic penalties but this in itself does not address the wider issues. Until now these exceptions and the principle of fighting every site on a case by case basis appear to reflect the notion that caravan dwelling is expected to disappear altogether. Those planners that have sought to help T&G have always gone along with the idea of 'let's sneak a T&G site in here, don't make a fuss, consultation isn't possible' instead of confronting people with the totality of the need (Cottle, 2013). The local planning system is the focus in terms of public participation involvement because development control is the rough end of planning and the part of practice that decides land use decisions which for vulnerable people who do not take part can have immense influence on their freedoms and quality of life.

The difficulty of participation does not contribute to the expediency of the process but is the only way to incorporate impacts of decisions into the practice.

3.7.1 Evictions as a response to a discord in planning values

In each era of planning, there have been value changes which underpin the way they address or the limited efforts to address poverty. Through T&G we see the consequences of these changes. As in each era of planning as Cullingworth and Nadin (2006) describe:

Each generation has to rediscover poverty for itself (p.26)

When there is little information about a specific community, they cannot be specifically addressed, and the impacts of policy also become more difficult to understand and take time to manifest. Evictions are one way this discord manifests itself. In the case of T&G, where evictions serve no useful purpose it is through public pressure for a reply that local authority also reveals the low priority of addressing a long term response to T&G in keeping with their desires as a society. Through expediency and discretion, planning is subject to immense public and political pressure often serving against the capacity for T&G to settle. With regards to the public and local authority, these pressures draw from three areas that Damian Lebas, Romani editor for Travellers' Times Magazine (2012) describes as: wilful ignorance of the facts; wilful or actual ignorance of being prejudiced; and the lack of fear of reprisal from T&G themselves or from local authority.

This lack of repercussion is also evidenced in financial terms whereby eviction and continual enforcement are the common option despite the comparatively cheaper alternative of site provision in both financial and human terms (Morris & Clements, 2002). While the number of T&G caravans in England is small, broadly estimated near 20,000 (Chapter Two), there are disproportionate public resources expended in controlling and regulating them (ibid). The justifiable benefits of control versus provision assert this lack of reprisal. The unbalanced face value cost of eviction and keeping T&G on the move versus site provision must not be telling the full story.

Apart from discretion, local authority must also respond to the realization of planning schemes paralleling planning policies themselves. However, within this too there is a lack of clarity:

The character of modern day development plans based as they are on generalized locations of strategic sites and extensive criteria-based policies, does not in many cases deliver a clear determination of whether or not an unauthorized development is in accordance with the development plan (Harris 2010, p.691) .

In addition some believe decisions being made are acts of punishment or deterrence (McKay and Ellis, 2005). This indirect and diffused relationship to development plans lends itself to a complex system of enforcement where no matter what the ideology of policy the way these are framed at the ground level will constitute a local version of ideology, redefined and reframed each time depending on the perspective or fortitude of the settled population in combination with governing bodies. While the planning enforcement system undergoes ‘incremental adjustments (McKay and Ellis, 2005) any approaches to supporting T&G settlement must corroborate with the weaknesses and the strengths in the process in collaboration with the key actors affected by, and divesting, powers in the outcomes. This discourse is not only about land use but increasingly about ownership and tenure options especially relevant to accommodating T&G.

3.8 Issues of tenure beyond Land use

Historically, as Sibley (1981) describes, methods of land acquisition from minority groups come from a broader economic level. In reference to Canadian and Soviet Arctic Natives, Sibley (1981) describes their competing claims to land with that of the larger economy and by whom they are overwhelmed because of larger society’s required exploitation of lands for expansion. The way in which this is done is to involve the communities in the political process thus legitimating the appropriation of resources (ibid). By then also incorporating the Natives into the workforce of this industry they become dependent on a non-traditional economy and the disruption to their own has terminal consequences and thus a kind of ‘internal colonialism’ (ibid) takes hold.

In terms of ownership, historically the trend has been towards increased ownership of land as opposed to Government site provision wherein the contemporary issues in self-determination are set. Accessing traditional forms of settled ownership of larger society appear incongruent with T&G methods and thinking. In addition to this, T&G do not have the diversity of options with regards to home and location or access to systems of banking and mortgage lending which is designed around private home ownership (Morris, 1998). Ultimately, it is the Gypsy notion of what makes a 'home' that makes the systems serving the bricks and mortar dwelling inaccessible to them and incompatible with their ideal home (ibid).

Niner (2004) describes tenure and land use as English institutions exclusively serving settled society: While the land use planning system controls land use, often with a mandate for development, the concept of land ownership also excludes any rights nomads might have through tradition by way of temporary occupation (ibid, p.252). Options which include the flexibility and freedom for T&G would need to be as diverse as the motivations behind travelling behavior (ibid). Approaches to include the marginalized T&G would more appropriately be descriptive rather than prescriptive.

In their efforts to self-determine, it is not only about how the land is used but also about whether there are limitations on the time frame for that use. Insecurity comes when appeals made on planning refusals take months to return. There have been situations where families live in caravans for more than ten years, but living as though they may leave the next day (Niner, 2011). A recent study by South West Law who obtained figures from PINS under the Freedom of Information Act outlined that on average appeals on refused consent took 31 weeks with some taking up to two years for a reply (Geoghegan, 2014). Living without security of tenure confers the same effects as loss of housing on quality of life as homelessness does (Van Cleemput, 2008; FFT, 2010).

3.9 EU influence and support through the planning platform

Engagement at the local level has been slow in developing and there are several reasons for this including lack of incentives and direction. The larger dialogue from which T&G are disconnected however is also emerging from the EU in terms of pressure for the UK to establish need and calibrate a strategy to address conditions of T&G (Tsolakis, 2011). The increasing demand for accountability is in response to the slow and limited reaction by England while funding by the EU in support of the EU Roma networks remains untapped (ibid).

As mentioned, the Human Rights Act (Legislation UK, 1998) was adopted from the European Council (ECtHR, 1959) allowing UK courts to be a remedy for breach in the convention instead of needing to go to the Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg. The convention has been a last resort for T&G seeking appeals on decisions related to the right to settle (Johnson & Willers, 2007; ITMB, 2012) where they have inherently been breaching planning law in a bid to maintain autonomy in self-determination. In recent rumours, as part of the UK's political positioning within the EU, a core group within the Conservative party appears to want to distance the UK from the European Convention on Human Rights, thus leaving no specific human rights legislation in its place (Avebury, Lord, 2012). Whether or not this goes ahead, a serious charge against the T&G community has been the fact of the current government citing T&G as a key example justifying use of the UK opt-out of the EU-wide Charter. The opt-out from the convention was suggested because, as they describe it, T&G take advantage of it to overcome common planning rules (ibid).

In order to harness possibilities countering these barriers to freedom in self-determination, the planning regulatory system must be seen within this broader setting in terms of its legislative motivations at one end and its ground level delivery and processes at the other.

3.10 Recent developments in planning policy September 2014

As reported in *The Sunday Times* (Woolf, 2014), Ministers are this week unveiling plans to give Council new powers to evict T&G. The consultation is called, *Planning and travellers: proposed changes to planning policy and guidance* (DCLG, 17 September, 2014). Definition changes are underway including that of Traveller, and will become: a person who can genuinely prove a nomadic habit of life. In parallel the planned Legislation will allow Council to evict T&G without the requirement to rehouse them in what they still consider to be the appropriate accommodation of fixed houses.

As noted in 2.4, this latter provision was at least delaying the eviction process of T&G families who would not accept fixed houses as appropriate accommodation. Without this requirement the power to evict can occur in a more compressed period of time. The proposed change that of only allowing special status to T&G with genuine nomadic habit means that effectively the majority of T&G will lose their status. The definition of what degree of nomadism qualifies someone to be recognized as a peripatetic nomad in the definition of those following a nomadic lifestyle remains unclear. This is something which historically Governments have not done well to usefully and effectively define in a way which recognizes T&G lifestyles. This will run at the heart of controlling the size of the population of T&G; who will effectively be included and allowed rights in their caravan dwelling lifestyles. The implications are that they will not be able to apply for site accommodation, or have special material consideration when applying for private planning consent. MP Andrew George, chairman of the all-party parliamentary group on Gypsies, criticised the proposal suggesting the government “can’t redefine travellers out of existence” (ibid). While these proposed changes came after the period of research they nonetheless form part of the evolution of changes and its implications will be discussed in the closing chapter of this research.

Conclusions

The values of the planning system appear to corroborate with a democratic valuing of every member of society. National level policy will prove a failure at the local level if long term and local valuing and knowledge are not incorporated. This is all the more relevant for marginalized communities where local level politicization of identity is more easily overtaken by the majority. Resolving everyday issues directly with people involved is an important process that can inform top-down thinking and which in turn offers national programs some chance of success (Biró, 2013).

It is within the processes and tools that discretion has played a role in limiting the realization of these values. As described by Forrester,

The UK planning system has been described as the single biggest obstacle to the proper provision of adequate Traveller sites” (Forrester, 1985 in O’Nions, 1996, p.3)

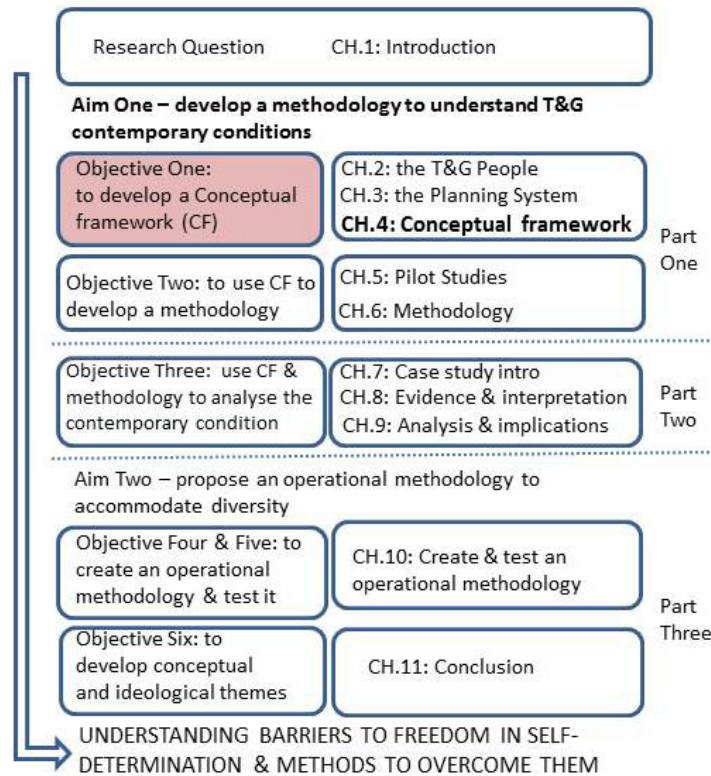
This represents a challenge for T&G to utilize the process of planning in order to overcome barriers in self-determination. Even in cases where there are efforts at impartiality there are limited mechanisms in place to discover and incorporate pertinent local knowledge and principles regarding the spatial presence, needs and visions of T&G.

Field work through case studies will reveal contemporary impact of the recent era of planning, highlight barriers to self-determination and importantly also establish routes to utilizing the tools and processes of planning in order to overcome these limitations.

This chapter has set the scene within the context of planning rules and processes. The next chapter will establish the conceptual framework, incorporating these background chapters and coordinate a strategy for research and analysis in order to address these key areas of the research.

Chapter Four

The Conceptual Framework



Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to draw on the background research presented so far and develop a conceptual framework for analysis. The research will be based on three areas of inquiry in order to achieve the thesis aim which includes:

- to understand T&G contemporary culture including their wants and needs as they are affected in planning terms;
- to understand the power and role of the planning system including rules and processes, and how T&G manage in their efforts to self-determine;
- to draw out the factors within minority – majority relations which are pertinent to this discourse.

This framework draws on anthropological, legal, political, urban design and planning theory presented by various sources and voices, formal and informal, sometimes directly communicated and sometimes not, in order to get at the deeper motivations behind the barriers to self-determination. These present a broad range of considerations necessary in researching issues where causes and implications spread far beyond the physicality of planning (Okely, 2011) and which only culminate there. These will help frame a methodology and lay the groundwork for the subsequent field work and analysis of findings.

This chapter asks the key questions and outlines investigative objectives which are set within the understanding that knowledge and information in themselves are not enough. It is the experience of becoming sensitized to finding the extraordinary in the everyday (Porteous, 1977) that this work will draw from. Assumptions about need and valuing can get lost between societal translations where one has governing control over the others. This work is an investigation into these misconstructions which underscore a validating of the rights regarding self-determining through the insights offered by the everydayness of diverse societal processes. There are no absolute truths particularly in this controversial area of human settlement. In fact, Sibley posited that:

An understanding of gypsies and indigenous minorities in advanced capitalist societies requires involvement in their day-to-day lives, but the intimate knowledge that might be gained from such contact is in itself insufficient if we are concerned with explaining the peripheral status of these communities in relation to the larger society (1981, vii).

Thus, this chapter is set up to explore, in addition, other concepts relevant to the peripheral status of T&G. In order to study the systems of beliefs and values which are powerful determinants of action, understanding must be contextual and relational (Beattie, 1993). Thus the conditions of the economic market, political movements and international influences must be considered in combination with the everyday contact in order to see the full context and then imagine ways forward from them. In the sometimes limited possibilities for long term anthropological accounting, linking in with broader level thinking and research will help tie-in the reality and validating of the witnessed accounts of ground level realities by a non-T&G.

This chapter in combination with earlier ones will meet objective one of the research.

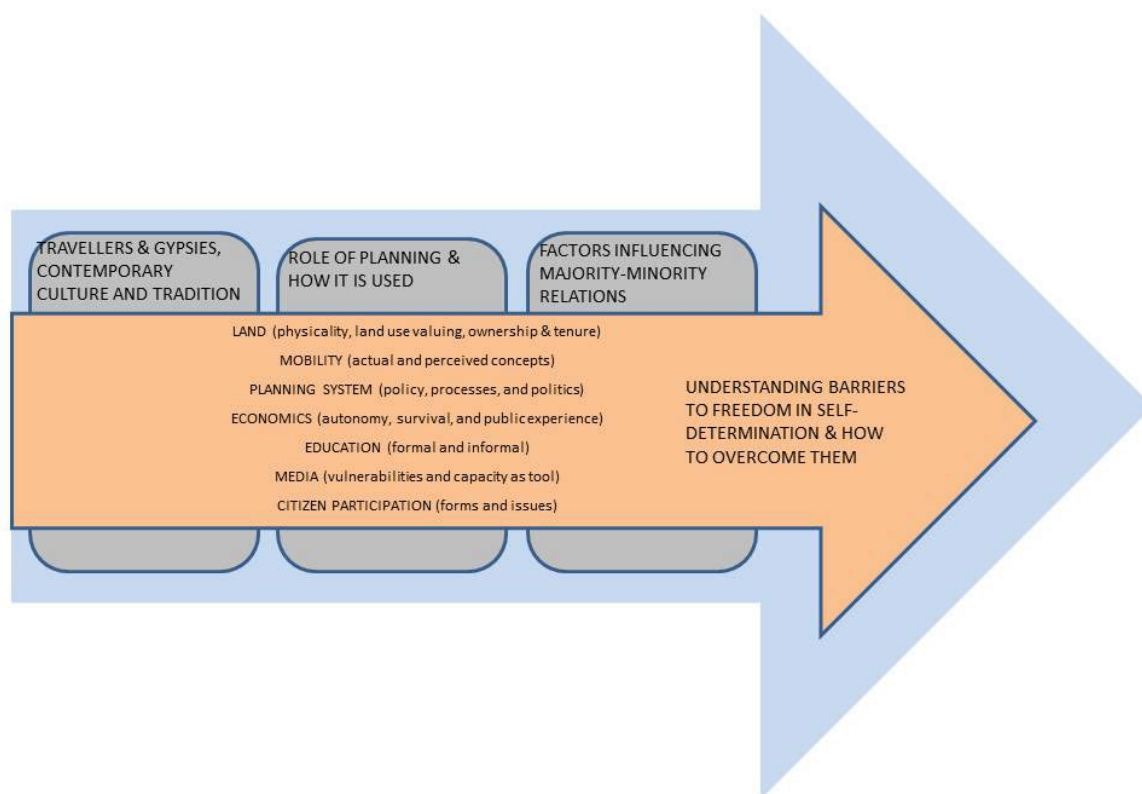


fig. 4.1 Illustrates the emerging themes that these inquiries and the conceptual framework focus on in the areas of land, mobility, planning regulations, peripatetic economies, and education. These are analysed within three areas of inquiry including T&G systems, planning systems, and in terms of minority – majority relations.

4.1 Inquiry One: understanding the T&G contemporary condition

4.1.1 Tradition and social structure in T&G societies

Approaches to understanding the T&G cultures from the outsider's perspective will inevitably involve issues regarding identity and how they are intertwined with concepts around mobility and the caravan; site and land valuing and the maintenance of and distinction between tradition and culture. This section will focus on understanding the culture in their contemporary condition within the current state of the larger and changing societal and planning systems.

Understanding identity provides a means into the culture of a community which emerges from the totality of their human experiences and accumulated knowledge and which, is the basis of

what renders life meaningful. For segregated societies there is a deeper commitment which

Weyrauch (2001) believes came about as a form of resistance:

the isolation of the Romani people is sustained not only by centuries of persecution, but also by their deep commitment to retain their ethnic identity (Weyrauch 2001, p.84).

Those elements that render identity, how T&G retain it and how it is distinct from traditions will be central to the discovery of culture and to the tension between how the planning system works and their own needs and desires as a society.

Giddens' (Jary and Bryant, 1991) theory of Structuration describes all human action within its pre-set social structural context which is thus overseen by its own normative rules that will distinguish it from other social structures. In this way, human behaviour is not completely volitional but at least in part predetermined. But these structures and rules themselves are fluid, their definition sustained and evolved by changing human behaviour (ibid).

Social life is not the sum of all micro-level activity and social activity cannot be completely explained from a macro perspective. We begin to get at this concept through the repetition of the acts of individual agents which reproduce the structure and knowledge of a society (ibid).

Bhabha (1994) also describes that traditions are not located in the obvious views of ethnic groups but in those things they themselves take for granted. Further reiterated by Hobsbawm (1983) who describes that tradition is in the structure of repetition not visible in people's customs or in the ways they are commonly characterized. Tradition is what appears to be old but which is often quite recent in origin and often times even invented.

Bhabha (1994) suggests that knowledge of people is dependent on having found that fundamental substance which is in constant evolution. This knowledge of people then is "a structure of repetition that is not visible in the translucidity of the people's customs or the obvious objectivities which seem to characterize people" and is "the fluctuating movement that the people are just giving shape to" (Bhabha 1994, p152).

In evolving and changing social conditions, invented traditions also emerge which Hobsbawm (1983) describes as a set of practices governed by norms and rituals of a symbolic nature

which inculcate values through repetition. It is the way that societies balance the innovation of modernity with a social structure with unchanging variables.

Social structures are not unchanging but influenced and moulded by its participants and in turn it can constrain their actions as individual agents (Giddens and Cassell, 1993). Thus structure and action constrain each other in an evolving way. It is through rules and patterns that agents create structure and which ultimately serves to make social action possible and which has a form that is continually evolving.

4.1.2 Implications of the need for, and uses of, a site

For T&G culture and tradition are tied to concepts of nomadism and caravan dwelling which are also land based and dependent on the use of sites. The comparative notions of tenure, geographic positioning and perception of sites with larger society raise important perspectives and questions.

The notion of tenure is directly tied to the concepts surrounding land. The various forms of valuing, tenure and the very physicality of its forms present many of the diametrically opposed notions that frame barriers to conflict between T&G and housed societies in the inherently different ways that they perceive value and give meaning to place.

Kabachnik (2009) challenges place-bound theories of identity suggesting that academic accounts both deny and reinforce the myth of the placeless Gypsy which in turn highlights an apparent emotional disconnect to place. There is an incongruity with these notions and the fact of the vital importance of place for T&G. The nuance lies within the concept that rootedness is 'being at home in an unselfconscious way' (Tuan 1980 in Kabachnik 2010, p.204) and which is about knowing a place through familiar routines and habitual practices (ibid). The notions of space and place are not currently mediated with an understanding or valuing of habitual practices for sites. It is not just in behaviour but in the physicality of places that societies give meaning to them. These variances create conflict in the perceived values associated with them.

The way we see developed areas is relative. Cities are not unplanned, the question to be asked rather is: whose planning? To the outsider the T&G site layout is a threat to order but in fact it is just another order reflecting the more integrated nature of Gypsy cultural workings (Sibley, 1981). While Sibley refers to cities, for T&G the importance of this perspective of their site influences their allocation in urban, peri urban and marginal lands and is a further confirmation of how spatial separation and geographic positioning are a way of dealing with T&G site disorder (CRE, 2006; Brown and Niner, 2009). Jacobs describes,

There is a quality even meaner than outright ugliness or disorder, and this meaner quality is the dishonest mask of pretended order, achieved by ignoring or suppressing the real order that is struggling to exist and to be served (Jacobs 1961, p.15)

What order are T&G aiming for and are they achieving it? The degree to which it is possible represents the manifestation of their freedom in planning. Ethnographic evidence shows that the lives of the poor are not disorganized but that there are many ways of being and coping (Bourdieu, 1990). Without an understanding of the values and meanings T&G place on material culture or use of their urban spaces, makes discerning between ‘poverty’ and culturally specific preferences difficult to distinguish. The view of T&G as poor contributes to a wide spread ambivalence towards them (Sibley, 1981) contributing to conflict in planning considerations appearing as ‘concessions’ for them further affecting their capacity in their livelihoods which are often dependent on site use. The potential implications of this are important to draw out in the contemporary era. Perhaps the value of this needs reinforming and understanding from within the T&G society.

4.1.3 Implications of the geographic positioning of sites

With regards to the geographic positioning of T&G sites there are different positions on the motivations behind their segregated location. The question becomes whether location is a result of choice, and what are the contextual and relative factors?

Powell describes spatial marginality as weapons of confinement and control by the dominant (2013). What are the opposing and reinforcing forces at work inside and outside the T&G community underscored by the actual reading of the site itself and its location?

In physical terms, spatial segregation means the T&G are isolated from mainstream society implying a visibly high level of discrimination but this also serves as a kind of shelter from discriminatory practices as direct experiences with majority society are limited (Fundamental Rights Agency, EU-MIDIS 2009). Following on from this then, in planning terms segregation may in itself be considered a form of self-determination - if T&G get to choose.

Giddens outlines that it is through settings that social actors communicate their sustained meanings (Jary and Bryant, 1991). It is in the reaction to constraints or social barriers in spatial terms that we can arrive at a more in-depth analysis of the social values motivating the community. When the degree of segregation begins to affect health, education and employment at a level undesired by the community it brings to question what the balance of motivations really are.

These barriers can exist as boundaries and border. A city, as does a society, becomes divided when there is a borderline even though the extent of divisiveness it creates has varying perspectives. Borders also do not divide spaces equally from both sides. How do sites divide cities and does this specific physicality have implications at a national level and how do these influence self-determination?

4.1.4 Land valuing from the perspective of peripatetics

Land for T&G is not seen as investment but a means of serving their lifestyles. The T&G idea of land purchase is somewhat like trading a horse (Kenrick, 2010). This more material exchange is in keeping with the temporary nature of past home settings but given that this is changing will there be vulnerabilities given the lack of experience and lack of trust in this regards? What are the likely long term implications?

Characteristic of indigenous people are the way they relate to and understand and value the land. They predate concepts of private and exclusive ownership and thus resources are managed according to socially inclusive strategies (Clements and Morris, 1999). How can human land use valuing inform tenure approaches in ways that allow traditional and cultural shaping in contemporary terms?

4.1.5 Why do T&G live in caravans?

Apart from the distinct nature of sites and their uses by T&G, the shelter caravan as home and the meanings for its use are also strongly linked to culture. As Liegéois describes, *for a Gypsy nomadism is a state of mind* (Liegéois, 1986 in Hawes & Perez, 1995 p.8). From the background research, while the majority of T&G no longer travel but aim to establish fixed and permanent living locations, they continue to live in caravans (Sibley, 1981).

People have pride in and there is a strong factor of identifiability with places that have particularly special meanings for them (Sanoff, 1991), the settings for home are such places. With regards the T&G who live in caravans and the historical cultural link to nomadism, this concept is emphasized further. Our house types convey messages about what goes on within our abodes and this either sets us within or distinguishes us from the rest of our community. What is the strong message being conveyed by a caravan even if it does not move for years? Apart from reflections of everyday activities and values, our homes are also a reflection of our continuity with the past because they present images rendering proof to the stability of mankind (ibid). Embodied history in a home reflects this sense of stability and security. How

have T&G negotiated their history with their contemporary conditions? What are the pressures, values, contexts and conditions articulating this?

4.1.6 Skills levels and their impact on freedoms

T&G traditionally have different approaches towards education where family and communal level participation are critical as opposed to the more formal institutional setting (Okely 1983; Liegeois, 1987). Are there key barriers to education and how do these impact on self-determination? Can T&G continue to co-exist in a separate framework of limited formal education? What role does education play for non-literate societies to engage with planning system, how have they managed given that processes are largely internet based and literate? What tools are necessary to establish freedom in self-determination and how might these tools influence the Traveller lifestyle? This leads us to Section Two of this chapter which focuses on the concepts pertaining to the workings of the planning system, implications on T&G management of thrivance and self-determination.

4.2 Inquiry Two: understanding the power and role of the planning system and how T&G manage self-determination

Mikellides (1980) warns that there is a difference between knowing about human needs and understanding them; responding to them in built form is a third challenging feat.

Planning has the power to translate human needs and values into built form and in various ways to be inclusive and exclusive: in the land valuing it reflects; in the livelihoods it supports; in the tenure security it renders; and in the ways in which policy itself is influenced. This section of the framework outlines an interrogation of the planning system in these critical ways which influence self-determination of T&G. Policy is the bigger scale set of rules governing land use, urban design articulates the designed use of space at more local levels, the process of which is critical if design is relevant to the creation of healthy, inclusive communities and societies.

4.2.1 Land use value, tenure security and ownership models

The commodification of urban land characterizes the created space which, in capitalist societies, is shaped by the technical elements of day to day living which is not normatively strongly embedded in tradition (Giddens and Cassell, 1993). It has the added effect of reflecting norms of majority society further alienating and segregating groups outside that norm. Commodification has the double effect of causing landlessness in some and then stigmatizing those without land (ibid).

In order that alternative models can be created that are seen as legitimate, policy makers and professionals will need to refrain from seeing unauthorized settlements as legal or illegal, formal or informal but as a continuum (Balamir and Payne, 2001). While this thinking emanates from experience within the Global South, it applies to marginalized groups like T&G.

It is the role of the state to establish favourable contexts for capital investment thus the policy of land is in keeping with these interests and contributes to hierarchical layouts and segregation of peripheral groups. When the ‘managers of the urban system’ support the styles and ideologies of the majority, periphery groups struggle to overcome this dominion and maintain autonomy (Sibley 1981).

For example, Trinidad and Tobago has a certificate of comfort which grants security with the only exception being to be moved onto something of at least equal and acceptable value where eviction is required (Payne, 2002). The Certificate of Comfort is intended to provide protection from arbitrary eviction from State land in Trinidad and Tobago and forms part of a process leading towards acquisition of a Deed of lease which can be used as collateral for any family’s health, education and other development needs (ibid). Other examples include Brazil’s incorporation of social function of land into the land value (Rolnik, 2013). The issue then becomes that different groups will value differently. Then the larger system sets the balance.

Schwartz’s theory of underlying human values suggests that our values are essentially based on two sets of tension, that is, between self enhancement or selfishness and self-transcendence or altruism and between novelty and openness to diversity against the maintenance of tradition

(Schwartz, 2012). What is important to recognize is that each society creates a balance point between these tensions in different places as a direct result of social structure. This also places limitations on the establishment of diversity within them. Corroborating approaches that seek freedom and well-being with marginalized societies positions larger society closer to the altruistic end. The examples described have specific values in common in the fact of not being generic.

Tosi (2009), an Italian Roma specialist, suggests approaching the capacity for tenure like a housing problem and according to similar principles of habitation and living. He suggests incorporating consideration of self-control; security in terms of permanence and stability; social liberty; and investment on an emotional level. Where these concepts are incorporated into types of methods of acquiring tenure then ontological security can be achieved (Jary and Bryant, 1991). Forms of tenure need to be developed for T&G which serve to increase this kind of security.

4.2.2 Planning impact on moving and stopping in a caravan

T&G have been the last to be controlled by the development control first promulgated by the 1947 Planning Act (2.2). It has been theorized (Abley, 2011) that this was an Act of containment forcing Londoners to remain within greater London instead of seeking to self-build or purchase cheaper land and houses in rural areas. The involuntary nature of moving and stopping were augmented by the control and dispersion of allowed sites by local authorities and police in parallel with NIMBYism and racial fears by settled society.

The collision between the Green Belt and planning permission is rarely made a valid exception for development inside this girdle of control. Exceptions would mean using protected land areas for something valuable in turn for society at large. T&G do not fit this concept of the greater good. The economic influences of land value on decision making and regulating also reinforce the disparity and dichotomy between the societies one within officialdom and the other naturally tending outside of officialdom.

Where the English aspire to a landowner and sub landowner class, T&G seek stability of land use and access to service provision as sources of thrivance. T&G negotiate their various tenure types with local authority, and inspectorate at times, in order to agree their residential presence; the period they are allowed to remain in place; the extent to which they are allowed their cultural existence and activities; along with their access to services. In other words, there is a very strong dependency on these, for the most part, one way dialogues. The value of land differs significantly for each stakeholder group, and there is currently no method of characterizing this valuing diversity and link between quality of life and land use within the planning process. The concept of othering (Said, 1995), referred to earlier, is also relevant in terms of a lack of models shaping land use and ownership for the outsiders and othering of them occurs in this omission.

4.2.3 Planning the normative vision and class division

Planning is a means by which we coordinate diverse social systems towards a more measured equality of power over the lives of the societies that they serve. This is reflected in the ways we shape our cities. While T&G have commanded some attention with regards strategic plans at the local level with some local authorities, Flint (2009, p427) suggests that the “community cohesion agenda reflects the competing struggle of unequal social groups to define social norms”. The lack of specificity regarding T&G accommodation in the national agenda suggests continued lack of legitimization of their cultural differences; their resilience and acceptance of these unequal power roles (Powell, 2008); and the protection and cultural integration afforded by ethnic segregation (Sibley, 1995). Despite these forms of resistance, the trend towards moves into housing favours the Marxist argument:

this peripheral status is seen as a temporary condition in transition between ‘cultural autonomy and full incorporation into the class system, with resultant cultural annihilation’ (Sibley 1981 p6),

Sibley (1981) describes this as homogenization of economic and social space by ‘gatekeepers’ and thus that planners in this way contribute to the sentiment towards marginalized people in keeping with this behaviour as deviant. These also represent political standpoints (2.4.5) with

planners and politicians together representing broader society. Perhaps each legislation taken individually is fundamentally acceptable but it is in the accumulation of the sets of rules and policy that inherent barriers become insurmountable for T&G in terms of establishing 'suitable' accommodation which is in turn linked to access to education, social life and integration with the larger community. Increasingly, the European Court of Human Rights is hearing cases influenced by the cumulative effect of town planning, protection of land areas and planning permission that lock T&G in a vicious cycle of evictions (ECtHR, 2013).

From this perspective, the perceptions, attitudes and ensuing policy appear to be directed at changing T&G into the normative citizen by not valuing their needs as an ethnic caravan dwelling society. Sibley (1981) sees this argument as simplistic and argues that in order to get the full picture there needs to be incorporated an understanding of the economic ties and the contributions by the marginalized to the state, the economy which by choice augment their marginalized status. This marginalized status and economic autonomy has in some ways prevented full integration and cultural annihilation (Sibley 1981). In comparison, the American Indian experienced full integration because of their complete integration into the national economy. Sibley describes: 'their underdevelopment ... has been caused by the development of the white-controlled national economy' (Jorgensen in Sibley 1981, p.7). It is not just in economic ties that culture remains distinct.

Sandercock (1998) suggests that while planning has functioned as a regulator imposing a specific kind of social norm there is the potential to counter this effect. She suggests that planning includes a much wider breadth of activities that serve and influence the shaping of the built environment (ibid). In this way informing and legitimizing culture from several avenues that eclipse within planning as opposed to emanating from it.

This is corroborated by Sibley's (1995) view that the focus on T&G is narrowly described. There are other sectors of society including health, education and training and employment that may be restrictive and not allowing or accommodating the T&G presence but the flash point comes into play at the point of accommodating and resolving planning issues.

4.2.4 Planning linked to financial autonomy

Quality of life, for Nobel prize winning economist Amartya Sen (Jackson, 2009), is based on the capability people have to flourish and which societal mechanisms like planning exist to support:

The basic concepts of nutritional health, life expectancy, participation in society – coincide directly with constituents of prosperity identified from time immemorial in a wide range of writings (Sen in Jackson 2009 p.44).

Planning has strong links to financial autonomy and even more so for groups with nomadic tendencies. From the background research (1.1, 1.2, 1.3), this includes opportunities to move and stop temporarily, to use the residential site for work and often industrial related work, for parking large vehicles etc. All the while the site still serves as communal and residential hub. Where planning does not afford this range of capacities then it has deeper implications on society as a whole. The shortcomings of site hit at the heart of peripatetic economies because although they were created and located to allow for mixing industrial economies, once established, this type of work was then made illegal on sites (Sibley, 1981). They have maintained a continued capability for adaptation as middle-men traders based on predictions and observations about socio-political and economic influences (Rao, 2004). There have been identifiable trends in the choice of goods and services they provide and which further define their positions as middlemen traders (ibid) and upon which their survival is based. Has their economic autonomy adapted in contemporary terms, and how is it affected by or affecting capacity to self-determine? What are the implications in this contemporary era of planning for peripatetic livelihoods and how has it affected quality of life and freedoms in self-determination?

Perhaps part of the solution resides in the qualities that T&G bring to the economic discourse. The economy of majority society is a market and consumer based one, Jackson (2009) believes the tendency has been for governments to support the kinds of social structures that reinforce materialistic, novelty-seeking individualism “because that’s what it takes to keep the economy afloat” (Jackson 2009, p.169). In this case Travellers represent access to a different kind of

economy; one that is not based on growth for prosperity but one that is stable without growth and thus more sustainable.

However, not all have developed access to these options and outcomes. Often and increasingly, the choice has been one of sedentarization for T&G which also means abandoning their cultural lifestyle and losing their identification as Travellers (Sibley, 1995; Weyrauch, 2001; Rao, 2004). But is it the case that sedentarization necessitates cultural abandonment? Are cultural and economic stability specifically managed by site dwellers?

As a result of the increasing affluence of the settled population, the social and economic gap between them and the Travellers will widen, so that the task of raising the latter to the general level, or of giving them the opportunity to reach that level, will become increasingly difficult (Morris & Clements 1999; Harris 2010). While there is an increasing availability of broad socio-cultural views of planning there are also arguments surrounding inclusivity towards equality and these need to be framed around the discussion of the rights of citizenship and planning (Bonafede & Lo Piccolo, 2010). This work seeks those markers that hold opportunity for inclusivity so planning is capable of allowing freedom in self-determination.

4.2.5 Models of research that influence planning policy

Stevens (2007 in Niner and Brown, 2011) categorizes several models of research for policy as outlined by Weiss (1979 in Niner and Brown, 2011). These include: the linear rational models (empirical evidence drives pre-identified policy issues); political or tactical models (selective pieces of research evidence are used for short term contributions or as a delay tactic in politics); enlightenment models (research evidence can over time influence trends and attitudes affecting the decision making process); and Stevens' own evolutionary model (powerful interest groups choose the ideas that suit their discourse to influence policy).

These models are currently being used in contradictory fashion, with both evidence based policy guiding data collection. This means problems are assumed before data collection takes place and evidence base is created that corroborates this thinking instead of establishing

assessments that seek out the nature of contemporary conditions. There are increasing powers of eviction and control by local authorities regardless of what the evidence is suggesting (Niner and Brown, 2011). This means that whatever is evinced in the field is still very open to interpretation by local authority. Apart from the GTANA periodical reviews of housing needs and statutory requirements under the Housing Act (1985 s.8 and 2004 s.225) local authorities would also have been required to produce a strategy that addressed the need identified, including that of T&G under the Local Government Act (2003 s.87). The assessment and the strategy were founded on a need to be informed by a full understanding of their accommodation needs (DCLG, 2007). This later changed to an evidence-based, strategic and regional system in order to ensure the needs of the greater T&G community in terms of appropriate accommodation are considered and established in a fair and parallel manner to that provided for the sedentary community (DCLG, 2007). Currently, local authorities have been developing their own version of needs assessments. Despite its lack of required use, the critique and suggestions of this techno rational model have been contributing to a next generation of assessments.

The linear-rational (techno-rational) model of informing policy has been criticised on several counts (Owens et al., 2004 in Niner and Brown, 2011) including the fact that it did not provide, on a theoretical level, a legitimate account of the relationship between policy and analysis; it depoliticizes the subjective influence of the decision making process; and any technical errors have the potential to delegitimize the research as whole. The techno rational model also least served in situations where stakeholders and decision makers held conflicting views and perceived the issues conceptually differently. This is particularly true where the more powerful parties might have been harmed by the evidence in question, namely politicians seeking a stay of power (Niner and Brown, 2011).

Despite this criticism, the techno rationale model is still a key approach because there has not been a better working alternative in place yet. This work is an attempt to contribute the other aspects that will, in combination, with techno-rational model bring the missing dimension to the policy influence.

Some researchers trust that the potential for collaborative decision making in the development of a shared evidence base will contribute to the determination between what is good or bad evidence (Young et al., 2002 in Niner and Brown, 2011). The counter argument to this is that it ‘would be foolhardy to suppose that the democratisation of evidence-based debate will be easy to achieve (Young et al., 2002:219 in Niner and Brown, 2011). It is also true that with these complexities conflict can be exacerbated in participation (Owens et al., 2004 in Niner and Brown, 2011). Where technical recommendations by experts are usually either unavailable or inapplicable (Head, 2008 in Niner and Brown, 2011) there is also the suggestion that it would take ‘an extraordinary concatenation of circumstances’ (Weiss 1979: 428 in Niner and Brown, 2011) in order that research has the power to directly influence policy (Niner and Brown, 2011).

The techno-rational model and the deliberative approaches should not be seen as mutually exclusive (ibid) but should be designed to work in tandem, legitimizing and adding robustness and context the one to the other. The deliberative methodological approach is partly informed by criticism of the data collection methods currently in place for the GTAAs and the techno-rational approach that drives it. So the challenge for this research and outcomes is both legitimized and substantiated in its process and in what it must deliver in its design to better understand the critiques of the existing approaches.

In response to the considerations on research and participatory context established through a critical review of the GTAA, the following principles emerged and which are also considerations for the methodology of this research: Questions must be culturally appropriate and there must be a mechanism to ensure that what is meant and understood in the researcher – respondent relationship is common; Assumptions and judgements held by researcher (for instance someone coming from a nuclear family and related planning issues) may influence an interpretation of responses or incorporate a value judgment; Findings need to achieve the same degree of rigor that is established for the mainstream housing (similar to GTAA criticism by Niner and Brown, 2011) which is true even where the data being compiled is qualitative; and

Eliciting data from someone of a personal nature including needs and aspirations takes time and commitment to gain trust, credibility and value for the research being investigated.

Although time consuming and demanding it is necessary if there is to be success in the amount and quality of findings especially given the failure of GTAA to achieve information where these issues have not directly been addressed (ibid). The inclusion of T&G in the research process adds to the credibility and accessibility of the data (Niner and Brown, 2011).

The processes used in seeking the same information about T&G will bring out deeper more insightful and useful data where the methods used are appropriate, particularly when there has been a disinclination to participate in a process with which they are not familiar. The experience itself of collecting information on T&G communities (and the local community) can help build expertise and awareness about them (specifically and in comparison) and influence attitudes about them and how to approach resolving the accommodation issues (Niner and Brown, 2011) in parallel with broader underlying issues concerning self-determination as a whole.

Data which is ethnicized informs decision-making more specifically but also prevents decontextualizing. Hariss (2007) suggests that decontextualization of poverty assigns culpability of their condition to those poor group as opposed to any responsibility by the state. While GTAA's are not about poverty but about accommodating culture, inevitably socio-economics is a relevant factor. Maintaining context and relational conditions can inform corresponding approaches and policies of support.

A governance gap is when there is weak legislation and policy framework in an area of planning. Planning can support division and reunification. It can be a tool to communicate and build a dialogue. In the case where there is no real strategy in place, this discourse requires the relevant facts to shape and frame the approach to researching fundamental information on how to proceed.

Conclusion to Inquiry Two

If travelling people are left to deal with this problem on their own, we shall be storing up trouble for the future ... the cost of picking up the pieces will be far greater than the bill for completing the unfinished business of 1968 today (Morris and Clements, 1999, p xix)

The relevance of this statement made about 15 years ago will be a measure of the value of strategies, or lack thereof, through this period. The varying conditions and barriers to self-determination appear to be based on several factors. The level of visibility, both physical and metaphysical, of T&G has been a key factor along with social attitudes with regards to land tenure and tolerance of diversity of land uses, policies regarding land use and degree of reinforcement. The overall political and social context thus outline the perception of the T&G as Outsider so that the more highly regulated a society is the more likely they can be seen as deviating from this. What is clear is that a new approach needs to be derived with this contextual and relative understanding and it must be created. It must be in a way that is as inclusive as possible where ‘utterances’ are grasped from the places they emanate from, where the qualities and histories of a context and this contextual discerning itself forms part of the message (McCarthy, 1981).

There are opposing positions to this. Sibley (1981) suggests that if the minority relies on negotiation to further its ends, the dominant group will not allow a radical alteration in power relations but will devise strategies to manage discontent. Given these perspectives, what will the evidence reveal about the possibility for minorities themselves to “manage discontent” within the planning system?

4.3 Inquiry Three: understanding factors influencing and influenced by minority – majority relations

This section sets the framework for exploring minority – majority relations and perceptions, and how they affect and are affected by issues in self-determination. A premise upon which equal societies assert the value of diversity is based on the thinking that quality of life of all members is affected by the conditions of its most vulnerable and that the diversity that minorities bring is both economically and culturally enriching (Berry 2005; Reitz 2011).

4.3.1 Why is equality important in society?

Beyond simply accommodation, there are effects also on larger society of accommodation equality through site provision, including improved amenities, reduced social friction, and allowing for fuller participation of the T&G. Wilkinson and Pickett established in the Spirit Level (2009) that the benefits of an equal society don't just affect the most unequal but that inequality can have damaging effects on social and health issues for the nation as a whole. Multicultural societies that work well together hold a shared understanding of the value of this diversity. Thus the motivation to discover "individual and group perceptions, processing them, and communicating results, some improvement in man's lot will be achieved" (Goodey 1974 in Sanoff 1991, p.36). Where relations between minority-majority groups are based on fear and misconceptions, dismantling of prejudiced relationships have the ability to deconstruct existing perceptions and rebuild them with first-hand experience and actual facts. So the starting point with local adjacent communities is to understand where they are in terms of this thinking in order to derive contextually and relationally informed thinking as prescribed by Beattie (1993).

4.3.2 Behavioural and physical difference influencing relations

Tajfel (1984) describes the internal relational dynamics come from an awareness of how the group as a whole behaves, he describes:

In our judgments of other people, in forming stereotypes, in learning a second language, in our work relations, in our concern with justice, we do not act as isolated individuals but as social beings who derive an important part of our identity from the human groups and social categories we belong to; and we act in accordance with this awareness (Tajfel et al., 1984 p5)

Understanding these and where they may be frustrated hold important signs regarding the current limitations of freedoms for T&G. Agents within a system react not only to each other but also to the environment in which they are in so that studying their behaviour alone is not enough to understand them.

Sanoff describes our environment as "silent communication" (2000). The site and the caravan premise perceptions and then relationships between groups. Despite the fact that T&G no

longer really travel appears contradictory to the use of a caravan which overturns the notion of fixity. As a whole the different experience of the land, the beautiful versus the useful underlie this relationship. It is inextricably linked to a culture given that the aesthetics of farm yards are accepted while sites are not. But sites have not and will never be seen as a white suburban rural site so that there needs to be instead a new typology legitimized. The dirtiness of the T&G site is used to see them as Outsider but also motivates public to remove them. They are described as people who destroy the countryside, endanger public health and devalue nearby property values (Bhopal & Myers, 2008).

T&G cultural landscape legitimized will allow the society to survive more freely, with looseness at the margins, recognized for the purposes they serve and distinctly different from other landscapes. This recognition and recognisability will diminish powers to restrict their location to invisible places based on fears. In a study completed two years after T&G moved into an area in Scotland, original fears of housed were assuaged, their original fears were not realized once sites were settled in place for a number of years (Duncan, 1996). But more needs to be done to elucidate and diminish this fear. In part, this discovery comes because theirs is another kind of ordering which is in parallel with a more integrated Gypsy culture (1.3). The separation of work and everyday life idea is not the norm for them (Sibley 1995). The exposed nature of this type of use leaves the land open to criticism apart from tidiness and beauty. T&G live out their own landscape, in their work and economically efficient use of land.

4.3.3 Visual comprehension, how do we see our environments?

Two predominant concepts within environmental psychology, which outline people's ability to visually comprehend their built environment, are complexity and novelty (Berlyne 1960 in Sanoff, 1991). If qualities such as diversity and novelty correspond with a stronger investigatory reflex (Sanoff 1991, p.26), could it be then that the conditions of Traveller sites, which are generally not symmetrical; ordered; or also not very familiar in contexts outside of camp grounds, contribute to the attitude people have towards them and the people who inhabit

them of being Outsiders? We then order our perceptions through contrast and grouping of attributes (Sanoff, 1991).

Imageability is another important theme in the study of attitudes towards Traveller sites. Lynch (1960) described the process of how we make these images coming from a two-way process whereby we look for non-verbal cues in the built environment and this then reflects back the values of those who occupy them and also symbolically represents what is going on inside of them. The streets and pathways also convey an understanding of the actions and value of the users (Sanoff, 1991).

To see complex systems of functional order as order, and not as chaos, takes understanding...Once they are seen as systems of order they actually look different....because we use cities most of us possess a good groundwork for understanding and appreciating their order...Some of our trouble uncomprehending it comes from lack of visual reinforcements to underscore the functional order (Jacobs 1961, p.376).

Where modifications of natural environments at existing access routes and built up areas can affect our sense of orientation (Sanoff 1991) it is possible that new lands cleared by Travellers for caravans is more about the loss of reference points for the adjacent community than they are about the caravan or the site itself? How do we expand on those visual reinforcements? There is also the issue of interface spaces to be examined which are traditional urban design tools and which help iterate the commonality of citizenship, so that people from different social groups encounter each another and acquire a belief in this commonality between them. Sandel describes this as the,

sense of a shared life that [where] we can meaningfully think of one another as citizens of a common venture (Sandel in Jackson 2009, p.193).

It is through direct experience that familiarity and comfort can emanate for users from a place including those who do not use it but which forms part of their wider community setting. The other side of this argument, the unshared life also has physical and non-physical settings. Examining and observing interface places in practical terms in order to find ways of looking at the 'beyondness' of it. Topological borders are bulging, blooming and avoiding and they contextually reshape the data because the city may not be at the level at which division is

visual, and the divisiveness may instead be at the national level. This is where the urban analysis links back because this is a political concept as much as it is about an urban formation. Politics has a role in influencing policy that governs urban formation from local to national scales.

4.3.4 Media and the influence on relations

Negative stereotypes of T&G cause them not to be accepted by housed residents and in cases where they become housed they are still not accepted because they continue to behave and be seen as outsiders (Said, 1995). Relations between housed T&G and those in caravans are also affected as those housed appear somehow to have given up the road. This affects their confidence in their identity along with their motivations to protect or change it. Overcoming the barriers in self-determination necessitates incorporating this concept of the other which is embedded inside most of these areas of inquiry. There have been consistent versions of othering that characterize T&G as separate and which has not changed in over 500 years (Bhopal and Myers, 2008).

In socio-anthropological terms, the implications of the protective and social structuring nature of T&G societies can be explored theoretically as a reaction to being the other (Said, 1995). This thinking is relevant to each area of evidence analysis. Othering is used to examine the process through which different societies subordinate sub groups or the marginal groups that do not live according to the dominant order and who may in some ways even threaten it. Groups identify and construct roles for themselves in these processes and the practice of acceptance or segregation sustains boundaries between societies and can often be used to dehumanize groups which in turn justifies attempts to civilize or exploit them (Said, 1995). Achebe (1986) outlined that whichever group has control over representation also has control over perception and controlling perception also controls choice. Achebe (ibid) describes how Europeans were able to dominate African groups by presenting a Western conception of the African religion and justice systems. By othering native African beliefs, Europeans gained control over African leaders and consequently also their land and natural resources. By

othering through media there is anywhere from a casual mistreatment to dehumanizing of T&G typically ingrained in English tabloid culture. Othering is not just vilification of a culture, it can also take the form of romanticization, and both tactics can be equally insidious to their sense of humanity (Vizenor, 2008). Othering another group intentionally justifies denying them equality of rights normally taken for granted.

4.3.5 Participation: effects on policy & local decision-making

There are a number of conflicting views on participation, the validity and success rates, and the how and why of inclusion. While most of the research outlines its necessity, the question remains then why has it not been happening with T&G? Morris and Clements noted from interviews with Gypsy men that experiences between settled and Travellers bring learning both ways (2002); these are rare occasions as outlined in the background research. A reliance on these organic interactions has not been enough to curtail public ignorance of T&G and more opportunities need to be established. Space to permit and resound dialogue that entertains an allowance of power for minorities to self-determine needs to be scaffolded by key parameters: a mutual understanding even if not accord; an awareness of repercussions for people and place; and finally the presence of reprisals for not allowing it which is in direct response to LeBas' (ITMB, 2012) beliefs about why social injustices are allowed (2.7.1). Then laws, respect for them and people can work in some level of communion within these spaces.

The idea that policy and local level experience and thinking could be linked and mutually informative, are not new concepts. Mill's (1861) *Considerations on Representative Government*, regarding political democracy defends the fundamental principles of extensive participation by citizens and enlightened competence of rulers. There is an obvious tension between these values but underscored is the value of participation by all citizens in terms of both democratic intent and overcoming the incompetence of the masses through the very opportunity to participate in the political discourse particularly at the local level.

The other side of participation is societal alignment. Jackson describes:

Beyond the provision of nutrition and shelter, prosperity consists in our ability to participate in the life of society, in our sense of shared meaning and purpose and in our capacity to dream.... at a societal scale (Jackson 2009, p. 192-3).

Inclusion holds responsible all parties involved. Further, approaches must ‘encourage community or public participation as a means of effecting social change’ (Felshin, 1996 in Watson & Bentley, 2007 p13). Lay actors are also social theorists, their theories help constitute the focus of study for ‘specialized social observers’ looking to identify activities and institutions. Giddens (1993) believes that the specialized social scientist is far from holding a monopoly. In addition, there is the possibility that modern life is continuously influenced by the knowledge of experts which is integrated into it at both local and global levels (ibid). The key defining principle and critique of participatory inclusion is that symbolic inclusion does not necessarily entail material distribution (Miraftab 2009, p.34), but there have been competing views. Sibley (1981) also believes that state involvement with marginalized communities is ‘highly damaging’ and that peripheral minorities are better served with much reduced state intervention. This is in some ways in direct opposition to the theories of collaborative planning and in parallel with insurgent thinking which serves to intervene with a system requiring state and public participation in mutually agreeable environments. The emerging themes relate directly and indirectly to how planning elicits access to freedom of self-determination. While in planning terms the focus is on the planning system, the thesis looks at broader issues of cultural processes and minority – majority relations in order to see the wider landscape of tensions and pressures which may be incongruent with access to freedom of self-determination.

4.4 Stakeholders and Power structure

From the literature review and background studies there are key stakeholders relevant to exploring the barriers to freedom in self-determination. These roles have varying levels of power and responsibility across the critical areas of site development. These are shown in the following Table 4.1 to outline both the stages required for site development as well as those pertinent actors within each.

4.5 Hierarchy of scales of influence

From Table 4.1 outlining the key stakeholder power structure it is evident that these can also be classified within varying scales of influence and at varying scales of barriers to freedom; shown in Figure 4.2. The research will focus on the local with explorations at the wider national and more intimate levels within T&G societies. EU relations will also be examined for their relevance to potential barriers contributing to loss of freedom at the local level.

4.6 Key authors and theorists across the research

Inquiry by design is an iterative process of investigation whereby research is drawn from theory and practice in cyclical fashion each informing the other. In Inquiry by Design the focus is on the investigative process as a whole. The following Figure 4.3 describes this iterative process of utilizing theoretical areas of inquiry to prepare for, acquire and analyse field work evidence. This process of inquiry also facilitates interpretation and implication of evidence with the use of practitioner experience which are brought into the research at relevant stages.

4.7 A Guide to the Structure of the conceptual framework

The key theories and concepts raised thus far in the background study and conceptual framework for analysis are outlined in the following Figure 4.4. This represents a cumulative framework guiding the research and analysis.

Conclusion

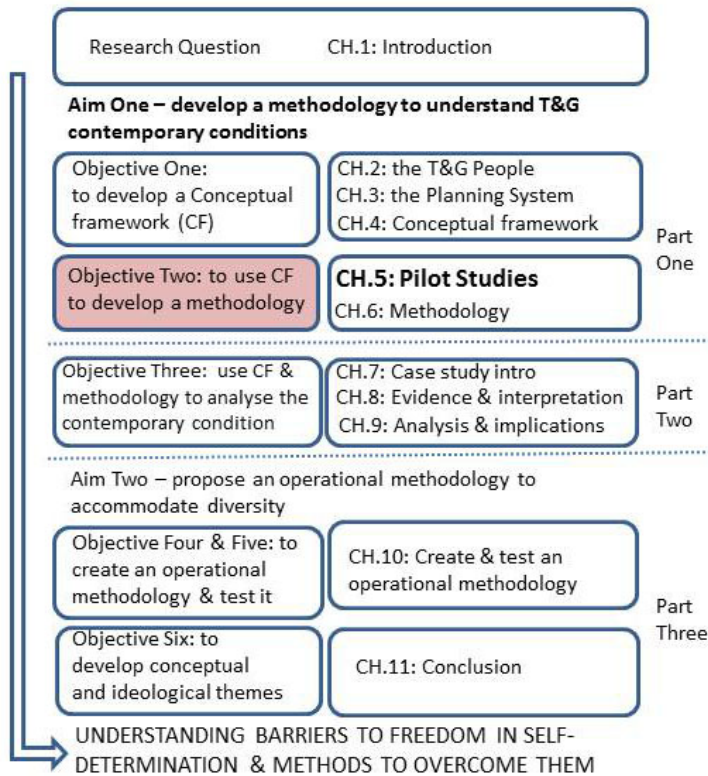
In general the policies imposed on minority groups come from and are modelled against a majority belief system of what a proper social presence is. This social structure is then used as a lens with which to perceive and then try to adapt minority groups. Approaches that incorporate an expanded version of social presence will inform more equal relations in the longer term which in turn influences capacity to self-determine by both limited resistance to variance and by informing supportive policy in this regards. In pragmatic terms, there needs to be a methodology for understanding the local condition. Accessing the local condition requires historical, motivational, cultural and methodological issues to be considered and which this research will focus on. A cross disciplinary approach is necessary to understand these complex contexts in order to develop a way forward. In the face of ideal thinking, even JS Mill despite his eloquent support of civil rights of minorities in political dialogue rarely objected to stirrings while serving in Parliament:

Mill is one of the few political philosophers ever to serve in government as an elected official. In his three years in Parliament, he was more willing to compromise than the “radical” principles expressed in his writing would lead one to expect (Dennis 2007, p.166).

Tapping into this stimulus for spatial rights will have broader ramifications. As Soja describes, *seeking spatial justice takes nothing away from the search for social justice, it adds to it (Soja 2011, p.262)*. Considering these critical areas of inquiry the following chapter presents first experience in the field contributing to the development of the research methodology and forms part of the second objective of the research.

Chapter Five

Pilot Studies



Introduction

The following chapter includes experience and findings from pilot studies as first evidence from the field. The intention was to inform the methodology for the case studies and build from the background agenda which was set from literature reviews and policy related papers. The pilots are important given the limited field data, contemporary socio-economic literature, narrative or investigation of groups pertinent to understanding T&G conditions in self-determination. This limited information was evident within the local context including at urban, peri urban and rural areas of contested settlements in the UK (Powell, 2013).

There is also limited interrogation of planning using the broader analytical viewpoint of ethnography with regards to T&G. In order to fill in the gaps between those variables raised in chapter four and given the fragmented perspectives on key topics, there was a need for

fieldwork exploration with sample groups. This served to test the conceptual framework and evolve an appropriate methodology in preparation for in-depth case studies and in terms of analysing the results from these. Providing as Seale (1999) describes, directing values within relevant and enabling conditions. This will ensure relevant and empowering work which informs the philosophical and methodological debate so that an awareness of what and how to proceed develops.

A framework for inquiry was established to search for the types of site situations that would expand those concepts related to contemporary conditions and barriers to freedom. Initial choices emerged from those opportunities where they sought planning advice from this researcher. Inevitably as the list developed some agreed to participate in the research while others did not. The earlier pilots contributed to developing a rationale for further site selection. The pilots were chosen to examine a range of conditions on both public site and private land owned situations including those with and without planning permission at various stages of attempting to achieve legality. The various pilots provide different areas of knowledge sought after and as outlined in the conceptual framework. These include relationships between T&G residential communities and the surrounding community of local residents and governing bodies; and the emerging variable themes for consideration including land, mobility, regulations, economics, education, media etc. They will test the methodology and establish a more profound background before the next stage of inquiry in the case studies which will then aim to provide vital information when defining the principle sources to barriers in self-determination and the required direction to overcome them.

The criteria for case study selection include varying socio-economic circumstances; peri urban sites; rural sites; Irish Traveller sites including private and public and the same for Gypsy Traveller sites.

The areas of inquiry included: spatial configurations; historical experiences pertaining to residential contexts of the sites and families; tenure details; cultural participation and status; education and economic thrivance. Contact groups included T&G communities, adjacent

housed communities, support organizations; T&G academics; and local, regional and national government representatives influencing self-determination with regards to policy and delivery of mechanisms of control and support. First contact was made through advocates and planners who had been working directly with groups of T&G families, both formally and informally. This researcher was providing planning advocacy on private sites in exchange for meeting time. The application process itself necessitated spending time together, understanding needs and disabilities, history with local community, reviewing land details including infrastructure, purchasing and decisions on applications. Thus the process inherently included opportunity for several visits, telephone calls, discussions and observations surrounding details relevant to and outside the planning process.

These meetings also represented first experiences with the T&G community which were important for learning how to approach them, get a sense of their receptivity and realize the reality on the ground of the impacts of both policy and local authority decision-making. The findings from these inquiries began a discovery into the complex system of the T&G societies, the seeming calmness of the areas they reside within compared to the aggressive reporting describing them, and an enthusiasm to share their histories and the welcoming reception into their home settings. The findings also showed a general lack of interest on the part of local communities and local or national government and that the interest and efforts from those who were knowledgeable about T&G's were driven by their own personal values as opposed to a specific kind of employment requiring this.

In a snowball effect, T&G, in turn, also referred and sometimes accompanied visits with other T&G groups. Pilots include critical field work with communities in transition including: moves to new private sites either purchased or squatted on where no previous landowner was found; applications for appeals on refused permission; acting as planning agent in questions and answers discussions between T&G and LPA; reviewing decision letters and conditions of LPA application responses with families; speculating on new land purchases and process and likelihood of planning permission; and reviewing the letters of opposition from adjacent housed community both in terms of their effect on their planning applications and in reference

to the personal nature of the details of the letters. Central to all of these situations was a discovery of the affordances of tenure, the struggle and meaning of tenure security, the disparate nature of relationships with LPA and the disconcerting effect of the public on new T&G sites.

Public sites were also included by calling on site managers from a list that had been granted funding for upgrade in 2006 provided by a member of the CLG at a Westminster briefing that same year. During the pilot studies many of the key informants were introduced that would contribute to the discovery of the key aims of this thesis.

The range of tenures included: temporary, permanent, owned, rented, transitional and illegal. These characteristics were not mutually exclusive. The degree of tenure security and freedom to self-determine were examined in parallel with quality of life: what situation they were in and the one they struggled to be in. Following what Marcuse suggests that “the world of larger systems and events ... as externally impinging on and bounding little worlds, but not as integral to them (1986, p.166), the pilot studies were opportunity to draw out these differences, motivations for these circumstances and the barriers that the larger imposed upon the smaller world system particularly in their attempts to overcome barriers in planning autonomy.

In physical terms, differentiating between private and public sites is important because it illustrates how T&G will organize when they have the options and outlines the possibilities and important implications of tenure. Social theorist Habermas suggests through his communicative action theory that to understand the contested and negotiated concepts of land tenure (Gaspar, 2011) requires referring back to the Outsider and their plausible position of negotiation within dominant society. In this way, the condition of both worlds becomes explicit and exposes the character of the minority –majority relations (ibid). This is thus a multi-sided discovery.

The recurrence of themes which are “declared or implied, and usually controlling behaviour or stimulating activity, which is tacitly approved or openly promoted in a society” (Opler 1945 in Spradley 1980 p.140) will inform the system of meaning of a culture and reveal cultural

patterning in relation to the specific issues of this research. Observation and questions were meant to draw out culturally related themes that for T&G were at the tacit level. Interacting individuals as Rapport (2002) describes, have specific narrative local dialogue and provide information that can be extrapolated to the wider community because the individual forms an active part of the wider societal framework.

The pilot outcomes, categorized into emerging concepts, provide framework for the ensuing, more in-depth case studies through informal interviews and to a large extent participant-observation or as described by Geertz conversing and engaging through “deep hanging out” (1998 p.107).

Table 5.1 provides brief overview of the pilots studies with coded entries referenced within the research

Table 5.2 provides more in-depth introductions to the sites including: status and characteristics; and interviewees.

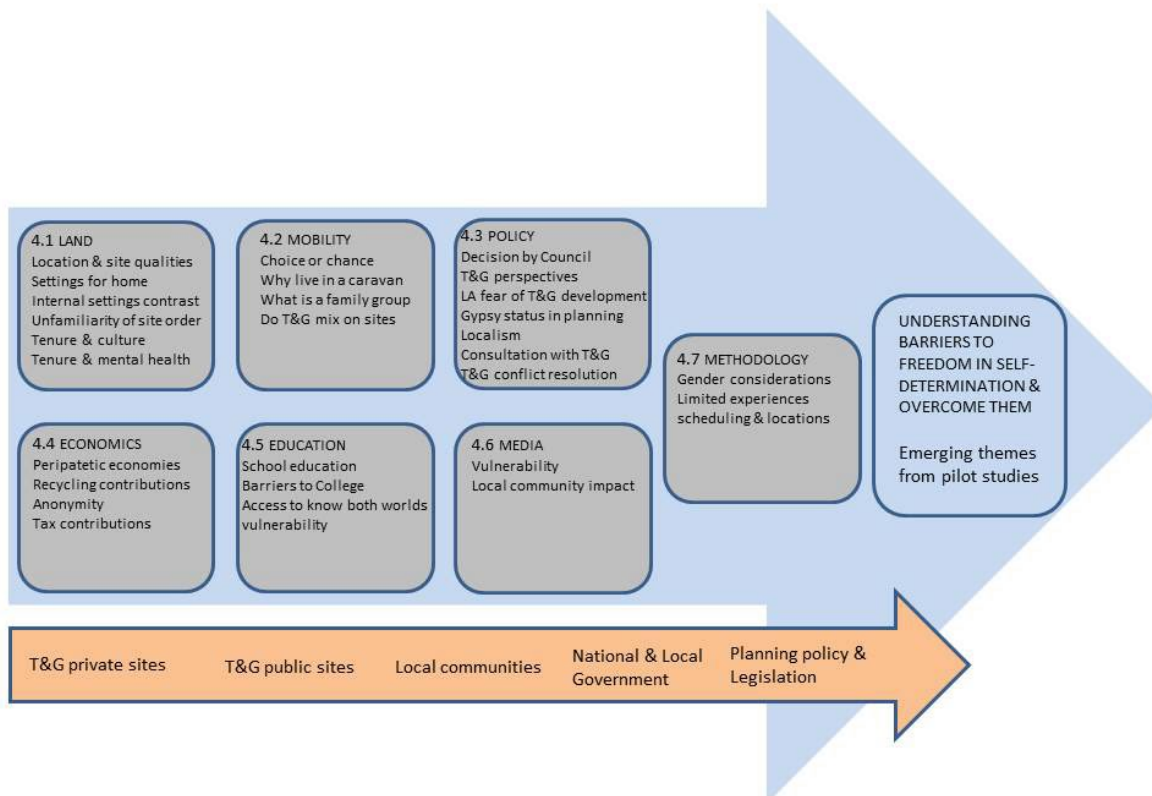


fig 5.1 outlines emerging themes and subtopics from pilots evidenced and discussed in subsequent sections

The findings from the pilot studies were categorized into emerging themes relevant to understanding the conditions of T&G and barriers in freedom of self-determination. The conceptual framework highlighted areas of inquiry from which these themes emerged. These are explained in the following section 5.1 through 5.8. This is followed by Table 5.8.1 of the specific pilot findings in each category.

5.1 Land

5.1.1 Locations and site qualities

A central issue in self-determination is the practical aspects of land such as acquiring it and the use of it, its physicality and the order it reflects. Pilot studies showcased aspects of stability and capacity to thrive financially and culturally along with the layers of ambiguity and apparently contradictory values systems with larger society.

5.1.2 Settings for home & work

Where new public sites were designed, there was a normative aspect to them in that regardless of the T&G group every local authority appeared to design them the same way. Public site design by local authority did not incorporate aspects relevant to home settings for T&G such as for animals and rules on site followed suit with design by not allowing important behaviours on site such as bon fires.

5.1.3 Contrast between site and interior spaces

By contrast with the disordered appearance of external site is the order and minimalist nature, and meticulous cleanliness of caravan interiors which larger society do not see and their viewpoint is framed instead by the disorder of the site.

5.1.4 The unfamiliarity of site order

The site draws attention to itself by being distinct through its unfamiliarity making T&G appear further as Outsiders. Missing from the perspective of larger society are those subtle everyday markers such as houses, post boxes and streets which would contribute to the easing of fear that non T&G experience. Sanoff describes these qualities as *essential to our well-being within the environment* (1991, p.73) and as Lozano points out (1988 in Sanoff 1991) *orientation allows us to cope with personal threat* (p.73).

5.1.5 Tenure security & culture

Tenure insecurity limited the degree to which people could make home, feel at ease and make long term commitments to place. As evidenced in the range of circumstances in the pilots

issues surrounding commitment to place are influenced by the familiarity of culture and a desire for its continuity along with socio-economic circumstances.

5.1.6 Tenure security and mental health

There are specific issues related to health and well-being associated with sites and tenure insecurity as observed and reported during interviews. Tenure insecurity implications are also present when there is a move into fixed housing.

Conclusion

While the planning system is not a simple process to deal with and it incorporates inherent contradictions in decision making what happens before planning (land ownership access and perceived value) and what happens after (negotiating urban planning interfaces) also contribute to issues of self-determination. Understanding and working with these as a whole will create interventions that support a realization of ontological security.

5.2 Mobility and Stopping

5.2.1 Choice or by chance?

Recent history of stopping in all pilots, almost everyone over the age of 15 had been travelling to some extent. Families cite changes in casual labour linked to loss of access to informal stopping places but the change has not been by choice but out of fear as waiting list for pitches or even social housing have lasted many years.

On the other hand tenure insecurity is also linked to problems of community and group cohesion, and integration which self-owned land could help overcome. Stopping in itself is not about complete loss of movement but in order to achieve at least a basic quality of life which life on the road severely limits. Stopping also ensures an economic base which in turn maintains some freedom to choose to travel.

5.2.2 What does it mean to live in a caravan?

There are many factors which make caravan dwelling more than a simple choice. These include psychological factors of what a home is and familiarity, aversion to fixed housing and not knowing the experience of living in a fixed house. The misunderstood trend to live in a caravan in a stopped state contributes to the misguided application of laws by planners who assume a degree of nomadism will counterbalance the homelessness experienced when they are evicted from lands, even self-owned, where planning permission has been refused. Larger society believes that people who live in caravans are waiting to continue travelling and thus do not make possible conditions for appropriate settling.

5.2.3 What does a family and community cluster look like?

Family network sizes provide social, economic, cultural and political support and there are a specific number of caravans that appear to satisfy housing of the extended family group.

5.2.4 Does mixing of T&G groups work?

Even though mixed marriages are common between Irish women and Romanichal men, on-site mixing of families was not desirable. As described in the background, even though there were opposing views on their capacity to co-exist (Griffin 2008; Kenrick 2010) there are still distinct differences between them, evidence is both for and against mixed sites.

Conclusion

The only well integrated mixed pilot site was the original community of people from 40 different nationalities at Clay's Lane which included the Peabody Housing Estate and two Traveller sites one Romani and the other Irish Traveller. The controversy behind the Olympic take over and the lack of appropriate discussions was in stark contrast to why the area worked well for its occupants and subsequently served as strong catalyst for the breakdown of the community physically, socially and psychologically – that being the loss of this shared management. This close knit structure worked well with the family cluster type housing that

suited traveller communities and is probably the first instance where housed and caravan dwellers formed a united society.

5.3 Planning Policy

5.3.1 Decisions by Council

Pilots revealed strategic thinking of both T&G and authorities regarding planning applications. Authorities were guided by local as well as national politics; influences afforded by the capacity for discretion and expediency allowed for in planning. For the T&G there were issues raised related to cultural participation, caravan dwelling and land use. Many of these issues are beyond actual policy but which are seminal to influencing and supporting access to self-determination.

5.3.2 T&G perspective

At the local level, policy is interpreted into practice and there is opportunity for expediency and discretion to favour political dispositions so this seeming subjectivity is not without evidence. Political support which guides decision making regarding minority groups is often used as a platform for elections.

5.3.3 Local authority political presence

When planning decisions are made, all parties meet in Council to agree a decision before it is delivered. It is a heavily political decision that decides apart from the role of planning itself because the implications of site development are wide ranging and does not appear to be simply a question of provision. For instance, decisions of refusal for planning were lengthy, quite considered and justifications included fears that T&G would obtain permission and then sell the land, effectively acting as a developer.

5.3.4 Planning requirements proving Gypsy status

It is becoming increasingly difficult for some families to prove they are Gypsy. Councils require varying evidence that could take the form of photos, birth or death certificates etc. This must be proven along with evidence that they have become place-based and in parallel must also prove that travelling is necessary for subsistence.

5.3.5 Localism Act & T&G policy

Rewritten in a Localism framework, the PPTS (DCLG, 2012) and NPPF (DCLG, 2012) have been found to be conflicting. Planning advocates describe its relevance to T&G by outlining that the pro-development position of the NPPF (ibid) is curtailed in the specified framework of the PPTS (ibid). In addition there is limited clarity on the role of the public in decision-making regarding sites except that their specific involvement, noted in both documents, is to be encouraged.

5.3.6 Consultative Opportunities

T&G describe that they have not been contacted by local authority who make decisions without knowing them. They have not been included in the decision-making process. T&G also feel their human rights are secondary to the larger needs of society if they are on land required for infrastructure projects. Clay's Lane was subject to Compulsory Purchase order, a 2004 Act granting power to various authorities to purchase land for the public good where a High Court Judge decided in 2007 regarding the London Development Agency (LDA) application, that "the greater benefits of the Olympics outweighed the interference to the Travellers human rights" (LGTU, 2007).

Despite these misunderstandings and often-unsupported grievances, T&G and settled people don't have occasion to meet, in self-identified contexts, in order to reinform alternative thinking on both sides. Even contentious meetings such as Council Chamber meeting where letters are read to refute planning approvals have offered T&G their first opportunity to meet their neighbours. On one such occasion, after a Council meeting, the T&G and other community members continued their discourse on the pavement outside Council offices. While there were angry voices and accusations regarding site, equal planning rights and retrospective permission, the airing of the issues appeared to eventually lead to more civil discourse.

5.3.7 How do T&G Consult within their communities?

T&G describe their methods of resolving conflict within their community groups. This has

showcased that there are common values between T&G which their approaches to conflict resolution rely on including believing that perpetrators will make good in time. At the larger scale between community groups, there appears to be in-fighting that prevents them from working together that are less about conflict and more about trust.

Conclusions

Giddens and Cassell (1993) suggest that where marginal groups do not form part of the common-value system, political support for them means going against the objectives of society as a whole (1993) and that favouring the majority is also seen as a deposit of power towards them (ibid).

5.4 Economy

5.4.1 Peripatetic economic freedoms

Peripatetic economies need to travel substantially for survival even with stopped families. Work included salesmen selling wares; services like landscape, tarmac and asphalt installers; tree surgeons; antique furniture refurbishing and sales; middle men traders of industrial goods; scrap metals recycling; construction work and being hired out for other manual labour.

5.4.2 T&G in the recycling Industry

There are approximately 3000 metal recycling sites in the UK and 95% of the metal recycled is by licensed members of the British Metals Recycling Association (BMRA). Recent changes in legislation require all BMRA members to be licensed along with all those who contribute to the sites. Changes in legislation are an effort to curtail metal theft under the Sentencing and Punishment of Offenders Act, 2012. As described by the BMRA, T&G form a substantial part of the unlicensed group that account for a contribution of £280 million (5% of £5.6 billion) per annum (Mackenzie, 2010). Yet this type work is seen as peripheral and often vulgarized by media.

5.4.3 Economic anonymity

T&G who run successful businesses and are able to purchase land wished to keep their identities anonymous. It was suggested that knowledge of their ethnicity would prevent successful trading with the public.

5.4.4 Economics and Taxes:

Strongly linked to this inference of the T&G as economic outsider, there is a foundational disconnect on the issues of paying taxes and has been one of the most common rebuttals during the course of this research from larger society. Business owners, public site tenant and land owners are all required to and agree that they pay taxes (all sites) but this has not reinforced older stereotypes.

Conclusion

Livelihoods will be an important consideration in the in-depth case studies as an indicator of planning autonomy.

5.5 Education

Education affects all issues surrounding self-determination. Education is a medium to negotiate with societal mechanisms like planning policy and to mediate with society in economic and political terms. The dichotomy occurs between different forms of education, the dominant one and T&G one which is related to the family trade and knowledge of being a Traveller or Gypsy; knowing how to travel; and understanding the world from the perspective of a T&G.

5.6 Media

5.6.1 Effects of Media vulnerability

The value of media is pivotal element in the research. National and local media on T&G could be a valuable tool to improve attitudes to T&G but must be considered within British cultural attitudes towards media as a whole. Media is both a tool to support stereotypical reinforcement but also one that can be used to deconstruct and reshape it.

5.6.2 Local Community Impacts

There is a casual mistreatment of victims ingrained in tabloid culture in general (ibid). Much of the data from housed community came from published letters or news reporting of residents' thinking and reactions.

Conclusion

While there is a kind of snobbery in a way, and hard reporting with callous criticism in tabloids in particular, what is worse is when stories are not reported. Newspapers reinform what they believe is normal; narrow minded news editorials and reporting do not want to be labelled on the side of minority groups (Ahmed, 2012). While printed journalism affects us subconsciously in the way we see photos and judge people it also affects how journalists report on them.

5.7 Methodological implications

Considerations regarding gender during the pilots are important to inform methodologically in the in-depth case studies. These include providing insight into participation differences between men and women; issues of anonymity; T&G limited consultation experiences; and scheduling and location issues. The exchanges with local planning authority were difficult to arrange in person and preference was given to telephone and email communications. Cold calling regarding questions and status on planning applications were less informative than email queries. The public that agreed to discussions were usually already involved in the process and oppositional. Random discussions with people in the public realm near sites were more informative than formal appointments with groups and elicited candid responses about their attitudes to the site. Other advocate groups and NGO's were available to meet but often did not have the ground level experience required for in-depth discussions on contemporary issues or methodology.

5.8 Summary of Key pilot findings

- Tenure as a whole is very insecure regardless of public or private site and is the main factor behind moving and stopping.
- Forced stopping on public sites with controlled sizes and long waiting lists means limit on family groups staying together and on public sites limited number of caravans also.
- Council decisions are also based significantly on stereotypical knowledge and ignorance of T&G social norms
- Limited consultation with T&G
- Vulnerability due to limited formal education.
- From pilots it appears that definition of success:
 - for LPA is providing sites in location that do not cause contention in response to minimum required by needs assessments;
 - for wider community that T&G are invisible thus securing prime property values by remaining away from sites;
 - for T&G it is living with extended family and allowed freedom to travel with economic autonomy and gain elementary level education;
 - for policy makers it is about managing the housing deficit while maintaining value of land and housing.

5.8.1 Table of pilot findings (on the following pages)

5.9 Conclusion to pilot studies

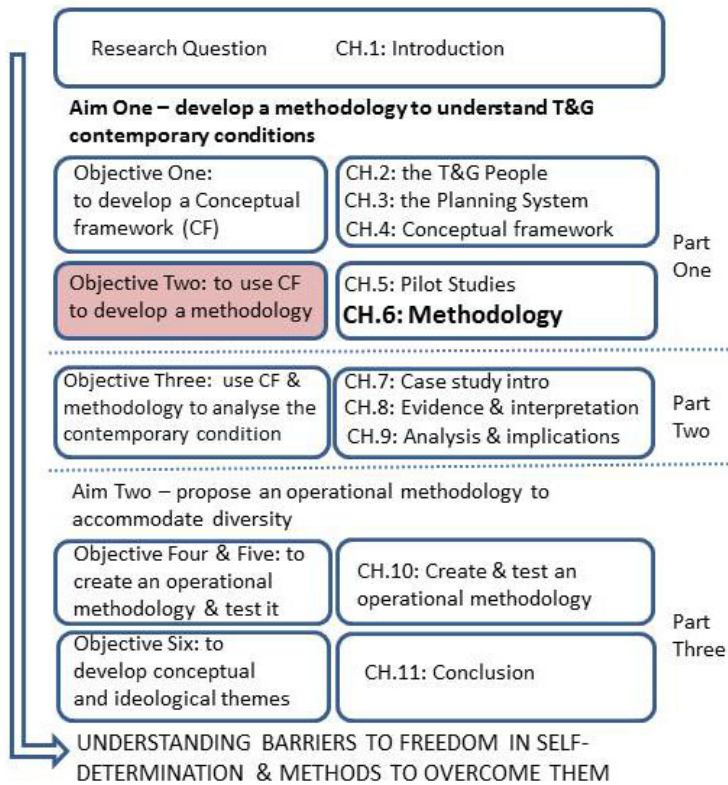
From the pilot studies we evidenced the impact of policy on public and private site accommodation. Public site provision has been mainly an emergency response. While this measure is a just and important mechanism, it is the perpetual state of emergency housing that causes the indignity. Policy for private sites has evolved into articulated control of development. Historically T&G were not incorporated into the agenda given that decades ago they were nomadic and then since the Thatcher era were directed to “provide their own sites” (House of Lords, 1994 in Morris and Clements, 1999: xiv) (2.3). The stricter control over development since then has meant that caravan dwelling has become increasingly onerous and in order to continue they would need to be included into the normative local and national housing agenda.

Currently there are hard edged frameworks where local authorities have to provide a specific number of sites according to conditions and incomplete accommodation needs assessments. Given that there are differences in the ways of self-determination, the framework requires a degree of flexibility informed through their living and specifically by them. This flexibility legitimized by policy would gain social value and become a normative agenda and instead of an end product it forms part of an on-going process of change as societies continue to evolve.

What would this flexibility look like and how would it be informed according to the contemporary conditions and able to influence the decision-making process? Pilots raised important topics for further research theoretically, practically and methodologically. The pilots included a range of tenure security and contextual differences yet similar issues in planning emerged from them. In –depth case studies will begin to inform on such an agenda by more detailed discovery from all sides at particularly important event case studies and this will be included in the methodological process described in Chapter Six which will form part of the second objective of the thesis: to use the conceptual framework to develop a methodology for T&G groups in a diversity of conditions in England.

Chapter Six

Methodology for research and analysis



Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodology in the progress of the research. It is based on the background chapters and addresses the second objective of the research: to use the conceptual framework to develop a methodology for analysing T&G cultural groups representative of a diversity of conditions that exist in England in their struggle for self-determination.

This chapter is organized into four parts. First, it uses the conceptual framework to establish the research strategy for investigating the T&G culture within the context of the planning system based on those factors influencing self-determination. The three levels of interpretation are structured: understanding contemporary condition of T&G in caravans; the second, examining the planning system and process as it contributes to this condition; thirdly, examining the influence of these on minority-majority relations.

Second, it develops the methodological framework by discussing appropriate methods, techniques and considerations in the inquiry and analysis of data. Thirdly, it uses the outcomes of the analysis to develop an operational methodology to address key findings which will then be tested and results validated. Finally, it uses the findings of the analysis to develop a methodology to understand minorities like T&G and to develop strategies and recommendations to address capacity to self-determine and overcome barriers through operational methodologies.

6.1 Research Strategy

Those processes and factors affecting self-determination as identified in the background research encompass physical, social, political, economic factors investigated further and primarily at the local level but with implications regarding policy at national level, and with longer term implications at the European level. The multi scale and cross disciplinary approach to the methodology work in tandem with an extended use of Inquiry by Design in which field work, research and practice will be used cyclically to understand and strategize in the development of the research.

Thus the research strategy which focuses on the local scale utilizes a constructionist ontology approach examined at a group level in order to discover motivations and meanings upon which the concepts concerning the making of home rely; and examined at an inter group level to discover motivations and meanings from outside perspectives. The mechanism of planning which acts as the platform where these sets of meanings are negotiated will be examined through the factors which influence the decision making process.

In terms of the methodology for analysis, and in relation to the elements of the conceptual framework (Chapter Four), the analytical framework is composed of qualitative methodologies relevant to drawing out spatial dimensions within legal, historic and public cultural contexts. Historical analysis through the background chapters is a method that makes sense of the perpetuation and continuity of relations and conflict along with the traces present in

contemporary era. The role of agency analysis (Jay and Bryant, 1991) will be used to analyse roles and responsibilities of groups involved in the research regarding self-determination. Finally environment-behaviour analysis will be used to understand relations between groups of people and their physical and spatial contexts (ibid) with a focus on the private and some in the public realm depending on its relevance to the case study.

The emerging concepts outlined in the conceptual framework are used to analyse the case studies. The inter-relationship between elements will elicit contemporary conditions and factors relating to barriers in self-determination. This level of inquiry identifies societal structures, key agents and group dynamics and their role in establishing and overcoming barriers in the making of residential spaces. Three different case studies will be examined in detail, exploring in more depth the diversity and complexity of contemporary contexts for which the pilot studies acted as reconnaissance for (Chapter Five).

The in-depth case studies during critical event scenarios represent a range of residential practices, legal frameworks and minority relations exposing in turn a range of quality of life conditions and the role of planning authority and processes as well as the power of the public position. The study necessitates sampling that includes a range of conditions that are both predominant and which represent the most confronting issues for sites in general. These situations will also confirm the importance of intensive field work in a bid to emphasize *the current significance of a group's self-selected culture rather than a search for 'origins' as explanation* (Okely 1997, p.240) understood within the context of the planning system.

The following section outlines case study selection criteria. Up to this point, the research has covered how the conceptual framework is used to discover T&G residential communities and the surrounding context including local residents and governing bodies in light of emerging variables including land, mobility, regulations, economics, education, media etc. The next stage is to understand how and why the results of this process can provide vital information when defining the principle sources to barriers in self-determination.

6.2 Methodological framework and case studies

Ying (2009) describes the use of case studies as appropriate in research, that is, answering 'how' and 'why' questions; where the investigator has periods where there is little control over events; and also where the focus is to explore the contemporary context, especially where the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not evident.

Participant observation and informal interviews will be used in the case study communities to compare a range of residential tenure and ownership conditions. Spending time with communities in a variety of circumstances over time will allow for an understanding of them. Knowledge comes through the skin and all the senses (Okely, 2008). The case study visits are more purposeful in that each visit intends a specific aim outside just research. These are not the kind of *hanging out* of anthropological investigations. The nature and sensitivity of critical moments like meeting local councillors and Members of Parliament, the eviction build-up, discussing the experience of having a neighbour for the first time, and dealing with a plethora of media to provide insightful ethnographic data necessitates observance by all the senses.

The idea is to make links between freedom of self-determination understood within the broader: economic and political contexts; relationships and interactions with surrounding communities; history with local authorities; and history of media representations. Studies at each community focus attention on select informants who know the activities of the community as a whole. Researchers describe that the atmosphere of mutual trust ensures honest and open narrative is possible. This was the experience on pilots and this is what it means to be welcomed into a community by other people - academics, researchers and advocates, whom they have known and trusted across generations.

Cultivating an understanding of the effects of transformation require case studies at these varying places of transition and tenure insecurity over a period of time. The variety of observations that emerge presents knowledge and experience of the communities, both in their internal interactions and with outside communities, implicit and explicit. Participant-observation during everyday circumstances, as well as during events, provides opportunities

for informal situations of both their everyday and special circumstances; the culture of the unscripted everyday evidenced in comparison to the more planned public face. These methods will serve to triangulate the data along with perspectives and sources (Yin, 2009). The research seeks out underlying cultural links between all T&G groups in terms of the effect of planning on their self-determination and resulting conditions. The case studies selected are diverse in context, condition of tenure security, community size and ethnicity, and many other factors (7.1).

Criteria for case study selection were influenced by the conceptual framework. In depth case studies will include opportunities to showcase critical stages of illegal sites seeking permission along with resettlement and eviction circumstances. These kinds of situations would expose vulnerabilities and injustices that in normal everyday circumstances would take much longer to reveal. These circumstances would also provide the opportunity, due to their timing during the period of study, for important insights into the research deepening the understanding of those emerging themes raised during pilots and which framed the conceptual framework (see figure 4.5 outlining these themes).

The advantage of taking on this range of case studies is that it allows a balanced inquiry into those processes that appear to be working and those that appear to be failing while testing the borders and dimensions of freedom. These case studies also build on relationships developed during pilots either directly within the case studies or through common acquaintances. In this way knowledge and understanding can be deepened and more intimate layers of societal knowledge revealed. There are disadvantages of this approach and the case studies chosen. As a researcher it is expected that involvement in particularly difficult periods will move the participatory nature of the research into a more advocate and activist type role. What is important to be aware of is that the researcher's position and perspective are taken into account by them when analysing the data. Being a participant or advocate is not in itself incongruent with the objectives of being a researcher. It cannot be pretended that a chosen subject is not rooted in a search for justice which requires various forms of participation to get at. The balance comes from the acknowledgement of a researcher's positionality and examination of

its impact on evidence gathering, analysis and determination of implications. Inquiry by design facilitates movement between various perspectives and structures the movement inside and outside the field of study with the community groups.

Other potential case study opportunities were not included and the reasons are also relevant to this research including: lack of trust established where involvement with non-Travellers in the past had been limited; fatigue with outsider involvement where their participation appeared to be of little useful consequence, or the T&G were negatively represented, or they had a history of feeling exploited; and where T&G were in unauthorized stopping places and the vulnerable nature of this state made them shy away from contact, wanting to remain below the radar instead of risking unnecessary exposure.

6.2.1 Case Study A- Cray's Hill, Basildon (Dale Farm)

Cray's Hill, also known as Dale Farm, is a private, rural site owned by its residents. Approximately half of Dale Farm, the Romani side called Oak Lane, achieved legal tenure between 1992-1996. The other half, the Irish Traveller side, has been an unauthorized encampment with high tenure insecurity for more than ten years. Several visits and meetings occurred from 2006 including the period prior to the eviction of the Irish Travellers in 2011.

6.2.2 Case Study B – Hackney, London (relocation from Clay's Lane, Stratford)

The former Clay's Lane residents were resettled from the Stratford area to make way for the 2012 Olympic Village. The resettlement site in Hackney accommodated one of the Irish Traveller groups representing a small portion of the original community and is a public, urban site. Periodic visits occurred from 2006 in Stratford until and including to the relocation site in 2010.

6.2.3 Case Study C – Roman Triangle, Brentwood

Roman Triangle is a private peri urban site containing three generations of an extended family group of mixed ethnicity. The families purchased the parcel of land together and stopped long

term for the first time on this site. At the time of the research from 2010, they were living for more than 10 years in a state of tenure insecurity seeking permanent planning consent.

As noted in Chapter Three, there have been major recent shifts in planning system structure and much of the feedback and criticism of the impacts of these changes have not had a chance to unfold in the long term with regards its effects on T&G self-determination. Thus in-depth discovery of the contemporary condition to recognize patterns, identify policy affected trends, and relationships between key catalytic actors and other bodies was necessary.

Criteria for the case study selection included practical issues like the ability to make social ties with community representatives as well as having an accessible local authority jurisdiction and where public participation played a key role in decision making outcomes relative to T&G settlement.

The case studies allow for the theories from initial chapters to be applied practically and they will test the conceptual framework in several ways. Does it allow for a discovery of the contemporary conditions of T&G and the influence on them by the planning system? Does the framework make it possible for the issues and concerns relevant to the most current planning system shifts to be recognized? Is there space for the discovery of other key stakeholders' perspectives and their contribution to this status?

These case studies draw on and expand the initial pilot findings through qualitative interview and what can best be described as ethnographic inquiry by instalment. In this way the localized data pertinent to specific communities could be better understood in context including apparent reasoning and motivations of agents.

6.3 Ethical Considerations

De Vaus (2001) outlines the need for specific ethical considerations in social research: voluntary participation; informed consent; no harm to participants; anonymity and confidentiality. The research involving vulnerable communities like these must take specific ethical issues into consideration including informed consent and a clear agenda for the work

including what the work will not be able to provide. For example, clarity that this research will not directly impact, or change, the status of a participant's planning application or tenure situation and that the effect of the research does intend a more long term agenda effecting possibilities of self-determination. Preventing harm means ensuring participants are aware of potential risks. Informed consent means that participants should be aware of the purpose and potential use of the outcomes as well they should be informed as to the identity of the researcher and any sponsoring agencies.

The issues of anonymity and confidentiality are key in terms of both ensuring access to narrative information and most importantly in terms of protecting the participants (De Vaus 2001). T&G often demand confidentiality noted in literature reviews and pilots. The reasons behind this will form part of the discovery but anonymity itself will be ensured through the work. The precautions taken will reflect the range of vulnerability of participants involved as each case study unfolds and is documented in appropriate formats reflecting varying literacy skills. The role of the researcher has ethical implications where their participation advocates may change the nature of a circumstance. Since the overall objective of the research is to do no harm then situations will be judged on a case by case basis to govern the extent of involvement.

6.4 Ethnography as a research tool

The continuity of day to day life, Giddens (Jary and Bryant, 1991) described as *duree*, is a continuous fluid succession of integrated actions. Whereby, it is key to being able to distinguish the difference between reason as grounds of action (reflexive monitoring or rationalization) and motives (potential for action as opposed to the mode in which action takes place) as a prompt for wants. In this, Giddens (ibid) believes action depends on the capacity of an individual to make a difference to a pre-existing state of affairs or course of events either by their action or inaction. Without the capacity to exert power an individual ceases to be an

agent, where social constraints leave individuals without choices, their actions cannot be understood as a reaction. So that discovery of reasoning and motives, essentially the purpose of ethnography, as background to capacity for action we begin to see the presence of T&G as agents within social and regulatory constraints that are determined based on the framework of the majority they live within.

Ethnographic approaches are used to guide studies and interviews. In the past, approaches to understanding social structures often fail because they treat agents as less knowledgeable than they really are (Giddens and Cassell, 1993). This failure to gain access to an agent's knowledgeability is crucial to understanding meanings in their context and ways forward.

What actors are able to convey about their conditions is foreshortened if researchers are not aware of the significance of the *discursive phenomenon* which are often discounted in social research but which social actor perspectives have paid close attention to. Meaning which potentially derives from style, mode of expression or context of utterance can become accessible. In line with these interview considerations, the drive behind the ethnographic mode of discovery is that it requires neither formal education, nor the ability to read or write and gives voice to the experience of those people whose views are often overlooked or discounted and in a way that they are most used to speaking about their lives.

Sanoff (1991) outlined two prominent methodological approaches and their problems in ethnographic discovery: interviews and observation. Interview questions must be phrased so as to not elicit or induce specific responses but rather using cues or some other sort of stimulus to prompt deeper information. Interview time offers the opportunity to track behaviour in both known and unknown settings which contribute to ethnographic inquiry potential more than actual responses. Conceptual ideas of knowing another culture will, in this way, factor into the methodological stance. This comes from a progressive knowing of a society beginning with pilots and following up with in-depth data collection with referencing back to the communities throughout the research period.

The questions need to be directed at eliciting responses to the main line of questioning behind the thesis and also to be friendly and non-threatening (Yin, 2009). In the in-depth interview situation, respondents will have the opportunity to describe situations as well as to give their opinions and insights on them. These types of interviews usually will take place over an extended period and across several meetings. In this way there is also the opportunity for snowball sampling, where new sources are made by referrals of other T&G, is one of the best approaches to accessing marginalized communities (Scullion and Brown, 2010).

Interviews range from semi-structured and unstructured to narrative styles. Allowing this flexibility means that people with varying experience of engaging with outside community, with varying levels of trust and vulnerability could choose to dialogue in the way most suited to them. Every meeting however will be designed with specific purpose.

For the Native American Indians their cultural loss came in the way they were segregated into portions of the landscape so they could no longer follow the buffalo. When they had their land taken from them by the US government they lost not just their land but their history (Sibley, 1995). For T&G on the precipice of completely losing their capacity to travel, their struggle is deeper than just being able to move because this is also tied to their sense of cultural history. From pilot findings (Chapter Five), a common response to questions regarding ‘why not live in a house’ given the immense pressures, the often repeated response was: ‘why don’t you live in a caravan?’ The way they are used to living thus, has implications across other lifestyle aspects.

Ethnographic considerations for T&G like the once nomadic Indigenous Natives, they too have other than literate skills and are also storytellers (Sibley, 1995). It appears that for T&G remaining in caravans and seeking stopping places means that it is the continuity of changing landscapes that has been foundational to cultural identity across generations which the caravan continues to symbolize even in its immobility.

Documenting the contemporary condition in terms of qualitative data will use the inquiry by design approach (Zeisel, 2006) which is an environment-behaviour approach to research and which integrates design and research as parallel developments. This approach will include interviews (life biographies; unstructured questionnaires); visual imagery (drawings; still images); observational (principles of observational technique which will take into account the researcher's own perception. Eco (1990) cautions the researcher to be aware of this perception as being dependent on one's own roots; lifestyle and habits; and value systems.

While a mix of qualitative data can bring a range of information it can also be challenging to analyse. The triangulation of data gives a richer articulation and balanced picture of the situations while exploring rich complexity of human behaviour and understanding it from the input of multiple perspectives (ibid) and will be important in overcoming the limitations of qualitative interviews, namely, that of impressionistic, random or selective memory responses as well as potential manipulation or undermining by some (ibid). This also serves to corroborate emerging issues and ensure the meaning and context of data is not being decontextualized. The reliance on qualitative methods raised questions of subjectivity and interpretation given potential bias on the part of the evaluator affecting selection of case studies, and interpretation of words or behaviours. While pure objectivity is unattainable, bias can be diminished by experienced evaluator who knows their positionality; the triangulation of data; and referencing back to communities and other actors at key points during the discovery.

The important balance to understanding context will be framed by interviews with planners, local authority, other local community groups, politicians and other practitioners.

6.4.1 The Value of Local Knowledge

Local knowledge (Geertz, 1992) and local capacity are being sought in order to understand and inform on the thesis questions and in order to let the data of local capacity speak for itself.

Local knowledge is a collection of data within which are embedded an entire cultural system of concepts, beliefs and perceptions that people have not only about themselves but about the world around them. It includes the way by which surroundings are measured, judged and given

meanings to, how they problem solve and legitimize new information as well as the processes of generating and transmitting knowledge to others.

Geertz (1992) describes:

Who knows the river better the hydrologist or the swimmer? ... it clearly depends on what you mean by "knows," ... what it is you hope to accomplish ... which sort of knowledge we most need, want and might to some degree, conceivably get ... It is not ... a matter of the sweep of our thoughts, but of its vocation ... like all "local knowledge" it is substantive, somebody's, and will do for the moment (1992, pp134-5).

While this methodology seeks to draw out local knowledge with coherence it is also the purpose of this research to ensure that the knowledge it is targeting, and that knowledge it then gets is, in the whole, appropriate and relevant to understanding and overcoming the contemporary issues of self-determination.

6.5 Record Keeping

Ethnographic records will consist of audio recordings, pictures, artefacts, maps, and post field visit notes to create a description of a culture. Maintaining a chain of evidence will increase the reliability of the link between data collected and results. These include: incorporating key citations from interviews or observations; keeping a body of data of the complete transcripts; and maintaining a link between the information collected and the thesis questions (Yin, 2003). The transcripts, diary notes or recordings will form part of the Appendices.

6.5.1 Transcription & language considerations

Clifford (1997) supports the idea embodied in the concept *traduttore traditore*; that is, the translator is a traitor, and notes the value of appreciating the reality of what is missed and distorted when another culture is described from outside and translated. While to an outsider, using the phonetics of a kind of pidgon English could appear pejorative, Malinowski, in his Introduction to *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* describes transliteration as if it *robbed the text of all its significant characteristics – rubbed off all its points* (1961, p.23–4). There is

much more significance in the adaptations of English about culture and the narrative it is being used as a medium for than the meaning of the actual words alone. The accounts recorded as evidence were kept in their original phonetic forms in order that this cultural significance is relayed and in the absence of a written form of the dialect, making a phonemic one. Adjusting phonetic accuracy to the British English language would take away value and significance from the language details for both T&G. The dialectology of group is usually a direct reference to their regional location, it is of particular value for T&G in that it relays a continuity that is maintained despite a lack of common geography and reflects the degree to which the society has remained insular and connected despite distance and periods of separation. Phonetic accuracy reflects the focus on social networks that is a large part of the discovery of this work.

Questioning the intent of language used and what, at times, may seem obvious is central to accessing the meanings and intended responses by interviewees (Talavera & Faraone, 2011). There is nonlinear access to understanding the other when there are different cultural tools in dialogue even when it is the same base language. Interethnic understanding is based on backtracking to ensure clarity is based on intended meanings and as a whole not taking for granted the process of dialogue and assumed commonality of meaning in language.

6.6 Participant Observation

Participant observation (P-O) is an especially useful method to become informed about the cultural conditions and issues related to housing and planning in seeking deeper insight, evidence and meaning in context.

Banks (2001) also reminds that *“the researcher’s very presence among a group of people is the result of a series of negotiations, some formal (... from government agencies ...), most informal (establishing trust, giving gifts, saying ‘please’) ... The researcher often relies on a tacit agreement between herself and research subject formed through earlier contact* (Banks 2001 p119-120).

The main problem with it is one related to bias especially where the researcher takes on roles related to planning advocacy. This service ensured long term access to the community with

details of planning that would not have become evident otherwise. It affords calmer moments of interaction and observation in direct contrast to the more sensitive nature of event situations where stopping to take notes may not be as viable.

6.7 Site Observations

Observational Techniques and socio-morphological mapping of the caravan sites will frame the view of the community's lifestyle and elicit their values and priorities for community planning bearing in mind the influence on site conditions by extreme high tenure insecurity.

The contemporary condition is not about culture but about society. Weyrauch (2001) describes that societal structure have their own hierarchy and have embedded meanings with regards difference and otherness; and link specific values with specific settings.

This understanding needs to specifically encompass the notions behind nomadism, as it is understood from the outside and as it actually is in terms of its practical reality from the inside and becoming aware of the Traveller's commitment to place and that these values take different forms. Weyrauch (2001) describes:

nomad's journey is also encoded in space ... repetition and involves identifying and remembering spatial details. Nomads encampment is not arbitrary but transmitted and inherited ... the principles of residence cannot be transgressed and the rules for using space are clearly expressed (p.106).

Examining the T&G culture spatially, in terms of land use, as well as physically, in terms of elements with materiality, will provide a particular perspective into the culture. Taking stock from simply a material presence as from the point of view of cars and caravans as a completely physical construct; and then in the second instance putting the people back into the picture will provide an oblique way into observing the culture. While it is easier to have a theoretical conversation about marginal societies, it will be a different form of observation to be able to see it and its physical effects in order to get at understanding it. Collecting those memories in context is also going to dictate how useful they are going to be.

Sanoff (1991) raises the concept of a cognitive paradigm stating that there are specific values people render to landscaped settings because of the associations they make with them both intellectual and social (ibid). In fact it is in the absence or the expanded vocabulary of urban design elements and the reactions to them that the issues of planning become more politically bound.

The fact of a seemingly non-fixed geography renders the physical observation tools even more relevant because they engender the way outsiders see these communities and this will form part of the dialogue from the 'outsider' perspective. The extent of what becomes visible and can be given meaning to, whether correctly or incorrectly, by outsiders is substantial. Sanoff (1991) argues that it is vital to both acknowledge the strategy people use to understand the built environment along with the meanings that these strategies draw will reveal much about the relationships between the T&G and local communities. For instance it is known that people infer social qualities about the nature and desirability of young people's environments differently depending on whether they are from the urban or rural areas (ibid).

There are both psychological and sociological dimensions of a dwelling and they relate to identity and experience as much as to social relations (Coolen, Kempen, and Ozaki, 2002). Thus there are varied meanings given to home, house, dwelling and neighbourhood. Dealing with the psychological and sociological dimensions of dwelling will draw out both the potential similarities and differences in values and articulation between the stakeholder groups. In order to capture this diversity, the methodology had to be able to draw out socio-cultural, functional or symbolic meanings behind the emerging variables: land, mobility, regulations, economics, education, media etc. to understand them in the context of planning as they affect creation of residential settings which in turn reflect these societies.

In this way questions of home will be directed at practices, rule systems and established narratives. While these qualities of home come from culture and the specific values which entail specific behaviours (Giddens and Cassell, 1993) this work is also about society within which cultures are set. Society here is defined as 'hierarchically organized ensembles within

which the notions of difference and otherness are already full of memory' (ibid). This taken for granted memory needs to be revisited so that what informs the planning process is real and up to date. These attitudes will interpolate information on their sense of belonging, their right and desire to shared space with outside society, new considerations relevant to the contemporary era of planning.

6.8 Other Actors and Bodies incorporated into the research

Similar qualitative methods are used in developing an understanding of the perspectives of local authorities and residents along with media within the socio-political contexts of the case study groups.

A key aspect of valuing and controls within minority – majority relations includes the understanding of politics inter and intra societies. Politics influences the way decisions in any society or social group are arrived at and, especially, the way resources are distributed, whether by the use of persuasion, authority, power representation or physical force; they are necessary for a culture to exist (King, 1990). Political position of these diverse key stakeholders will characterize a contextual understanding of sites and can be discovered in various ways. The emic approach, from within the social group, includes accounts from a person intra culture and the etic approach is a description by observers outside the culture where the constructs are universal and culturally neutral. Methods used can be participatory and collaborative; overt and covert; cross sectional either once and in depth or longitudinal and repeatedly; and with a broad or narrow scope. Methods will depend on the nature of the situations encountered in this action research.

Planning officials will also be interviewed to gain an understanding of the opportunities and constraints of existing governing structures and bodies that regulate the movements and decision-making. Given that the dynamics of planners' thinking is framed by their own personal experiences and biographies especially with respect to T&G, thus there is a need for ethnographic methods as well as interviews with officials in order to understand the complexity of institutional and interpersonal dynamics within professional's everyday working lives. This is particularly relevant given the degree of subjectivity behind the expedience / discretion characteristics of local authority planners (Chapter Three). Engagement with policy makers at National and Local Authority levels about the impact of policy and use of participatory approaches for needs assessment regarding their value in informing on T&G issues will also be incorporated in the inquiry.

This work will be informed by other no site specific groups relevant to understanding the contemporary T&G condition within the context of planning.

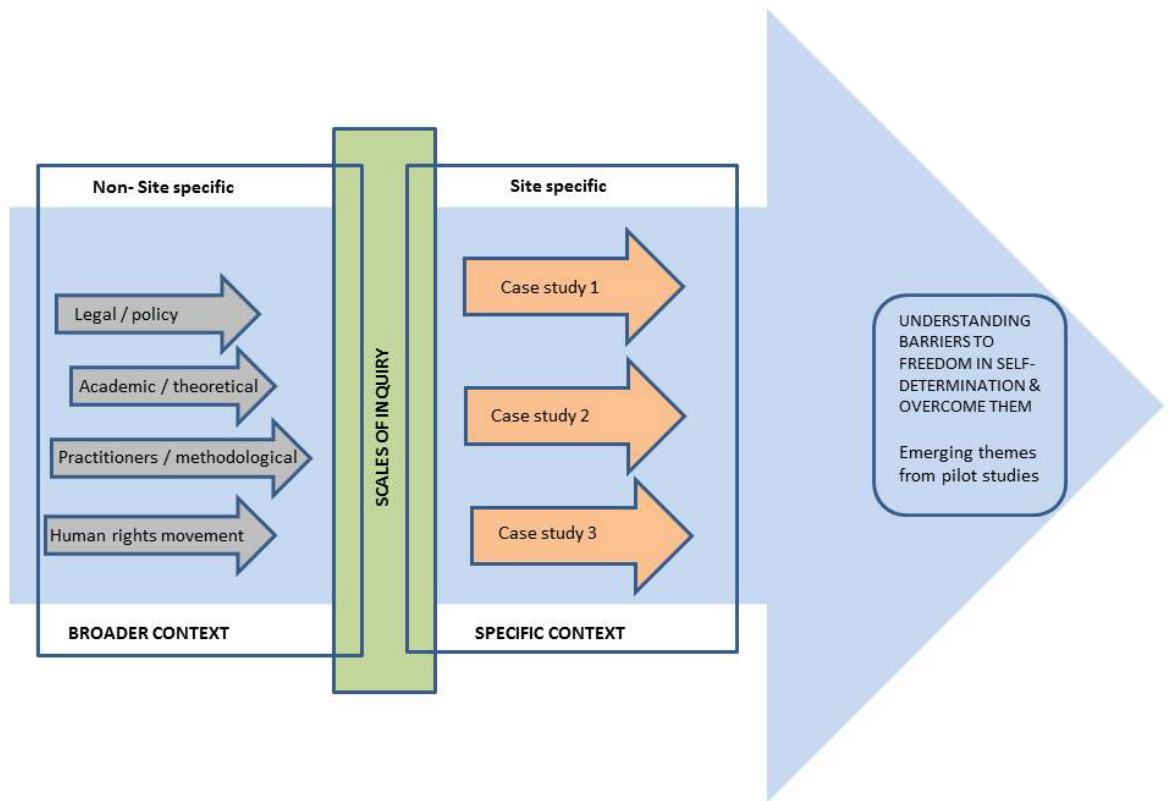


fig. 6.1 image above illustrates the various groups of people that will contribute to the research; both site specific and non-site specific

6.8.1 The media as a stakeholder

Various media reporting will contribute to the contextual analysis of a site. Their tone and language reveal much about the views of the public and the media’s own views of how the T&G are perceived by both outside communities and the municipalities governing their settlements. This is also as a measure of the level of tolerance and acculturation in the area.

sphere' (Hobsbawm 2013, p.11) more powerful than academic accounting and appealing to popular culture thus its impact in this regards will be another starting point for discovery of case study conditions.

The following research sub questions outline the scope of inquiry raised in this and previous chapters (5.9). These serve as prompts for the range of questions forming part of discussion with local community, T&G and local authority (5.10). They serve as initiators to dialogue about the emerging issues and which are guides to the informal interviews.

6.9 Research sub questions

Why is there a different settlement strategy for T&G compared to any other group, minority or otherwise?

How has the planning context changed for T&G in England over the past 10 years?

Which laws, rules and political climates have contributed to the changes this culture has evolved into?

Why has there not been collaboration in planning with the T&G?

What does it mean to be a Gypsy and a Traveller who is stopped? What does it mean to have a culture based on travelling when you are stopped?

What are the common beliefs about T&G that cause barriers to settlements in existing communities?

What does it mean to have a successful life to a T&G?

What do integration and self-determination mean to a G or T and other actors?

How are T&G settlements conceived, designed, constructed and maintained? What is wrong with them? What is good about them? What has been done to address these issues to date? Are there key differences between the Traveller societal settlements?

What is the current planning process with regards to settlement for marginalized communities?

There are two parallel systems, how have they missed each other?

Why has this particular group been allowed to fall through the cracks? Do the T&G want to be integrated? Why is this work important and what does it solve?

Who are the stakeholder groups and how are they identified?

What are the various contemporary conditions, how do they differ and what do they have in common?

6.10 Interview Questions Prompts

6.10.1 Prompting Questions with T&G

Describe your family size. Do you form part of a community? Describe your community size.

How long have you been living in this city / town?

Do you consider your family / community to be housed or nomadic? Do you have an expected date for your next move? Is this by choice or are there other factors affecting this decision?

How do you decide when to move?

How did you come to live in this area? Are you enjoying living at this location? What kind of community do you imagine yourself living in that would allow you to have the best choices and lifestyle?

What is your ideal location within a city / town to live in? Describe a location you have been in that you enjoyed most? Describe a location you have been in that you felt most at home?

When you think about your community and accommodation do you see your culture?

How can your accommodation and community layout reflect and suit your culture more?

When you think about your community and accommodation do you see it complementing your lifestyle? How can your accommodation and community layout reflect and suit your lifestyle more?

Do you want to be integrated with your surrounding non-T&G community? Do you feel integrated / accepted by the non-T&G community around this location? Have you felt more or less integrated in the past? What do you believe contributes to this relationship?

How would you like the T&G non-T&G relationships to be? Would integrations benefit your family? How? How would this affect your culture / lifestyle?

What would your ideal community look like? Describe the type of community that you enjoyed most? Describe the type of community that you felt most at home living in?

How are decision made within a family or on a community level?

Would you like to participate in an urban design exercise with your neighbours as a way of getting to know your community?

6.10.2 Prompting Questions with Local Authority

Describe the size of your township. What is the population of T&G living here? How long have you been working / living in this city / town?

What kind of community do you imagine the T&G would elect to have that would allow them to have the best choices and lifestyle?

What do you consider the ideal location for a site in this city / town to live in? Would you suggest a different answer for a T&G and non-T&G community? Describe the sites that the T&G currently occupy.

How do the T&G contribute to the local culture? Describe their lifestyle from your perspective.

When sites are selected what qualities about the location are prioritized? How important are liveability, infrastructure, access to schools, and proximity to existing townspeople?

Do you believe that specific choices of location and design of a community will encourage integration between T&G and non-T&G? What other urban design qualities do you believe contribute to this relationship?

Would you say you understand the T&G community and their desire to live in caravans?

What are some recent policy decisions that have been made with regard to Traveller sites? Have the number of available sites increased or decreased and why? How does the council react when a T&G community arrives into their town? How does council react when T&G apply for planning permission, permission to develop infrastructure? How does a council react when a T&G group leaves an area and move to another town?

Describe your ideal version of a community in an urban semi-rural and rural context.

What economics does local authority contribute to the area? What do the T&G contribute?

How can we use the planning system to allow for communities more suitable to the T&G way of life?

Would you like to add any other comments relating to the topics of this interview?

6.10.3 Prompting Questions with local Community

Describe your family size. Do you form part of a community? Describe your community size.

How long have you been living in this city / town? Do you feel at home in this community? Are you enjoying living at this location?

Did you know your neighbours are Roma? How long have you lived near a T&G community? Do you know of the T&G either as a group or as individual neighbours?

Do you want to be integrated with your surrounding T&G community? Do you feel integrated / accepted by the T&G community around this location? Have you felt more or less integrated in the past? What do you believe contributes to this relationship?

How would you like the T&G non-T&G relationships to be? Would integrations benefit your family? How? How would this affect your culture / lifestyle?

What would your ideal community look like? Describe the type of community that you enjoyed most? Describe the type of community that you felt most at home living in?

Would you say you understand the T&G community and their desire to live in caravans?

Describe your ideal version of a community in an urban semi-rural and rural context.

What economics do you contribute to the area? What do the T&G contribute?

What is your attitude towards the community and their rights to their version of a home?

How can we use the planning system to allow for communities more suitable to the T&G way of life? Would you participate?

Would you like to add any other comments relating to the topics of this interview?

6.11 Methods of Analysis

The criteria for analysis should ensure findings address the thesis aims while being considered from theoretical standpoints. As set out by Daniel and Vining's criteria characteristics should include: firstly, validity or the connection between what is set out to be discovered with what actually is thought to be understood; secondly, reliability or the consistency of results achieved upon repetition; thirdly, sensitivity or the ability to perceive actual distinctions; and lastly utility or the relevance of the findings for the research (1983).

Yin (2009) describes analytic techniques in the derivation of compelling arguments using case study research. Pattern matching correlates empirically based with predicted techniques. The results of which has implications on the dependent and independent variables based on their

comparison being non-equivalent, rival, or where there is a complete lack of patterning. In narratives which are inherently not precise data sets, theoretically significant propositions can be explained via the collected narratives which then lead to theory building. This analytical approach may allow for a deviation from the thesis aim by allowing the researcher to drift into other areas of interest. The problems of keeping to a single line of inquiry are prevented by continuous reference to the thesis aim and questions.

During data analysis, references back to the conceptual framework and incorporating rival explanations for what is observed help limit bias. A high quality analysis will be done by presenting all the evidence separate from interpretation and incorporating adequate openness for the exploration of alternative explanations to the data (Yin, 2003).

Qualitative data is difficult to access for a marginalized community and complex to understand when information is taken out of context by an outsider yet this is the information that is of greatest value in terms of informing policy and planning approaches. Lack of qualitative information has led to limited robust quantitative data with which decisions regarding support are derived, namely interpolation of T&G GTANA (CLG, 2007) which is non-detailed collection of quantitative data local authority use to derive necessary information upon interpolation (Chapter Four). The results of which can be manipulated by local authorities apart from the inherent issues with its accuracy and clarity in terms of results (Niner, 2011). This work is about learning from previous efforts and getting at information in as objective and balanced a way as possible in order that there is buy in from key actors and so that the discoveries are purposeful.

The content analysis takes into account themes which emerge in various forms from both site specific and non-site specific inquiries and interviews.

6.11.1 How can this research inform planning processes at the ground level?

Findings from the case studies will be analysed for their capacity to inform planning decisions and processes. According to Habermas (McCarthy, 1981) communicative action does not end when understanding is reached because it cannot be expected that changes in social structure will be captured clearly from the outsiders perspective. Understanding comes rather in witnessing elements of social evolution that must be understood as advances in different types of knowledge (ibid). Where learning processes require empirical mechanisms to be comprehended they thus, are conceived as a kind of problem solution which can then be reconstructed in relevance to the specific standpoint of the participants (McCarthy, 1981). Habermas is suggesting that the capacity to see change as opposed to a social construct allows an understanding of the catalysts for that evolution and in turn this new knowledge can be recaptured to inform other processes, for instance, such as planning.

Habermas' (1998) pragmatic theory outlines the need to understand utterances within the contexts and circumstances within which they emanate which in turn may be part of multiple, extended realities. These include knowledge of the speaker's historically and culturally specific contexts. This differentiation between the knowledge which is close to the foreground and which can be drawn on explicitly without great difficulty with that knowledge that is more deep seated, pre-reflective, taken-for-granted background knowledge, cannot simply be summoned to consciousness at will or in its entirety (Habermas 1998, p.16). While difficult to both discern and access, without this latter knowledge, access to meaning becomes impossible. Taking part in case studies with periodic visits over time and sometimes across dramatic event periods will offer glimpses of the taken for granted background knowledge. Framed around Habermas' (1998) views on interpretive understanding, which forms part of the perspective of an outsider, this knowledge will inevitably, involve evaluation and criticism. This too must be accounted for and links back to an awareness of the researcher's bias (Eco, 1990).

The analysis will focus on evidence in those emerging themes threaded through the background and pilot studies and expanded and revealed through the case study research. Implications and theoretical analysis will then draw from the discussion of these findings.

6.11.2 Operational Methodology

From many sources in the background and as part of analysing the lack of information about T&G it is relevant in both informing at local level as well as at policy level to be able to incorporate the T&G voice. Thus, part of the analysis of findings will also be aimed at informing an operational methodology with which to establish relevant methods of achieving this. Recent research by Camarinhas (Crawford, 2011) posits that planning systems are more political and ideological creations with poor abilities to respond appropriately to development pressures. The political will and bodies governing the structures of the system and even determining the prioritized role of participation are undefined and there remains a great deal of room within the planning system for bias and interpretation. They are conducive to influence by political pressures which usually result in being unfavourable to minority groups (ibid).

Participation has many benefits apart from being an early agenda for those planning debates. Participation allows for a greater likelihood of meeting the needs of all community members; contributes to user group awareness of the implications and complexity of design decisions; and provides the most relevant and current information about a community. It also provides a building block in the development of a sense of citizenship; develops a community's relationship with not only their environment but also with each other (Hawes and Perez, 2002).

The variety of participation methods are determined to bring forward the psychological effects that the built environment exerts on us (Sanoff, 1991). Inquiry by Design (Zeisel, 2006) thinking in the context of marginalization also presents an opportunity to bring those notions of cultural bias, represented within the built environment, forward so we can raise an awareness of them and so that they can be used to deconstruct and reinform more socio-politically generous perceptions by those same societies making us better able to be equal citizens to each other. Berry's (2005) two means of achieving this through acculturation are through: cultural

support mechanisms which serve to validate culture; and contact between minority and majority in order to establish a context of shared humanity. The details of such a methodology will be informed by an analysis of the findings from the case studies. This will then be tested in the field for validity by playing out the details of such an exercise. The findings of this testing will again be revisited in the field for cross referencing with participants.

6.11.3 Methodological Recommendations

The operational methodology will be tested with participants and the outcomes analysed for multiple scalar implications. The validity of the operational methodology and articulations based on its testing will outline specific consideration in how to collaborate with T&G in the realm of planning. The methodology of the thesis as a whole which will have led to these decisions and which is based on understanding T&G in context and the planning processes as they relate to this, will also highlight recommendations for studying minority groups particularly marginalized ones in the context of their capacity to self-determine. The broader level of conclusions will refer back to the European and international agenda in terms of both the implications of the research to other groups as well as the role that T&G of England can play in those arenas.

Conclusion

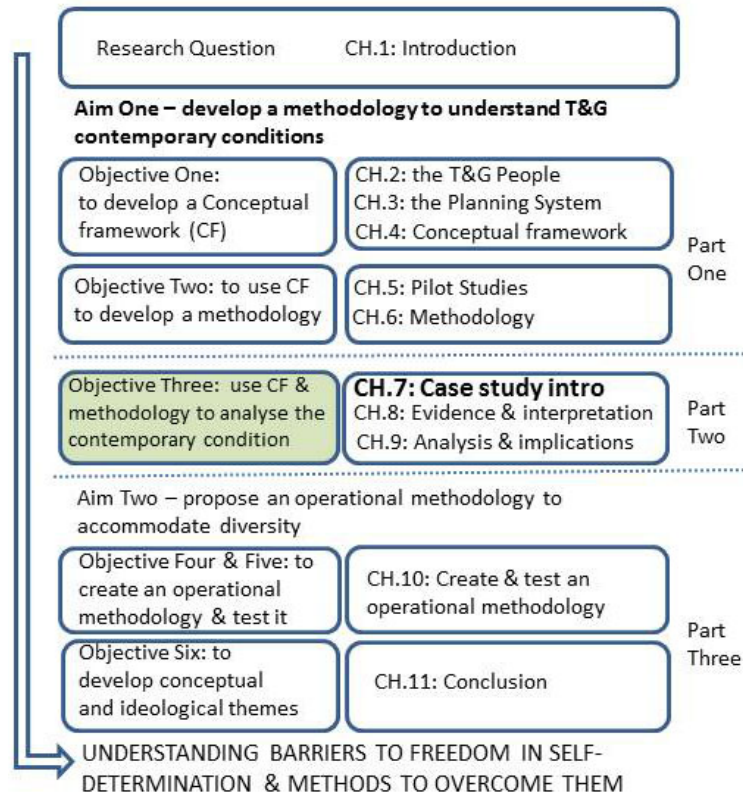
The methodological stance and methods presented are aimed at discovery of the emerging variables outlined in the background chapters. The in-depth case studies are selected to present a range of characteristics within this family of complex inquiries. It will be in their similarities as well as in their differences that an understanding of the particularities of each will deepen (Geertz, 1992). For instance, the common underlying link between case studies of increasingly immense tenure insecurity will be seen against the background of their diverse socio-economic contexts. The ethnographically based methodology serves to approach and be present within these societies over time, including at sensitive and critical periods because of its inherent flexibility and appropriation to specific circumstances. These case study periods will expose

complex issues and a responsive methodology will serve to access understanding of them in context and not increase the hardship situations. The privilege and opportunity to be present in particularly contentious circumstances means that carefully considered movements and words will be more important than scripted texts and methods with the overall methodology and themes of inquiry guiding and motivating the *how* of the discovery: that of the contemporary condition of T&G in the context of planning and the critical considerations regarding the potential to self-determine inside of this. Limitations of previous models of research and their influence on policy parallel those broader limitations regarding participation with and access of information and local knowledge as outlined in the techno-rational approach (Chapter Four). These limitations inform the methodological approach and guide the analysis of the evidence.

These concepts and discoveries will then be brought together to propose theoretical and practical propositions on how best to pursue a spatial analysis dialogue which balances rights and responsibilities. The inter relations between the T&G, local authorities, surrounding local communities and other key actors with each other and their environments are fundamental inquiries. The operational methodology that emerges will bear in mind critical differences between these societies which fuel the contentions between them. This work is not about equalizing all members of society or about solving the issues of marginalized communities but rather it is about understanding the issues better and from a more fundamental and wider perspective. It is the possibility of reconciliation which motivates this research. This chapter satisfies objective two of the research: to use the conceptual framework to develop a methodology for analysing T&G cultural groups representative of a diversity of conditions that exist in England. The following chapter provides a background of the case studies and first evidence on these before field work.

Chapter Seven

Case study context



Introduction

This chapter provides a broad introduction to the in-depth case studies so that ensuing chapters of evidence and analysis can be understood in context. The case studies include critical resettlement and eviction situations which expose vulnerabilities and injustices that in normal everyday circumstances would take much longer to reveal. These circumstances provided the opportunity, due to their timing during the period of study of important insights into the research.

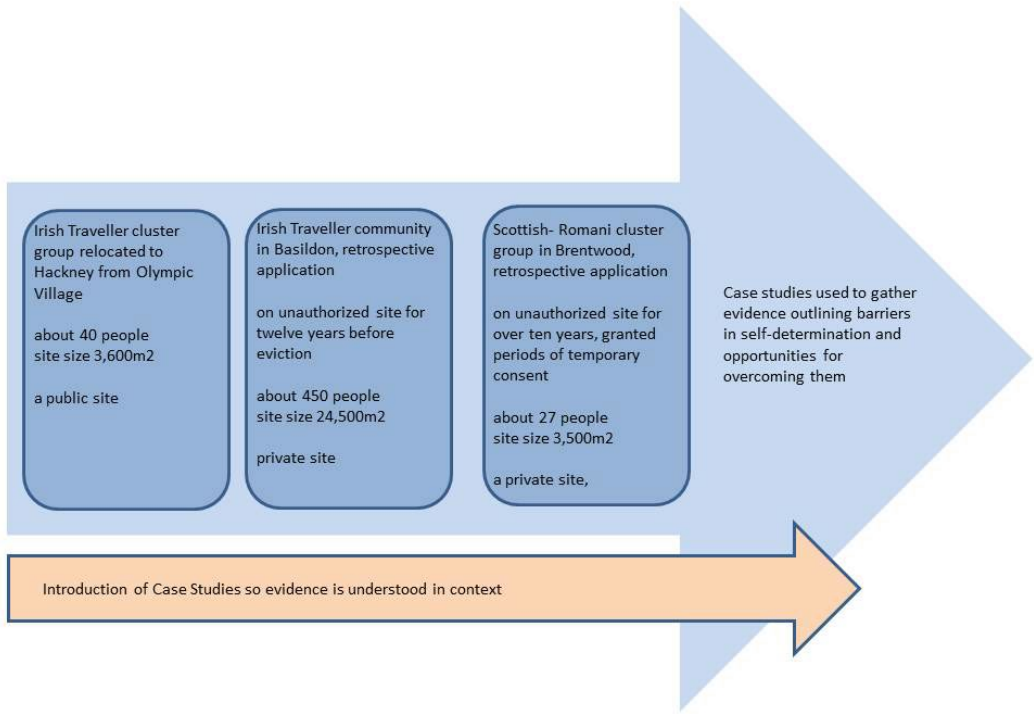


fig 7.1 Introduces case studies selected and their comparative characteristics.

The locations of case studies are relevant to the public and political level of tolerance of sites. Basildon and Brentwood sites are located within strong Conservative districts which have historically developed policies criminalizing T&G travelling and limited site development (Palidda, 2013). Hackney site is located within a strong Labour area which has historically had fairer and more inclusive policies (Richardson & Ryder, 2012).

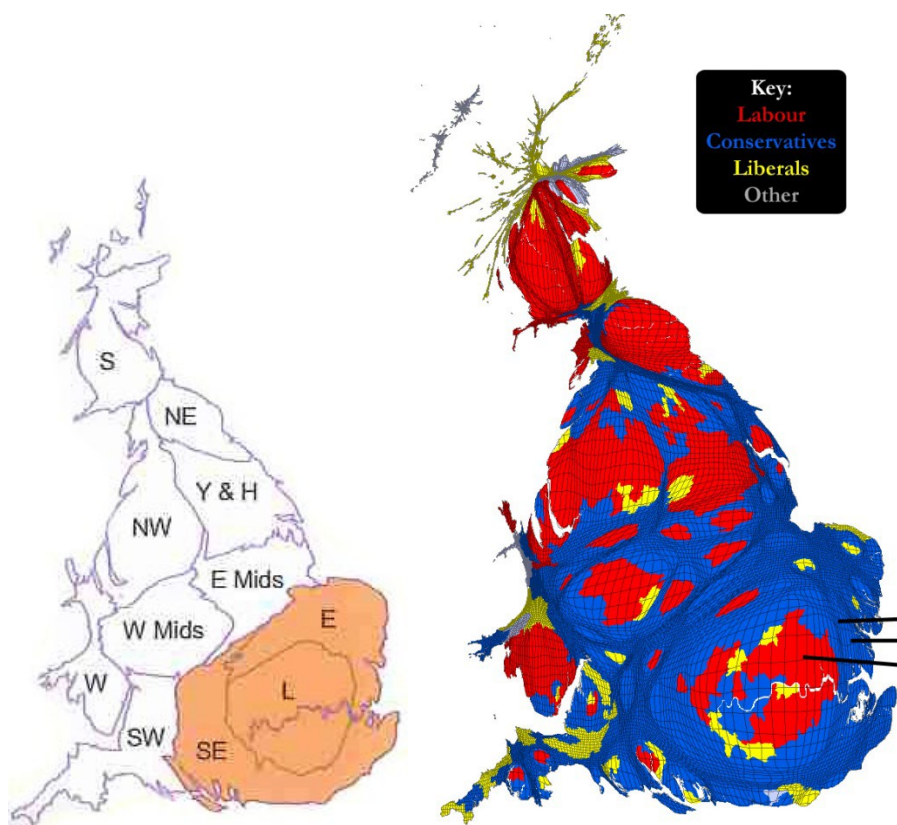


fig. 7.2 & 7.3 Image left, key map of England locating areas of case studies; Image right, result of the General Election 2010 UK in Cartogram (Maps, Henning of Sasi Group 2010).

First introductions to communities were made through advocates at Dale Farm and Brentwood who were offered support in terms of land use conflict. Another was contacted through the housing authority at Hackney. Other potential case study opportunities were not included and the reasons are also relevant to this research including: lack of trust established where involvement with non-Travellers in the past had been limited; fatigue with outsider involvement where their participation appeared to be of little useful consequence, or the T&G were negatively represented, or they had a history of feeling exploited; and where T&G were in unauthorized stopping places and the vulnerable nature of this state made them shy away from contact, wanting to remain below the radar instead of risking unnecessary exposure.

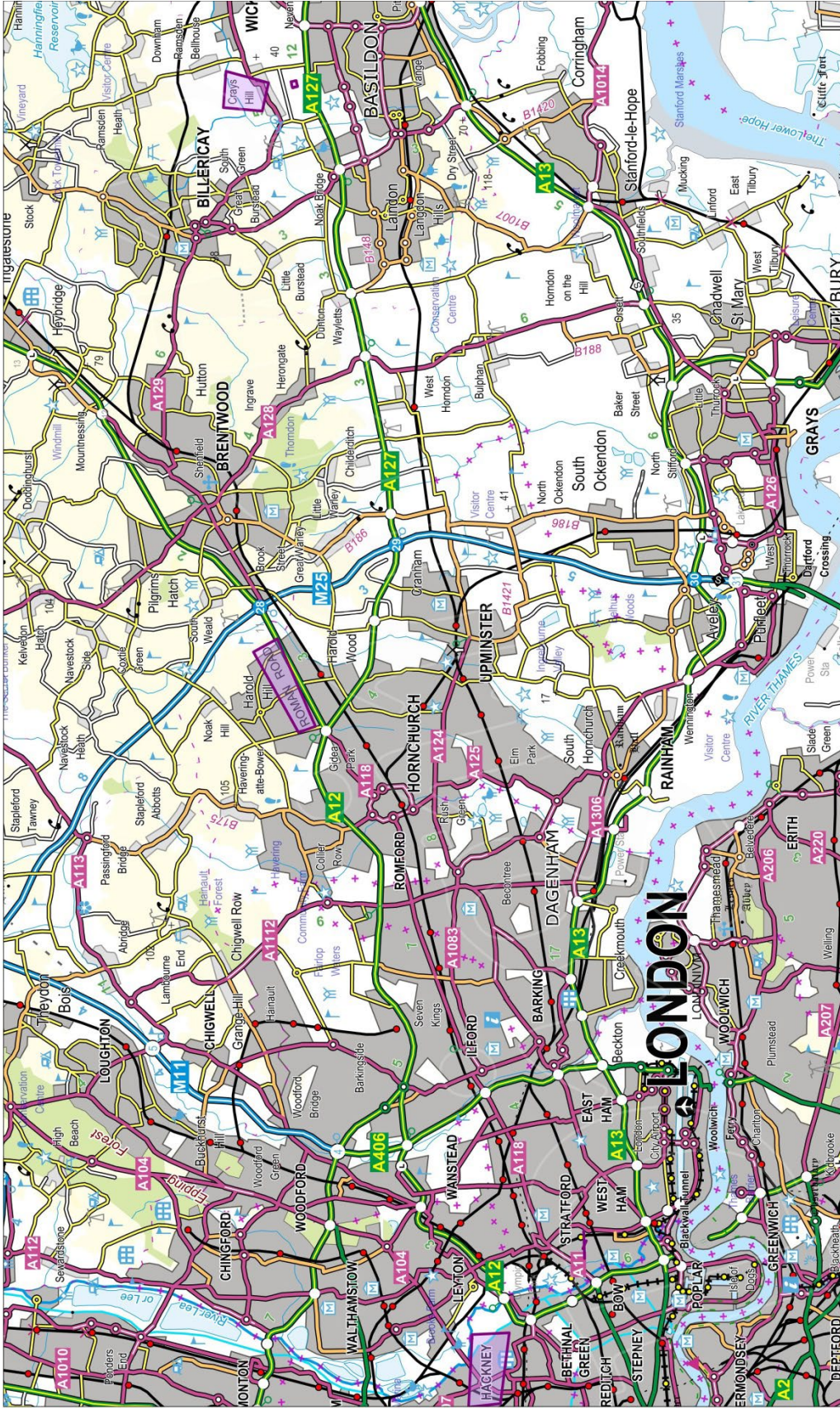


fig. 7.4 Image above locates the case studies within and outside London. They include Hackney in London; Brentwood NE of London; and Dale Farm NE of London (Digimap, 2013).

7.1 Hackney, Ruby Close public site: relocation of Irish Travellers

There were two Traveller sites relocated due to the Olympic development. The one at Waterdon Crescent, the original group of Irish Travellers at Clay's Lane, were separated among three sites including Homerton Marshes (St Theresa's Close), Wallis Road (Palace Close and St Anthony's Close) and Millfields Depot (Ruby Close). This case study follows one of these new sites which was taken under Compulsory Purchase order (CPO Legislation UK, 2004), as part of the planning proposal for the London 2012 Olympic village (Games Monitor, 2006).

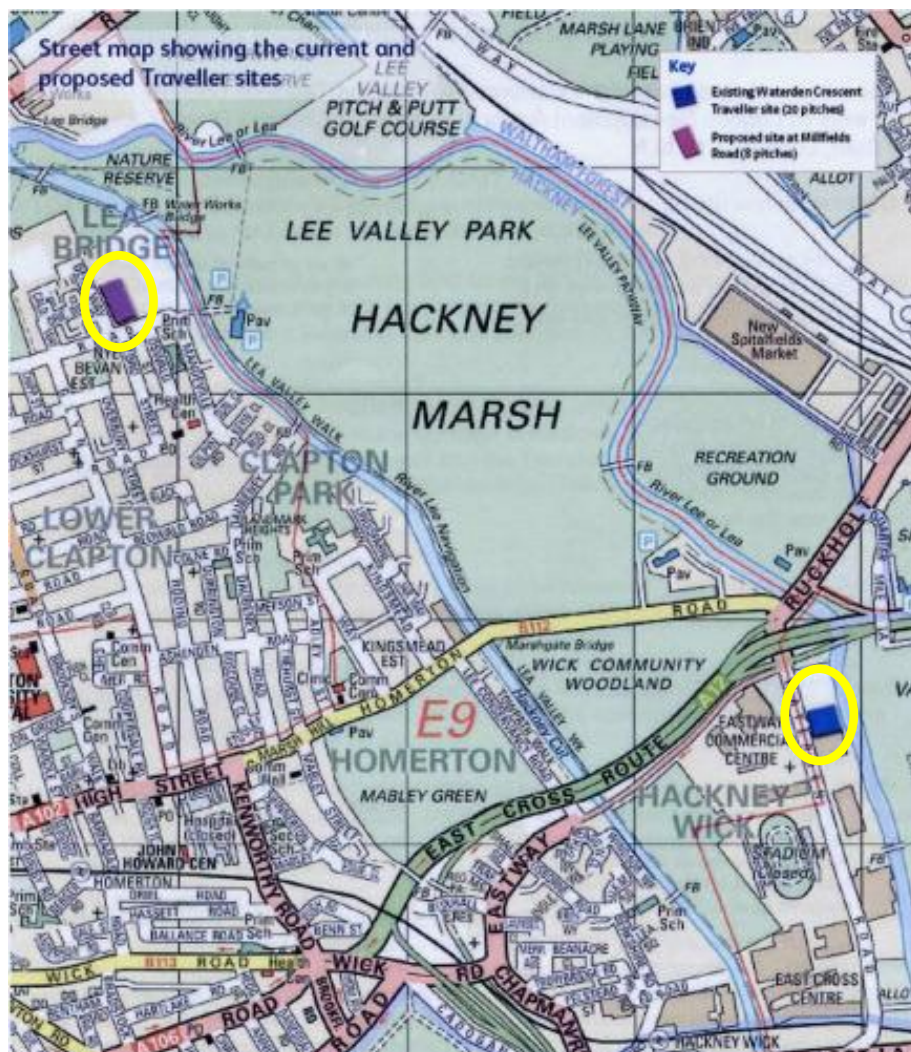


fig. 7.5 Image left, map indicating the original site location (blue) and proposed relocation shown in (purple) (London Development Agency, 2007)

Before securing this site in Hackney the Traveller community lobbied against earlier allotted sites that the Development Agency had selected. One location was described as being under a flyover and close to sewage works (LGTU, 2009). Delays due to refusing these offers required

the cluster of eight families to move onto a temporary site at the edge of the Olympic Park for twelve months in the midst of the Olympic works until finally moving onto Ruby Close in March 2009 (ibid). At the time of the proposal, Ruby Close was a Hackney Council domestic waste and recycling depot located south of the South Millfields Park on Millfields Road in the Lea Bridge area, and west of the River Lea and Hackney Marsh.



fig. 7.6 Image above is map showing Traveller site in purple shading (Digimap, 2009).

The depot site was split into two in 2010 so half could become Traveller site and other half remained a transformer station on the east side which utilizes a listed building. Maintaining the waste operations was designed to reduce the impact on existing local residents of the new development and to allow for the development of a new moving-waste-by-water scheme (Games Monitor, 2006). The Traveller site to the west is approximately 3,600 sq.m., not including external setback areas outside bounding walls, is an eight family pitch site with a mix of caravans and permanent structures that the Travellers call 'dayrooms'. It is one of the first of its kind in the UK where buildings and caravans resemble a settled and Traveller community together. The Traveller site includes: two Travellers' pitches with amenity block (kitchen, living area and bathroom), outside area, space for two caravans, and parking; the

remaining six pitches include a permanent single storey building of three bedrooms, family room, amenity space, and one parking space.



fig. 7.7 Image above, satellite image of Traveller site on west and waste operations buildings to the east (Google Earth June, 2010).



fig. 7.8 Image above, brick fixed structure as dayroom on left with chalet in background, and mobile caravan on right (2010)

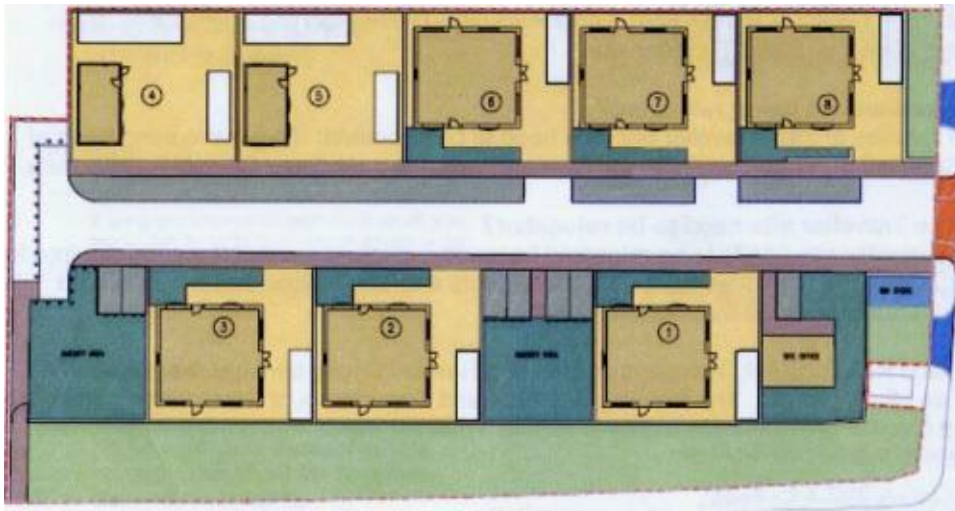


fig. 7.9 Image above, site plan with drive, dayrooms and caravan parking spaces (Hackney Council, 2009)



fig. 7.10 and 7.11 Image left, shows pavement width as part of setback to public realm; Image right, internal fence bordering site looking out onto public realm (2010)

The transformer site had a separate entrance and electrical pylons hovering above. The area is distinct from the other urban residential areas as the only gated community and caravan site. Neighbouring residential structures are 3- 5 storey buff brick 70's style apartment blocks.

dependent children (bid). In terms of employment, the majority in the nearby community are either full time workers or students with part time work. Largest professional roles are in institutions and related professional roles. The majority in the area have no formal education while the next largest group has a degree. Compared to the rest of England, the area has a high level of overall deprivation and environmental deprivation. The average value of housing is £185,000 and the area has the highest barriers to housing and services deprivation in England; crime rate is similar to England average (Neighbourhood Statistics, 2010).

The eight families living here are all related and wanted to stay together in the new site. The women are stay-at-home mothers with young children. They ranged in age from mid 20's to early 30's and with grandmothers also present in their 40's and 50's. In separate groups they participated in discussions in their respective dayrooms. The women took great pride in offering a tour of their homes and each one was perfectly ordered, clean and seemed almost unused. There were no lose shoes or newspapers scattered, no hanging jackets or umbrellas in doorways. In fact, during each home visit there was at least one woman continuously arranging, mopping, or wiping during the discussions.



figs. 7.12, 7.13, image left, Traveller woman at home in caravan; image right, typical Traveller living room (2010)



figs. 7.14 and 7.15, image below left, taken during interview showing typical decoration; image right, typical kitchen with porcelain display and carefully selected photos of weddings and Holy Communions (2010)

On the site the children appeared free to roam about on their pitches playing with each other and their pet dogs, the grandmothers and mothers keeping watch. Young teenage boys usually stood together in a group watching the interaction. Photos were allowed of the dayrooms and site but most residents did not want to be included. Discussions took place with the Housing Association who arranged the interviews and whom residents had become familiar with through the course of the relocation. The same person helped guide Travellers to appropriate points she wished them to relay. When the men arrived home from work they did not acknowledge, make eye contact or participate in discussions leaving the rooms where discussion took place once greeting their partners.

Short discussions with neighbours living adjacent to the site were in haste with limited responses and few had knowledge about the Traveller site. The Housing Association and local authority were happy to participate, organized and clear about their long term objectives. There was limited and low key media attention once the Travellers were off the Stratford Olympic site. In fact, it was difficult to find evidence of any history, particularly online, once the former Stratford site was renamed. Objections for the use of the land as a relocation site for Travellers came from the surrounding community groups who described, *The land the LDA wish to expropriate to build a Gypsy and Traveller site is registered as Common Land, as evidenced by reference to LBH's Register of Common Land (Games Monitor, 2006).*

As Hackney's Urban Development Plan UDP outlines, the taking of Common Land is approved only when there are clear recreational benefits for local people, it described that:

Much of the Borough's open space is registered as Common Land under the Commons Registration Act 1965 [it] requires that any development or enclosure of Common Land be approved by the Secretary of State for the Environment. In the experience of the Council such approval is unlikely to be given except where there is likely to be a clear recreational benefit to the local community (East London Lines, [posted] 2012)

Cllr Linden, Cabinet Member for Crime, Sustainability and Customer Services also preponed:

Hackney's parks and open spaces are for all residents and visitors to use and enjoy and we take a firm stance against any unauthorized encampments ... we have taken this action as a last resort because the group concerned have persistently set up unauthorised encampments on Hackney's parks and open spaces over the past three years (ibid).

London Gypsy and Traveller Unit (LGTU) responded with:

I think this [legal action] is unprecedented in England ... the Olympics meant that the residents on the old Waterden Road council run Travellers site had to move and until recently these families would often double up on the pitches at Waterden for a while, then move to other family members and so on. The Irish Travellers on Stoke Newington Common have nowhere else to go ... some of these families have been travelling around for about 18 months. They have moved or been moved on by the council five times ... there is a waiting list for pitches in Hackney and it will likely be years till a pitch comes empty. (ibid)

Legal cases such as these continue to arise after the Coalition Government scrapped policies in 2010 which had been designed to develop new sites for Traveller communities as well as refurbishing existing sites (ibid).

Conclusion

This family group experienced quite controversial situations both before moving and after. Fighting for the right to a proper site while in Stratford, they then faced public opposition in Hackney. The issue of non-communal use of infrastructure land outlined a lack of

understanding regarding the limited available urban land for sites especially where the LDA and Housing Association were trying to ensure relocation in proximity of their original schools, employment and social network. The debate balancing the valuing of common land uses against citizen right to housing is present here and becomes even more dramatic at larger sites.

Given the Olympic push to relocate this group of people, resources for resettlement would have been considerably more than for any other site development. Does the physical and socio-political circumstance reflect this at Hackney? Are the Travellers in a better place?

7.2 Basildon, Cray's Hill (Dale Farm) Irish Traveller side of private site

After over a decade of planning applications and creative appeals, during which various support groups developed, Dale Farm threatened and eventually become the largest T&G eviction in British history. The ground level observations and informal interviews along with public debates, national exposure and international bodies involved offered insightful opportunities for discovery. Close to urban areas, Dale Farm estate is off of a wooded lane which then turns into a hard surface. A number of small structures appear flanked by caravans.

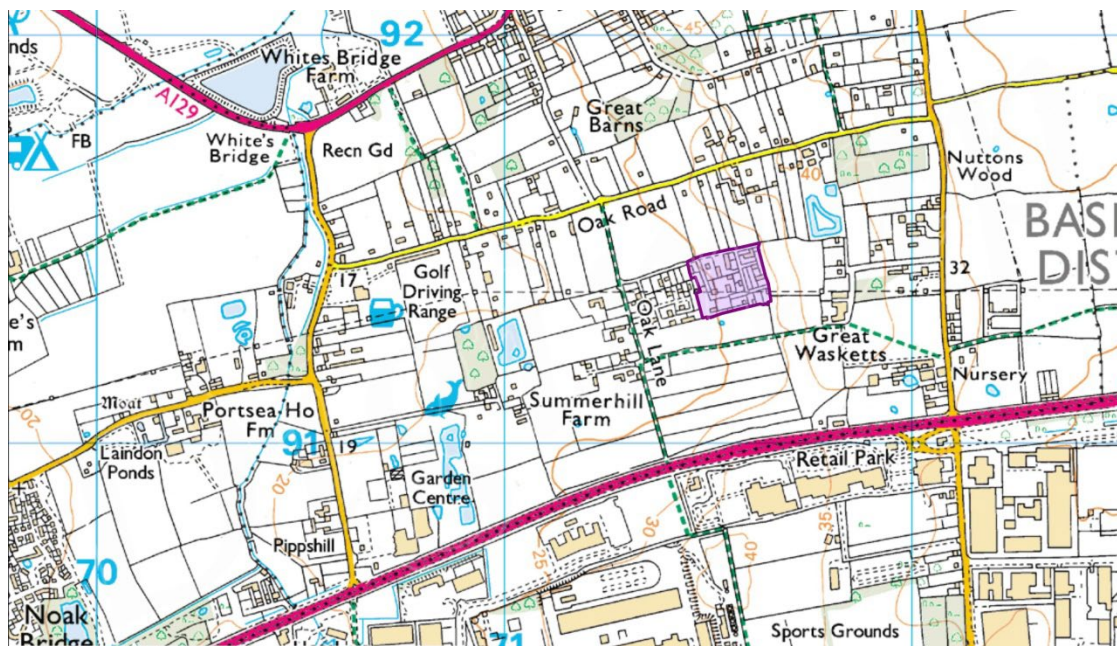


fig. 7.16 Image above locates Dale Farm in purple shading in rural area of Basildon (Digimap, 2009).

The land was originally purchased by one landowner and sold off as parcels since the 70's and grew to become the largest Traveller site in the UK (Stevenson, 2010). When the right to travel

freely was denied since 1994 through Criminal Justice Act many more T&G were encouraged to buy their own Freehold land just as Dale farm was purchased with encouragement of Basildon District Council (Abley, 2011). Romanichal live in the seven acre legal portion (west side) with retrospective planning permission which is not part of the eviction including the road serving the legal side. Irish Travellers lived on the five acre, 24,500m² unauthorized side.

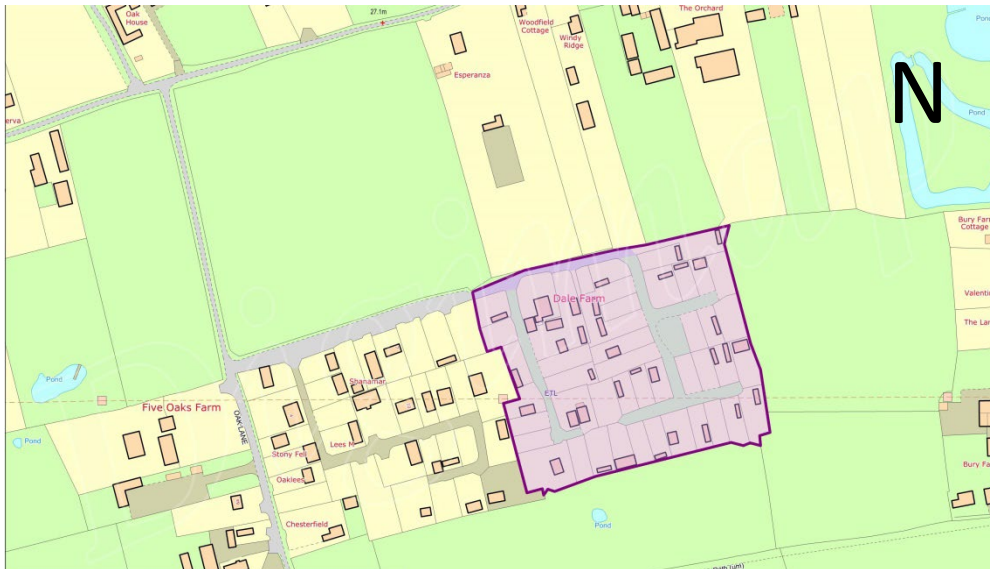


fig. 7.17 Image above shows the contested Irish Traveller portion of Dale Farm (purple shading by author, 2010) (Digimap, 2009)



fig. 7.18 Image above of children play acting before throngs of reporters at site entrance; much international attention focused there during the period in anticipation of eviction (2010)

The entrance at the east side of the site was via an archway constructed with metal scaffold tubing and covered with banners exclaiming “we won’t go” and “zero eviction”, signalling

both an entrance and a protest. Art work mixed with tires and vehicular parts were dotted along the entry.

The 51 families, approximately 350 people, were refused permission once applications reached an apparent limit. Dale Farm Irish Travellers remained for a decade under constant threat of eviction. Along with the legal residents on the Romani side, the approximately 1000 residents of Dale Farm who own their own land decontaminated the site and paid for utility infrastructure including road works. They shared 100 pitches on a 5 hectare (12 acre) site which dates back to industrial permit use as scrapyards within the Green Belt, so it is not a Green Field but a Brown Field (Abley, 2011). It is not necessarily beautiful countryside but designated as an area under restriction for development which includes strips of South West Essex and the North East suburban Local Authorities of Greater London.

An image has been removed from this version of the thesis due to copyright restrictions



fig. 7.19 Image left is photograph of the entire site area prior to eviction (source, The Sun, 2011)

fig. 7.20 Image above of caravans on site located beneath electrical pylons as typically found in pilots (Chapter Five) (2011)

Because of the difference in tenure insecurity between the two sides, Candy Sheridan, former Councillor and key spokesperson suggests the Irish Traveller side had much worse health conditions due to them being carefully watched by news media including the Basildon *Echo* newspaper looking to corroborate stories that Travellers are wealthy or not really Travellers at all (BBC Radio 4, 2011). In terms of demographics, most families have young children aged

new born to teenage with young parents in their 20's and 30's and grandparents 40's. By the time of the eviction the children and teenagers became used to the interest of the press given the exposure in the months leading up to the eviction and were excited and energetic in their presence.



fig. 7.21 and 7.22 Images above of children playing on site and greeting visitors, providing a sense of realism in the midst of the eviction drama (2011)

Dale Farm was a mixed use site with evidence of family run businesses including furniture refurbishing, landscaping and construction related operations among others. This mixed use is common and a critical part of their household structure as noted in the pilots and literature reviews. Irish Travellers follow Catholic faith as evinced by statues of Virgin Mary next to some caravans. The border of the site was walled by material from these businesses. The site had chalets and there was one dayroom acting as a community meeting space. Families shared an outdoor amenity block sized around 3x2m.



fig. 7.23 and 7.24 Image above left shows site bordering using scrap building material; Image above right shows chalet living quarter with canon while others had the typical Virgin Mary displayed as part of entrance landscape (2011).

The surrounding Neighbourhood statistics of Basildon by contrast: the majority of full time workers are in official and professional roles; 30% have no formal education while 20% have a degree; literacy and numeracy fall far below England average; 55% live in detached housing while 12% live in mobile homes; the major family composition is family with no dependent children (referring more likely to the first Basildon New Town residents, now retired); living environment deprivation is higher than England average; value of homes range between £180-350,000; and level of crime is well below England average.

The Green Belt issue at the heart of local pressure for eviction is tied in with high land and property value in the area and the following describes the relevance of the issue locally and nationally. Detached housing inside this Basildon Green Belt zone that hold high value includes those pre-1947 plotland bungalows along Oak road (Abley, 2011). Prior to 2000, up to half of the chalet homes (caravans) were approved on the unwanted former scrapyard site but after that time Basildon Council opposed every application which it was argued, was an attempt to limit number of T&G in the area that would affect these high property values (Kenrick 2010; Abley 2011). The Green Belt is a regional strategic planning tool being used to lead the justification. Nationally there are 14 Green Belts covering 12% of England (Lawson FairBank, 2012).

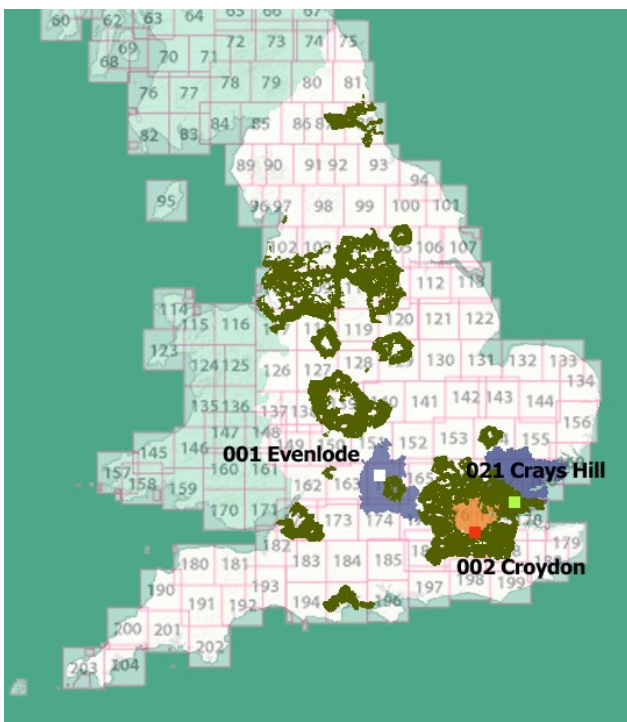


fig. 7.25 Image left,
Green Belt areas map
locating 14 of them
across England (source
Landranger, 2011)

Although government also launched self-build regulations and portal in April 2012 to encourage more people and groups to develop their own housing projects (NaSBA, 2012) there is still intrinsic need to find a plot of land and the type of financing recommended and type of land use fall outside of remit of most T&G.

Travellers claim that Basildon Council offers did not include culturally appropriate accommodation. They describe being offered a settled flat, the same one apartment, to the 51 families slated for eviction with each refusing it. Upon eviction the insecurity for Travellers was the loss of land they had used their life savings to invest in. Eventually also the value of their land would be levied against charges of the eviction and damage to the environment of apparent contamination resulting from the damaged infrastructure during the eviction (Carruthers, 2012). The insecurity of these pending charges remained until the Environment Agency issued a report in 2013 stating it found no significant risk (BBC News Essex, 2013). The arguments set against the Travellers are linked to contemporary issues of Green Belt, the roots of which have a strong historical relevance to Basildon as a New Town creation.

7.2.1 Basildon New Town legacy & clearing history

Historically, Basildon existed as part of the New Town development to replace the informal temporary plotland housing; dispersed, makeshift structures in marginal landscapes. Since 1920's people put up informal housing so they could live on their own terms, consume less natural resources while making less environmental impact. Hardy and Ward (2004) suggested that a society with greater confidence and flexibility in their own people and:

which cannot provide employment for its population, and where house-building, public or private, has reached its low ebb for decades, might well seek to encourage rather than deter those who choose to turn their own labour into capital, in housing themselves” (p.302)

This is especially relevant for those with the need and desire to self-house. The decision to take over these informal settings appeared all the more contentious and set in motion the debate regarding the balance between public control or State involvement to act in the public interest and individual initiative and rights of property and action (Hardy & Ward 2004). Ward argued that owning one's own land was about independence and freedom, something everyone has a right to, as a medium to a healthy life (2004). This debate was polarized through growing State involvement from where controls over land use and development emerged. Although originally written in 1984 about the situation in the plotlands prior to the 1940's, it echoes a direct relevance to Dale Farm today:

Against a wider background of property and control ... people of modest means defending pathetic homes on land that none had previously wanted ... on the other side, a bureaucratic machine without compassion, growing with every new bye-law and Parliamentary clause. ... Invariably, of course, the contenders themselves were unaware of their historic roles ... that had little to do with their immediate needs, while conscientious local authority officials ... were frequently perplexed by the weight of opposition which seemed far removed from reason and fact (Hardy and Ward, 2004, p.33).

Basildon's legacy of the New Town imposition of so-called order is still happening today.

Perhaps Dale Farm was meant as an example to the broader population who dare to challenge the legislation by housing themselves on the available redundant farmland in Britain. Dale

Farm can also be seen as a positive example of people making do for themselves when the planning system fails to provide appropriately mirroring the plotland history. Interestingly with time these plotlands went from being seen as rural slum areas to gaining status of being a distinctive and “unique part of our environmental inheritance” (Hardy & Ward 2004, p.210). Will the English T&G become a historical relic whose disappearance becomes a loss to English heritage?

7.2.2 The Press

Most national and local press were present on site and at court hearings during the period of months in the run up to the eviction following the progress of decision making and protest activity. Even after Basildon Council issued a notice of eviction Travellers stayed to fight given the lack of options where an inadequate stock of authorised sites has contributed to the 20% of T&G in the East of England in caravans statutorily homeless (Abley, 2011).

Discussions prior to eviction were ineffective given overwhelming and mounting national and international political pressure to follow through with an earlier decision on land rights which had sparked frenzied debate and media coverage which eventually took place in October 2011. Travellers without options on where to go shifted onto the laneway serving Dale Farm remaining there for years. This pending and eventual eviction was front page news in UK papers for several weeks and offered the opportunity for Travellers to express their perspectives and was a first opportunity for establishing: this level of interest; support and debate with regards the Traveller lifestyle; insecurity of housing tenure and the repercussions to health and education this leads to; as well as normalcy and resolve of Travellers.



fig. 7.26 Image left shows spokesperson for the Irish Travellers and elder of the community preparing for an interview with The Guardian's journalist and cameraman (2011)

Conclusion

Public perspective presented through media and authority interviews was that T&G had gone against planning law. From a historical perspective, T&G were encouraged to make do for themselves and even to purchase in Basildon, thus the other perspective is that it was planning law that in current political era was turned against the T&G (Abley, 2011).

Given the urgent need for housing in the South East with 10% of England developed and 12% protected by Green Belt designation does the objective of Green Belt stand firm? How we use our countryside in the future and how society values the Gypsy and Traveller communities is critical to this debate. The real question is why was such a big deal made of five hectares of Green Belt, Brown Field land? What threat did this potentially represent to government?

The other debate is the ethnic one which is tricky as it is tied to the argument of ethnicity. If duty to provide is too articulated it can lead to extremism and, as has been, also used incorrectly and stereotypically. However if it is vague and loose then it will melt into the broader cosmopolitan vision and there will not be articulated support to maintain it. But how do we achieve a balanced middle ground that is both open to interpretation and flexible enough to evolve?

Eric Pickles and John Barron MP followed up the Dale Farm eviction with congratulations lauding that the move is about "reclaiming the greenbelt on behalf of the law abiding majority"

(Baron, MP, 2011). In a press release that same day Rt Hon Cameron MP backed the eviction saying it was “a basic issue of fairness. Everyone in this country has to obey the law” (BBC News Essex, 2011).

Given the escalation of tenure instability and civil unrest, participant-observation accounts were the main method of research with interviews limited while on site given the nature and situation of the events leading up to the eviction. The situation at times involved hysterical Travellers reacting inside the site and behind the scaffold and media of the world directly waiting for movement in front. Dale Farm, in the run up to the eviction, had become a very different world from the family site that existed previously.

Ironically given all the national aggression in support of eviction, at the local level those few neighbours who had petitioned against Dale Farm appeared to have been out-numbered by the many in support of their site. For instance, walking between the site and train station with sleeping bag in tow, housed neighbours driving by would stop to offer rides asking how to help the Travellers. There were several levels of conflict going on and perhaps the most important had little to do with this piece of land. Key experiences, discussions and observations during the research with various agents including media, police, local authorities, Lords, ministers, local and international Gypsy and Travellers, support groups, neighbours and in particular Dale Farm residents as sources will begin to inform on this and the way forward.

7.3 Brentwood, Roman Triangle, T&G family private Site

Roman Triangle in Mountnessing Parish Council, Brentwood is a wedge shaped peri-urban tract of a land with very elongated shape with church on one end that is set between the A12 and Roman Road on Green Belt land, and is approximately 3,500m².

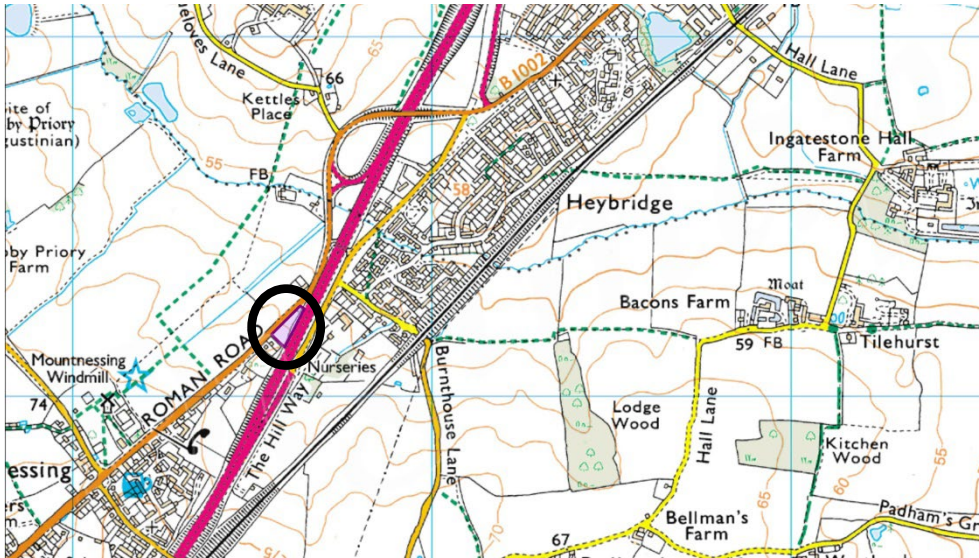


fig. 7.27 Image above, large scale map locating Roman Road along the motorway (source Digimap, 2009)



fig. 7.28 Image below, Roman Triangle in purple shading within the Parish Council; locating the site within surrounding farmland wedged between motorways; the unusable tract is typical quality T&G's find in order to improve chances of gaining planning consent (Chapter Five) (source Digimap, 2009).



fig. 7.29; 7.30 Image above left illustrates the extent of arable and pasture land surrounding. Image right shows site layout designed by the mixed T&G family with separation between family groups (source Google Map, 2012).

This site contains a family cluster of 27 people of mixed heritage of Scottish and Irish Travellers who stopped travelling in the past decade when life on the road became too arduous. The cluster group includes grandparents with their children and young grandchildren. They had been living on the site since 2003 when they purchased it together from a previous Traveller landowner. Divided five ways, temporary planning permission was granted for five pitches in 2012 for a maximum period of 18 months. Previously, temporary permission for five years was granted upon appeal on an application made in 2003 once expired there was no news from Council for almost five years despite mounting concern over tenure insecurity.

The grand parents work in the City of London. The adult females are at home with their young children. Other male adults work in typical T&G labour related work which requires a degree of travel away from family for periods at a time. The young children at the time ranged in age from one year to teenage.



fig. 7.31 and 7.32 Images above of residents on the site in their pitch areas (2010)



fig. 7.33 and 7.34 Image above left of typical open area between chalet and caravan; image right shows sorting area for sellable goods (2010).

The women were vendors at local car boot sales and used the site to sort sellable materials. The high security boundary of the site walls blocks visibility and noise at A12 side and low brick and CCTV at Roman Road side. Their single built dayroom structure housed an unrelated pregnant homeless Irish Traveller teenager. The family successfully applied for consent as her living quarter separate to the on-going issues of tenure they faced on the site as a whole.

The various meetings were held inside the caravans and were well received by the women on site. This family had been active in T&G advocacy and were enthusiastic about broadening opportunities to develop this. Rapport with the family group drew from a long established history of trust with local families which other academics and Councillors had created over a number of years and who often served as middle men with the rest of the community and local authority. The initial meeting was personally moving in that it coincided with an emotional period which the interviews seemed somehow to assuage. After an afternoon full of discussion and the three of us filling the caravan with cigarette smoke, the research became a catalyst for

this researcher's personal strengthening through a sense of solidarity and a broadened perspective.

In terms of tenure, previously, temporary permission had been granted by Inspectorate and was based on the assumption that eventually Brentwood would develop sites outside the Green Belt. The uncertainties of this assumption created a high degree of stress for residents of Roman Triangle especially given the fact that most of the Borough is designated Green Belt; there are high land values in non-Green Belt; and T&G resistance from local community would have made development of sites near impossible (Hargreaves, 2013).

Site location and political context exacerbated the difficulty of this site. It is in the vicinity of the private home and in the constituency of DCLG Secretary of State, Eric Pickles who is known for his hard stand against unauthorised encampment and development by T&G and has approved legislation increasing enforcement against these. The site is also in the vicinity of one of the British National Party (BNP) headquarters; a politically far right party known for its promotion of xenophobic ideals and who seek the repeal of anti-discrimination legislation. The neighbourhood Statistics of the Roman Road Neighbourhood reveal: deprivation and environmental deprivation near average and below; above England average for literacy and numeracy; life expectancy among highest in England; population 1,600 density 1.3.

Brentwood has its own distinct culture and this is also relevant to the T&G situation.

Brentwood gave rise to a show like TOWIE (The Only Way is Essex) which is a cross between a soap, documentary and reality TV docu-fiction. It portrays Essex people in a negative and stereotypical light. A T&G from Essex has multiple stereotypical images imposed on them by larger society.

Conclusion

The contentious circumstance of the land purchase contributed to the on-going tenure insecurity where the previous Traveller landowner sold the land as though it had achieved planning permission with significant associated costs. In 2003 the family was served an eviction notice for being on Brownfield Green Belt land without consent. The lack of experience with land purchase and the planning process creates a vulnerability which was not uncommon during this period of research. Throughout the decade-long application period, the main objections against permanent permission came from the Parish Council who described:

it is wrong to condone one small part of the community being treated in a preferential way compared with the majority of the community. ... and would lead to a cluttered and excessively dense settlement with limited amenity space ... totally out of keeping with the rural character of the village (Brentwood Council, 2013)

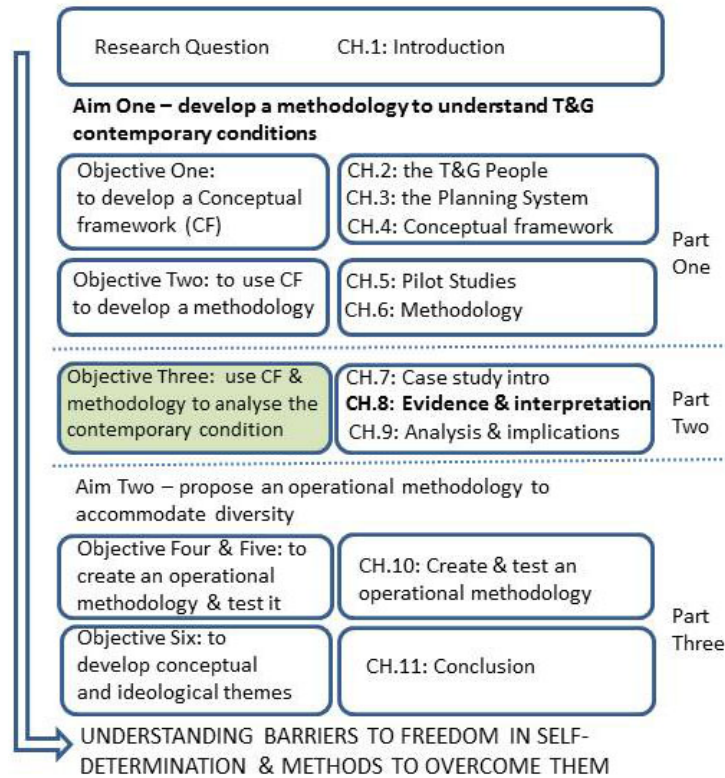
The application approval and the way that information was delivered to the public were made in ways that suggested it as an unfortunate circumstance. Justification to take Green Belt was based on the irregularity and useless nature of the tract for agricultural land use as described by Hargreaves in an Access Statement to Brentwood Council (2013).

There is a strong duality in English society between those who can defend themselves and fit the dominant system while living in places like New Towns and those left to fend for themselves making do in less wanted spaces; T&G sites are the contemporary plot lands. The Conservative empowerment in the countryside still allows the elite to manipulate the political scene.

The various contexts presented here in Chapter Seven form part of the third objective of the research: to use the conceptual framework and methodology to analyse the contemporary condition. Chapter Eight presents evidence from the in-depth case studies.

Chapter Eight

Evidence and Interpretation



Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to present evidence and interpretation from case studies which are set in the contexts described in Chapter Seven. Analysis of evidence will then follow in Chapter Nine. This chapter presents the evidence necessary to complete the third objective of the research in subsequent chapters: to use the conceptual framework and methodology to analyse the contemporary condition.

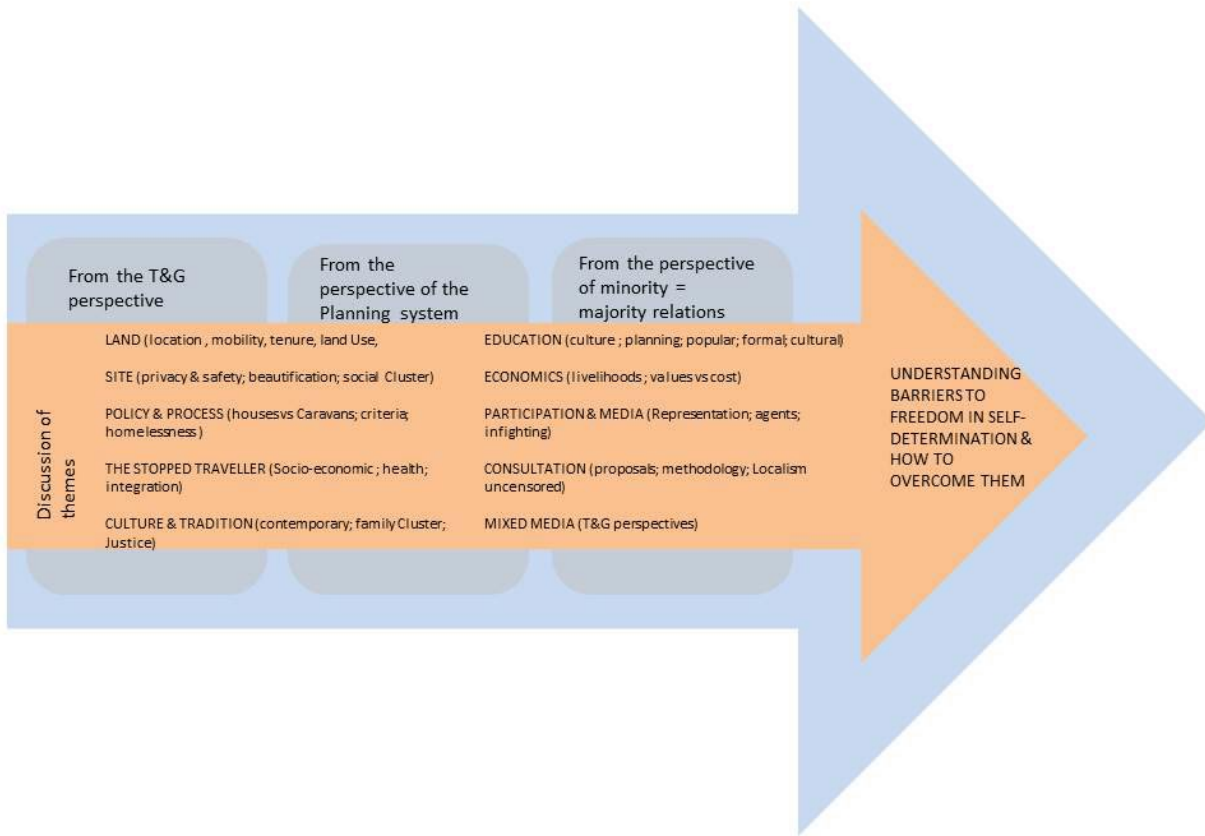


fig. 8.1 Image above illustrates the arrangement of evidence according to themes and interpreted according to the three areas of analysis as outlined in the conceptual framework outlined in Chapter Four.

Evidence presented here is in the form of quotations, observations, and from other forms of reporting. They were drawn from audio recording, note taking, photography, film and other written documentation such as policy statements and local government decisions on applications. The coding used after quotations indicate case study it is from: Roman Triangle (R); Dale Farm (D); and Hackney (H). Within Chapter Eight only, T&G quotes appear in bold; and non-T&G quotes appear in the body of the text. Quotes from Legislation, hearings or Council letters appear single-spaced. As noted previously, the value of avoiding transliteration of written quotations means they are as close to verbatim as possible thus including accents and language specific to each group. Discussions and observations with the community at Dale Farm and sometimes also at Roman Triangle, were handwritten given the vulnerable situation. In these instances events were summarized instead of having conversation to transcribe. At Hackney most conversations were audio recorded. The questionnaires which served as

prompts (6.10) were generic and in most cases the discourse became more specifically related to the situation and circumstance of the person being interviewed.

8.1 Location

8.1.1 Mobility and Lack of Options:

God made the world big enough for us all, didn't He? (R)

This area of evidence focuses on first time stopping. When asked about the circumstances surrounding these situations and the kinds of locations where they occur, T&G described:

[We stopped] Becuz we did, Travellers was camping out so LGTU [London Gypsy and Traveller Unit] fought for a Travellers site they made this site [Hackney] for 20 families back den Well we're unhappy about two years before dat, we was from Birmingham from Leicester, we were travelling around (H)

Lived in caravan council site for 16 years before Stratford, family was always der together, we were on a waiting list, so we're pretty happy where we are now (H)

Most families here for 10 years. Before here I was never more than a month in one spot, I didn't go to school, always being evicted, early mornings, no water, no toilets (D)

never dreamed, never crossed my mind that I'd ever settle born in Dublin, when I was 14 we moved to travelling in England since in Ireland it was so poor. It was a case of having to settle because of having no jobs and nowhere to stop but good thing is doctor, dentist, kids in school but as a society Travellers want to live in a caravan (D)

We followed work around the UK. I was okay to move when I was younger but when I had 5 young kids I didn't want to move, we were eating take-out every day. Sometimes we were 24 hours on da road trying to find a place to stop. It's become even harder to find a place to stay. It was easier for my mom because she just went from farm to farm and it was longer stays. (R)

As noted in pilots, being relegated to leftover spaces is something T&G commonly experience and even accept. One site resident describes:

Its da powerhouse, yes you can hear it. In da middle of da night you can hear it, an when it comes on at 3o clock in da morning it's like a lightning bolt; I'm used to it, it's like a generator; der gonna do somtin in da spring, ders gonna be a sound barrier ta go around it (H)

The case studies also reveal circumstances of first time land purchases and their locations.

Land was purchased in hopes of gaining stability of tenure and specific land use. This is

evinced where they are not successful in securing permission and become evicted as a resident describes:

we don't have any place to go, there are no pitches. We [Travellers] thought we were doing well to buy land and stop when travelling became hard. The camps are all closed off, we knew where they were but now here we're not in anyone's home (H) (BBC 4).

Increasingly Travellers are stopping as reaction to insecurity of tenure, even the threat of eviction forces the decision to stop Travelling as Home describes:

the Travellers would normally be on the road between April and October and use a more permanent site over the winter months. But many had remained at Dale Farm for a longer period to counter the threat of eviction (Home in Cowell, The Ledger, 2011).

8.1.2 Tenure, Land Use, Site

The specific case at Hackney relocation site provides insight into an occasion where local government was forced to carefully deal with the resettlement site given the special circumstance of their compulsory purchase for Olympic grounds. T&G describe:

At the start it was really really stressful, when we won the Olympics, and we was unsure what was gonna, we knew that that ground was so precious to the local authority (H)

we were happy we're gonna get a new place, we was in der [Stratford] it was 20 families together, so we had our bathroom was outside and our washing machines was outside but here we have everything inside, they were moving us anyway, they needed da land, we didn't want to come der we wanted to wait til dey built a permanent site der cuz we felt if we were further from Stratford, what we were 15 years in Stratford (H)

We got to go an look for our own land as well, coz to see what kind of land we'd be interested in. What was the course of nature all around it, was it Green Belt or whatever. (H)

Land was very scarce, the first of it, so they don't want to charge upwards for big lavish piece, basically we didn't tink they'd come through we didn't tink we'd ever get dis piece of land or another piece of land, the English hadn't called us you know for a long long time, so if we didn't take dis land God's knows where, so we take our chances on it (H)

Note the descriptor of "the English", this is the way Irish Travellers commonly describe those with authority and representing the law or with power over their capacity for freedom.

The details on land tenure were seen by Travellers as advantageous for them, one Hackney resident describes:

We wanted em to sign over da bungalows not the property becoz we wanted da deeds off em, I think we quite pushed our luck ... It's a right to buy, you can buy from here, so

whenever I win da lottery I'll buy it; this is a Travellers site for life, dey give it to dem for life dey don't give ownership ... we got tenancy payments with the right to buy; we want to be treated equally; whereas license is just a permit to stop you can stay as long as you want but you can never buy; that's difference between tenancy and license agreement; if der was things dey ever wanted ta do or demolish dis place nobody could take advantage, it'd be a different ball game, but other den dat we got everyting we wanted (H)

Hackney site is essentially a council site with life time planning permission given to the residents that are on site now. In addition the current residents have a right to buy the land if they are financially able during this fixed period. Personal planning permission is given to people on the site at the time. This trend by local authorities was designed to prevent sites with permission from being sold off with added value. Hackney is a rare instance where pressure served in favour of Travellers and against strong public dissent but in a limited circumstance and with underlying motivations. Travellers themselves understood this:

If dose people hadn't been on the Olympic site dey wouldn't have had another site, they were just lucky. This site was sitting on a gold mine. (visiting relative at H)

Ya der was [other options for land], first der was gonna take us to da Chingford direction, dat Council wouldn't take us on so we couldn't move to dat area; day said day wouldn't take da responsibility, an wouldn't give us da land.

When the site was eventually agreed, Newham Council publically announced the consent at Hackney describing the decision as being due to a lack of alternative option in reaction to outside pressures given the international attention of the Olympics which also allowed Travellers to fight against the previous offer to be relocated on the edge of town under a flyover (LGTU, 2009).

Without Olympic pressure sites, like Roman Triangle, spend years in varying degrees of tenure insecurity where Brentwood Council would consent to temporary permits and remain in control of long term land use. These periods of insecurity apart from psychological stress and effect on quality of life also meant that conditional criteria for permission could not, ironically, be addressed:

dey want us to show landscape but we can't do anything without a paper permit. We agreed to do it and want to do but now they see us not doing it. It's because we need to

have dis permit first. Plants, trees, flowers, look nice and also buffer sound off the motorway along the side of da site (R)

In the case of Dale Farm, there was even less tenure security. Basildon had also not allocated sites and appeared to have reached a saturation point for number of T&G on a single site. Their decision to evict appeared to be more a case of numbers than of planning breach given the legal Romani residents on the other half of the site. But having too many T&G is not a legal position and instead reasons given for the eviction were based on fairness to all.

What the Travellers were looking for, however, was made clear in the period before pending eviction. They describe:

ok so there was no planning process here but why other sites no too, it's not fair (H)

he'd have a peaceful eviction if he gave us somewhere to go (H)

da only perfect resolution is to provide sometin better for us and not bricks and mortar (H)

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fig. 8.2 Image above shows the two sides of Dale Farm. Eviction crews dug pits within each pitch on the illegal Traveller side on the right and secured them with steel fencing to ensure no returns (image by Quarmby & Townsend, 2012).

An image has been removed from this version of the thesis due to copyright restrictions

fig. 8.3 Image above shows Traveller caravans lining the roadway to Dale Farm alongside those pits, evidencing the lack of options of where to go after the eviction (image by the Telegraph, 2011)

Public scepticism about the verity of lack of options was fuelled by parallel reporting about the houses that Travellers owned in Rathkeale Village, Co Limerick in Ireland (Alleyne, 2011) delegitimizing their argument of needing to stay without consent. One Traveller describes what many others had reiterated, they had:

never really left Dale Farm, they went down the road for a while (D) while others evicted days later from parks and highways also returned.

8.2 Site

8.2.1 Privacy & safety

Specific qualities of sites and their location create affordances for T&G. The Hackney residents preferred their previous Stratford site even though the amenity structures there were “just like huts” (H) because:

For Travellers the specialness of a piece of land was in the spatial experiences it allowed as well as the sense of security:

der it was a right place where we could do what we wanted, we would have our fire lit in de evenin an you could sit out an chatting wid dis fire. Some land it just has a special feel to it (H)

our main priority, for safety and for da children, we kind of we wanted our own pridesee for da children, which a lot went to housin but we were Travellers so we agreed to live in the openness cuz that's the way we grew up and we wanted our children to grow up, so we're quite happy with what we got, we had our own decisions, what to make and what not to make so we're quite happy cuz was our decisions (H)

“Pridesee” appears to be an invented word forming part of the patois of Irish Travellers in England. It describes the capacity for adults on a site to oversee the outdoor play areas of the children on site. Questions regarding site location and design often focused on some aspect of children's safety and security.

Play areas were omitted from site design, as described by Housing representative:

that was decided that it might not be good for everybody, possibly things can change but at the time that's what the consultation agreed (H)

There was a green space on the site which was gated and unusable and ominously served as a reminder that decisions were made for T&G that was believed in their best interests.

this is a green space .. It's blocked off, grandchildren playing on da road here, I was fighting to get a gate put der from me yard, children don't have nowhere to play (H)

We'd like to have a garden or for kids to play but we don't have any; we're not greedy, selfish people and don't want loads of land (H)

The recent and first stopping experiences means that for the first time T&G have gardens:

Would like more land between the houses and for the garden never had a garden before, ever! (H)

T&G more recently and decidedly want garden spaces but their definition of garden is a place to sit and talk, have a fire, it is not a place to grow food, or flowers. Traveller sites visited do not have flower gardens or vegetables growing, there is little to no landscape except as protective boundary and delineating borders.

Apart from sites that allow extended family living together, the space for visitors was a common and important priority for family, and community living.

we had our choice of havin two parking bays outside, so one part vacant for visitors, so they don't need permit for their windows if they come an visit, which we're quite happy about (H)

Given the limited number of visitor caravans allowed and the need to obtain permits for parking them, it was a priority to incorporate vacant parking bays at each pitch in Hackney.

8.2.2 Beautification of Sites

Local residents in most site areas commented on the look of T&G sites, they described a lack of visual appeal to their order, bordering and what appeared to be visible rubbish. This discord was the first relationship with this group of people with whom they have had little direct experience with in the past.

8.2.3 Social and Family Cluster

Site living was a means of controlling who you live next to as opposed to the lack of control on public sites. Travellers describe that:

dey wanna be all in one community like us, not mixed, not mixed. Here I can keep my windows open and my doors open, an i can come back and it's the same way as I left it, it's really tight, everyone looks out for one another

most important ... is what neighbours you have, and that means be a Traveller basically who you're livin with, do you feel comfortable with your neighbour dat you're happy?

... there's a lot of different reasons within the Traveller community there's lots and lots of different reasons what makes it complicated, becoz certain Travellers want to be with certain Travellers, certain families want to stick wit der own, certain families don't want it's more complicated who you'd want as your neighbour and things (H)

Reasons for stopping and moving have a lot to do with being comfortable with whom you are living next to and with whom you share similar values.

8.2.4 Site Walls and Buffer Zones: privacy or prison?

T&G describe the perimeter walls design by planners to separate them from local community:

We would of preferred it to be more private, we would of preferred it to be more private with no holes in dats around us, the wall is only low and kids don't go out der, only da bigger ones go play football, well our kids don't go out no further dan da front, day don't, and da settled children doesn't come in here (H)

The T&G's describe their perspective of the sizeable buffer zone around their urban site:

Angela [housing rep] sat wid us here one day she says it's better to be away from dat houses, coz people come to community to edge of our own, [but] it's dead land for us ... dat was der mistake (H)

... in a lot of ways ya you do like a lot of privacy but in a lot of ways a lot of people including myself will pass. For instance, I did have to go into housing and I didn't like it at all and the privacy wasn't privacy I felt I was isolated, I didn't feel privacy I felt I was isolated, I felt alone, I tought I can't do dis, I was in it and I wasn't in it (H)

... some people go for houses.. but I find it claustrophobic, its fresh air, this is just a kitchen really, amenity block for family and friends, but more or less your caravan is just your bedroom (H)

Roman Triangle site is naturally isolated as it is bound by major roadways and the isolation of this tract is part of the reason it was approved even if temporarily by Council but also by the families themselves. The rural location of Dale Farm was chosen to avoid local community rejection. Even though isolated, there was one neighbour that had a major influence on facilitating planning outcomes. Ironically, one year after the eviction; Ben Gidley formed part of the alliance alongside the Travellers due to the state of the site and damaged adjacent property values caused by Basildon's eviction (Schlesinger, 2012). Contact between neighbours and common grievance allowed what could even be described as friendship.

8.2.5 Pitches and Bungalows: "It's still a site" (H)

Hackney is England's first Irish Traveller site with bungalows and traditional pitches. Brick amenity blocks serve as dayrooms while caravans as bedrooms (7.2.4). From Traveller perspective this still creates the context of a site through the behaviour and relationship experiences it supports as they describe:

chalets, dey look like our caravans ... dese are like bungalows but it's how plannin ought to be, your neighbours are still your old friends, they're not like the outside community, and as you can see everyone is sitting outside and waving at each other an chatting an gettin on wit tings, so it doesn't feel like a house it feels like it's a caravan but still a site, it's a bungalow on a site with other bungalows who are Travellers, it's not the same as an estate of houses where you go in and once you close da door you're alone (H)

8.2.6 Touring and Stopping Caravans: degrees of control

This transformation is also aligned with fluidity of degrees of stopping and nature of vehicles for each stage. For instance at Dale Farm, many families traded in chalets for road caravans in anticipation of having to move, a preparation they have undertaken many times before. While they are preventing being forcefully removed, the other perspective is to see it as a strong capacity for adaptation to ensure continuity and site living elsewhere within a family cluster grouping within the context of fluctuating and unpredictable tenure circumstances.

Underlying pressure from local authority who contributed to creating these conditions and situations evolved from policy interpretation, and through the local decision making process. A focus on human land use valuing in policy through individual cases was brought forward by legal and planning advocates as described in the next section of evidence.

8.3 Policy, Regulations & Legislation

8.3.1 Rules and processes

The government's position is to ensure fair and equal treatment of Travellers in ways which respects the rights of others as described in Chapter Three. Recent legislation relies on establishing robust evidence base of accommodation needs; setting targets to address these needs and identifying land for sites in parallel with a five year supply in response. Recent decisions by local authority question the achievability of terms, and land that is available, suitable, and open for development thus for site allocations. The result has been refusals on applications seeking temporary permission since NPPF (DCLG, 2012) and PPTS (DCLG, 2012) have been in place. With similar lack of success noted in appeals that have turned to case law including *Moore vs Secretary of State* (All England Reporter, 2012) and *AZ vs Secretary of State 2012* (ibid) where inspectorate did not consider the personal implications of the lack of consent was of material concern (Johnson & Willers, 2007).

The human valuing of land would encourage considered decisions about land use to be weighed against other factors. Human land use valuing in policy are clearly argued for in previous decisions and balanced against the character use of land as a whole. As it is described

in planning terms, which affects a larger portion of the population, previous decisions have laid out this balance:

What is really to be considered is the character use of the land, not the particular purpose of a particular occupier ... Personal circumstances of an occupier, personal hardship, the difficulties of business which are of value to the character of a community are not to be ignored in the administration of planning control. It would be inhuman pedantry to exclude from the control of our environment the human factor. The human factor is always present of course, indirectly as the background to the consideration of the character of land use. It can, however, and sometimes should, be given direct effect as an exceptional or special circumstance (Johnson & Willers 2007, p.118)

In this balanced accounting at the ground level it is the omission by local authorities to assess needs of T&G and the severe shortage of available sites, consideration of educational needs of children, or forcing the family into housing that leads planning inspectorate to overturn appeals on planning refusals by them. Increasingly however, this has no longer proven to be enough. Cases that do not achieve consent are not considered as a whole but focus on specific factors instead. Johnson and Willers (2007) suggest:

A number of ordinary factors when combined together result in something very special ... and a matter for planning judgement of the decision-taker (p.120)

The holistic approach also takes into account the right to respect for private and family life and the integral value of this private existence inside of a caravan as suggested in an appeal case:

The applicant's occupation of her caravan is an integral part of her ethnic identity as a Gypsy, reflecting the long tradition of that minority of following a travelling lifestyle ... even though under pressure of development and diverse policies or from their own volition, many Gypsies no longer live a wholly nomadic existence and increasingly settle for long periods in one place in order to facilitate ... education of their children ... her ability to maintain her identity as a Gypsy and to lead her private and family life in accordance with that tradition (ibid, p.122-3)

and that the vulnerable position of Gypsies as a minority means that some special consideration should be given to their needs and their different lifestyle both in the relevant regulatory planning framework and in arriving at the decisions in particular cases ... there is thus a positive obligation imposed on the Contracting States by virtue of Article 8 to facilitate the Gypsy way of life (ibid, p.123)

Courts will defer to judgements of planning specialists in their exercise of discretion in the implementation of policies in the interest of the community as a whole. This discretion necessarily requires the understanding and capacity to enrol values behind national policy into these local decisions, as interpreted by judge from ECtHR (1959) these include the idea that:

The member States of the Council of Europe recognising the special needs of minorities and an obligation to protect their security, identity and lifestyle, not only for the purpose of safeguarding the interests of the minorities themselves but also in order to preserve a cultural diversity of value to the whole community (ibid, p.125).

This implies that member states should not only refrain from prejudicial action but also act positively to improve their situation particularly where vulnerable groups are forced into illegality due to this omission as described T&G are,

virtually forced to disregard the law in order to be able to exercise their fundamental right to a private and family life ... that failure of authorities has brought about a situation which almost justifies the defence of necessity (ibid p.125).

The policy and strategies that local authorities produce which serve to outline guidance; acknowledge that T&G are recognized as ethnic minorities, thus they have a duty of care to support these communities in the context of historical social and educational exclusion (Hackney Local Plans, 2007; Brentwood Replacement Local Plan, 2005; Basildon Borough Local Development Scheme, 2011). Thus, boroughs are required to create site criteria or allocate sites. In most cases it has not been done and remains vague and unimplemented where maps are produced. Decisions and justifications by local authorities are made which do not align. Basildon Borough Council decision against planning consent at Dale Farm (2011, p.3):

National Planning Policy ... confirms the purposes of including land within a Green Belt ... proposed development is contrary ... except where required for agriculture or certain other limited purpose appropriate to a Green Belt ... the development is materially harmful to the character of the surrounding area ... creates traffic congestion and (cause) harm to the visual amenity of the landscape and the openness of the Green Belt

If the issues raised by Basildon are the reasons for rejecting their applications, the question remains as to why Romani residents were allowed planning permission on the same site despite these considerations. Council's inconsistency in administration of powers in combination with their omission to allocate sites suggests that it is the quantity of T&G that is the issue. This is not a legally viable reason to refuse permission thus the eviction terms were based using the sections of planning law that served the purpose of limiting T&G numbers in this area of Basildon. Travellers describe,

it's the size and scale of Dale Farm we know that's why ... Other Travellers got planning so we came too since it was scrap yard, we thought we could at least get permission here. We got two years off John Prescott and it has been downhill ever since (D)

Hackney Neighbourhoods and Regeneration Committee permitted development of the Traveller site at Millfields Waste Transfer Station based on the provisions set out in the Town and Country Planning Act 1990 Section 91(1)(a). Their decision (Hackney, 2007) outlines conditions for site design including details, materials, external surfaces and perimeter walls as noted:

[regarding the] boundary wall that extends around refuse area [shall not have] soil stacks, vents or pipes works. Furthermore, that the detailed drawings are to be approved by the Local Planning Authority ... to ensure that the external appearance ... does not detract from the character and visual amenity of the area (p.5-9)

Also noting that no further development is allowed at the site given that:

The site lies within a highly sensitive groundwater area and previous potentially contaminative have been identified within the submitted documentation (ibid)

In order to ensure no commercial or industrial uses take place on the site:

The car parking shall be used only as private car parking for keeping vehicles for purposes incidental to the enjoyment of its related pitch and for no other purpose, including any trade/business or parking of caravans (ibid)

Comparatively, the temporary consent by Brentwood Council (2012) at Roman Triangle was granted,

only because of the gypsy/traveller status of the proposed occupiers ... for a limited period of 18 months ... granted in light of the special circumstances of the case (p.1-2)

The decision letter does not outline the special circumstances, it can be assumed from history of the case it was due to the decade-long waiting list for the applicants on seeking consent beginning 2003; the lack of provision of sites by Council; and the loss of regional strategies with no mechanism to redistribute need between local authority areas as there were previously (Hargreaves 2011, p.4). The special circumstance is also articulated by the fact that although GTAAAs were required to be carried out by local authorities since Circular 1/06, there was no agreed methodology and no government guidance on how to carry them out (Hargreaves 2011, p.4) resulting in an underestimate of need and that currently there are no public sites for T&G.

Hackney Council were accused by local residents of giving little, and unfair, notice of public inquiry during the process (Games Monitor, 2006), while at Roman Triangle, no details were given as to reasons for the third temporary approval. Council wording appeared to apologize to the public when they published the second approved period of temporary permission outlining their lack of option given the circumstances. One resident described:

We got a 5 year pass to live here but not on paper, the permit was announced to the community as ‘unfortunate’ like a funeral. Without the paperwork though we have no stability, you don’t know what will happen (R)

The tone used by Council denotes sympathy with housed residents and affects relations between larger society and Travellers as it suggests they are unwanted in the community.

8.3.2 Appropriate Accommodation

The varying definition of appropriate accommodation raises the issue of caravan against bricks and mortar is a sensitive subject and increasingly becoming the pressure point of planning decisions. Precedent cases upheld by appeal in 2003 have allowed that:

In certain circumstances it can amount to a breach of articles 8 and 14 [to] hold against a Gypsy applying for planning permission, or indeed resisting eviction from Council or private land, that he or she has refused conventional housing accommodation as being contrary to his or her culture (Johnson & Willers 2007, p.56)

And similarly in a more historic decision in 2001:

Their characteristic lifestyle debarred them from access to conventional sources of housing provision. Their attempts to obtain planning permission almost always met with failure ... 90 per cent of applications made by Gypsies had been refused whereas 80 per cent of all applications had been granted (Johnson & Willers 2007, p.91)

While decisions in case law corroborate caravans as homes, Councils still make decisions without this as primary consideration. There is not enough understanding of it; with limited reports such as Swedish study of housed Gypsies (Trankell, 1973) and Fordham Research (2010). Aversion to being housed has only recently been explained in social and psychological terms combined with the fact of T&G never really being asked (4.3.6).

8.3.3 Houses vs Caravans

When T&G were asked to explain their caravan living choices, they described:

brought up in a caravan, this is all I know. Could I ask a settled person to live in a caravan? Would you put a goldfish in a dog box? (R)

Would you want a two storey? No, not a two storey, I turn at the idea, we're all not used to it we'd probably fall down da stairs, we always want to stay near de earth, we don't like de idea of a second storey (H)

If you came here 12 years ago, you see ... most of those families have gone into houses. Hackney had two Traveller sites, one closed and not enough sites, not enough housing for people to go to, but we can't settle in a house (H)

These responses outline that resistance is cultural, psychological and necessary.

8.3.4 Local Planning criteria decisions

In addition to the landscape criteria for consent described (7.1.2), a common criteria in conditional approvals was the requirement for T&G to remain invisible. Travellers described:

Why should we have to hide? Dat's what's required of us for plannin. Why do we have ta hide an a house can be seen? (R)

Brentwood also required Travellers to seek letters from neighbours corroborating their integration into the local community. Temporary permission appears to allow opportunity for mixing and mutual tolerance given that there was some mixing between communities during the period of research.

Day wanted children integrated into the community, our children talked to settled community but if we can't prove we're mixing then it's harder for us to get permission to stay here. (R)

Idea behind these criteria is to encourage integration but putting the responsibility on Travellers and power with local community.

8.3.5 Homelessness in a caravan

The legal standpoint outlines that:

A Gypsy or Traveller is homeless if there is no place where he or she is entitled to place his or her caravan or vehicle. (Housing Act s175(2)(b), 1996 cited in Johnson & Willers 2007, p.231).

Critical to the strength of this section of Legislation is the discretionary translation of the words 'entitled' and 'permitted'. Evidence from the case study decisions reveals the various perspectives on this.

Needs assessments (DCLG, 2007) are required to form part of the policy governing waiting list scheme by local authorities (Housing Act s225, 2004). While site allocation is designed to establish a social unit, priority allocation can be overridden where greater needs are assessed in terms of welfare or medical grounds; age related; and existing unsanitary or overcrowded conditions (Johnson & Willers, 2007). There is currently however no guidance on how to create such a database and only those local authorities with impetus to do so follow up with methods and consultations with experts to achieve this.

Even the definition of Gypsy or Traveller in planning terms, which underpins decisions concerning their welfare, is a translation reduced of its ethnicity. The word is treated as a verb instead of a cultural concept and offers status to any person who travels for subsistence. This serves to delegitimize the struggle for the capacity for mobility and stopping when viewed out of ethnic context.

8.4 The Stopped Traveller

The implications of being stopped extend from socio-economic and health into the idea of integration for these first time neighbours.

8.4.1 Socio-economic implications

The various socio-economic circumstances reveal the relative difficulty of overcoming barriers within planning.

My boy is four and he thinks a portaloo is a normal toilet, we can't get permission, we're still in Court with it, planning won't let us build anything (Gypsy associated with R)

Socio-economic success in business of this extended family group does not confer greater planning autonomy. A look at the livelihoods context more broadly, and as noted in the pilots and case studies, reveals that a growing trend of these more financially successful families are using the internet to organize crews, deliver and install goods and provide ongoing services to clients in larger society. The businesses essentially run virtually and without formal office or meeting spaces.

8.4.2 Health and Stopping

In a discussion with a female elder at Dale Farm, during the period prior to eviction when emotions flared she outlined the link between families' first stopping and the men who continued to travel for subsistence and how the situation gave rise to their illness and early deaths. She described how her husband never having been separated from the family before had to travel alone once they stopped at Dale Farm. When they first settled here her husband was still travelling, he was alone on his own when he wasn't used to it ever before this; soon after this change he suffered heart attack and passed (D).

She describes that they were no longer able to find temporary stopping places and were forced into a more long term stopping but the family men continued to travel to maintain economic sustenance. Many older men died during that period because of what she believed was the stress of having to deal with enforcement notices, leaving their families in a state of insecure tenure while being on the road alone for the first time in their lives (D). In turn the early death of men, the main income earners, contributes significantly to lower quality of life and life expectancy of the rest of the family. Ill health related to tenure insecurity and potential loss of the family savings was also evident at Roman Triangle and with similar stories at Dale Farm.

8.4.3 Defining integration

An emerging concept is the definition of integration from the perspective of T&G caravan dwellers after first experiences with neighbours. T&G understand the need to integrate in order to limit objections to their presence and facilitate and repeat temporary permission. However, integration for them does not include mixing and becoming part of larger society, instead for these first time neighbours it is about limited contact because from their experience contact has meant conflict.

They [local community] came to meetings and stuff and some wanted us der and more didn't want us der but a lot did, so a lot came in to introduce em and were quite friendly, but it's just dat we're used to living on our own with no housings around we're used to being on our own so we didn't know how tings were gonna work out, so far so good so day have no problems an we have no problems ... day haven't bothered us and we haven't bothered dem (H)

.. whenever we're getting on we stop fer we natter at us, they'll ask how you're keepin, its' really really good of em, an we didn't tink we'd ever get dis far (H)

Travellers acknowledge that mixing between their children at school will occur but hope for limited conflict and the participation of teachers to facilitate this, as described:

Ya we're very happy here yes. At first we weren't because we weren't sure how the cultures was gonna work wid da Travellers wid da settled community, well we never was wid da settled community, and teachers at school want to change dat, but we knew what we want, so we didn't know how our kids was gonna mix with da other kids, but so far we've been here a year and we have no problem (H)

Everybody has to learn, how to get along. The first three months it was a little bit odd, that's the ordinary. It's great now, our children don't mix, the settled kids day don't come in here, no problem wid us if day came in here (H)

First experiences with the settled community means that integration and mixing will be peripheral and that internal community support remains a priority. The need to mix remains a low priority or even irrelevant while they share the support of family cluster grouping as residents describe:

It wouldn't bother me if da kids had friends, it didn't matter who dey were, da kids have so many cousins dey don't need any friends, der might be 10 boys in one age group and der might be 10 in younger age group, so der all together, dey don't get bored, dat's only natural dey don't really mix becuz dey don't need dem dey have dose others kids (H)

These are first forms of interaction with outside neighbours for Travellers, they do not know what to expect and anything outside of rejection is 'really really good of dem', they also realize that had the community resisted to a greater degree they would not have been able to settle in this place for which they feel a sense of gratitude.

The biggest problem was lack of knowledge, people weren't very decent; scared because dey didn't know, dey wanted to know it's fine and da site will be clean and the kids won't be dirty, you know things like dat, dat's the kind of communication we're talking about (H)

so we take our chances on it and integrate wid da community, an da community wid us, at first while it was very awkward you're away from your folks all around ya, the land all around ya, dey was next door right behind da fence, wid da community right opposite us, but I wouldn't change none of it (H)

The strangeness of having neighbours for the first time felt invasive for them; they did not know what was expected of them as neighbours to strangers living so close to them.

Its amazin what can happen in future, you could integrate more, it's great for da kids, makes a big difference (H)

... to integrate wit da community, to have da community feel dat nothing is gonna happen, day know what I mean, they're not bad people coz we're hearing about, day got ta know us the whole community got ta know us (H)

We were a bit weary first, we were never in a built up area always on the outskirts, when we come to da area we meet the neighbours and from yer neighbours we know what dey said, dey never hassled us (H)

Integration is when there is no trouble or rejection from settled community; when there is no conflict even if it means no contact at all.

Being a first time neighbour, there are expectations and prejudices on both sides. The idea of neighbours and integration are based on fear and the unknown. They have created communities within communities and consider their extended family only as real neighbours, they are not used to having strangers as neighbours:

... we don't need no neighbourhood watch, we have our own neighbourhoods to watch, my neighbours watch out for me home so I can just go out an I know dat my home is safe, if I went for a week my home'd be safe ... notin'd be touched (H)

... some people won't accept dat, dey want us to be descent, at the end of da day we all have da one skin, we all have da one blood, we all love our children everyone loves dem

... every mother nourishes dem der own way ... it's just dat i don't tink dey'd be able to come to da gate wid us (H)

Travellers at Hackney believe the local community, although not giving them any trouble, are not yet ready to come into and accept their society or to come meet them half way at the 'gate'.

8.4.4 Settled vs Traveller; Stranger vs Family

Living in a caravan is associated with a family cluster, site living and complete trust with your family member which is in stark contrast to the outside community of strangers with whom they have limited and historically negative experiences. As one Traveller describes:

They were trying to get us in houses, askin us why don't you want to live in a house, I could never imagine myself to be confined between four walls I'd get claustrophobic, and for the kids they shouldn't lose out on what I had, most of it is very very hard ... the good things dat you get from your neighbours your family your friends ... the trust that you would never have in any settled community (H)

The limited experience of larger society parallels the stereotypical vision of the T&G. Both sides hold fearful and biased views of the other which emanate from limited contact and limited history of positive experience. One Traveller describes:

you could be 20 years with settled community an never have this support like you would with some of your own, the same belief system, the same rules, the same way of raising da kids, the same morals, we know what we're doing when we're leaving our kids coz we know what we want, we would never trust an outsider, we never would with the children, anyone can be a paedophile, a judge can be a paedophile, your children are your life and if anything happens to dem you might as well end your life, how would you live with yourself after that, so it's one of dose tings that I love about our community

8.5 Culture and Tradition

8.5.1 Contemporary definitions of tradition

Traditions, which outline those beliefs that inspire particular behaviours, are more strongly tied to contemporary cultural life than to history. As one Traveller describe it:

Our traditions means married life, not history but our own ting; extended family. Times are changed but it's important to try to keep traditions (H)

The Romanichal language has been lost in recent generations within English Gypsy population evinced from the pilots and case study groups. The generation aged above 50 years old speak a

few words in Romani or Gant. The Irish Travellers have a very strong Irish Traveller accent and describe being able to recognize other Travellers through their attire and facial gestures (H) (R). They sing within family groups but not outside of that. Romanichal folk songs are gaining public attention as outsiders are now singing T&G ballads.

Apart from language and musical traditions, when asked about what it means to be a Traveller even when on a fixed site a common response, as described by one Traveller, has been:

To me I'm always a Traveller. Being a Traveller is a culture not what you do, if you are actually travelling or not (R)

In contemporary terms, understanding the term Travellers as ethnicity and culture and not adverb is critical to the delivery of planning and overcoming barriers to self-determination. This was specifically brought into question at Dale Farm as evinced from interview with a Traveller who describes their reaction after a court hearing to an injunction about an eviction notice against her family who were no longer travelling but lived on sites:

No I'm not prepared to move into bricks and mortar. I mean no one have to lose their culture. It tinks it's unfair dat day should force ya to lose your culture dat you were reared up wid all yer life (BBC One, 2011)

A Gypsy genealogist describes family pride and loyalty as vital to T&G's on a family and societal level. He describes: "Families against the world, Gypsy nation against the world!" (Trudgill, BBC One, 2012).

The strength of this culture also means that there is protection for those who are part of it. As one Traveller describes:

To be outcast from traveller community is very hard because you know dat we're da ones who'll protect you (R)

A key part of the ongoing strength of the community is marrying inside the culture. Getting married requires the approval of both parents and it also has implications on education and employment as described:

when you know you like dat person day come in an ask your parents 'can we marry?', if day say no then you can't get married to dem ... there's a lot of Travellers who marry settled community marry into the community, sometimes maybe the odd one might go

out, depends how deir parents brought dem up, dey might have a different way of life, der kids and der lives it's really up to dem (H)

The Travellers also described that every Irish Traveller knows of the other. Most of the elderly couples in study met through horse fairs which in contemporary terms represents the remaining form of travelling for many communities and through which the culture and tradition are propagated and reinforced. Planning law also recognizes that T&G maintain their gypsy status for purpose of planning by travelling including to these fairs. Appleby (Cumbria) and Stow on Wold (Cotswolds) for instance (Johnson & Willers, 2007). They are recognized as cultural maintenance mechanisms even if this is not reinforced in actual decisions on consent.

8.5.2 Family cluster protection

The families decided to move together to Hackney because they formed one extended family. They decided as a group that this was the route they wanted to take. Also with one of the residents being quite elderly they believed that:

you know, the protection of having the group moved out around her would be the best health provision (H)

...ya with family friends ya it's what is at the moment so we're quite happy with the way things worked out; we were always together before, we lived together for 15, 16 years so dat's da way we wanted it (H)

When asked about the move into a fixed building, the response was that they were still on a Traveller site, so that site is not about caravans or the romantic notion of a changing landscape but about the capacity travelling affords to be together and yet separate. This buttresses a social network structure which means support for themselves and their children and on-going confirmation through shared values and behaviours:

It's fine becoz an da reason it's fine is becoz we still have our community, we wouldn't go into a house inside with local people, dat would be awfully different, eight families we've been together for years (H)

Ya we stick together, main part of da culture is da support, for instance if anybody dies everyone is der, all rallying around if they need help, makin sure der ok, we never leave dem alone (H)

The family cluster planning is central to the community structure:

I have all my family here, all my grandchildren around me. We're a close community; we're all related but if we didn't know someone den they'd be welcome (H)

8.5.3 Cultural diversity

Most T&G prefer to be not only with their ethnic group but also with their own extended family group. When asked about a mixed site including specifically with the English Gypsy the differences between the responses echoed an irreconcilable difference in attitudes:

Well ya don't know, ya get a lot of mixed people in da area, dey'd maybe feel off and we'd feel off ... dat culture is very different, the English Gypsy, dey have a different way of life an we have a different way of life, the Irish Traveller is different to da English Traveller, we're different we just don't communicate, der more like settled people, we're still more like travellin people. Dey do have der own land. Der more free on der own, der different people. We got one dat's not too far from here, the other site Trent Lane, but dey're very nice, we were really pretty nice just dat we don't get to know em (H)

The Roman Triangle site came about in reaction to intolerance of mixed sites despite the fact of deep respect for other Traveller communities:

Living on a site wid other Travellers was very difficult and forced families to pool money to buy land so dey could live together ... We're separate people we don't have to think in da same way (R)

What we eat; sharing the same morals; we see life in da same way but English [Gypsy] speak Romani, and Scottish and Irish speak the Gant language. We all learn to get along together but if we're on da same site der'll be more arguments (R)

8.5.4 Cultural justice

In line with traditional values, making decisions and conflict resolution within and between T&G communities was about maintaining respect and dignity. Each family cluster group is respected as a whole family and will work to preserve that respect for one another:

Word of mouth, the way I was brought up. There isn't really decisions made as a community. Each one sticks by themselves and knows da truth. Everyone knows the laws of Travellers. We believe no one is more important dan anyone else (R)

Romanichal in the UK practice a Justice by Avoidance reconciliation system (Acton, 2005).

This means that when there is a very serious grievance the offending party would have the time and opportunity to seek forgiveness. There is an understood avoidance period for this to take place. But should they decline to take on this opportunity, then all families including that of the offending party would agree to settle by means of violence (Weyrauch 2001; Acton 2005). It

works with peripatetic groups and the ethos was evident with Travellers as well. This system is also about independent thought and standing for yourself as one Traveller describes the process of resolving disputes between families:

dispute like about da site ... we sort it out ourselves. We never really have fights, but if we did have like an argument our car or sometin well we'd sort it out between us; cuz you know what's best for yourself to make your own decision, you try tink of da best way out of it ... Every family makes der own decision (H)

first try to talk be friends; then if...we ask them to leave, as we say though 'it's nice to have all the dogs licking ya and none o dem biting ya' (D)

Sometimes it's better standing on your own for who you are then joining forces with people you don't believe in. it's gonna take away what they stand for. (R)

The concepts of tenure along with policy and societal issues that were raised regarding the changes in mobility, culture and tradition are all strongly tied to the following important areas: education; livelihoods; government decisions; national level funding; media and self-representation; and participation. There are overlaps and strong implications between these with further pertinent evidence outlined in the following sections.

8.6 Education

Education in the following evidence outlines the various relevant forms to this research and referred to as formal, cultural and popular between T&G and larger society of each other.

For T&G school education is important and also provides opportunities for learning about their own culture. A Traveller describes their valuing of formal education:

To be honest, da Travelling community would be on der own, you wouldn't come in to have a natter. I think when you live in a house and you integrate wid people you realize more (H)

The motivation for stopping on sites has also been to facilitate access to education.

... we were northerners, before we moved we were travelling around der, before dat we were travelling around Birmingham, in Stratford we were moving around in Birmingham, but da children is not getting much education. (H)

But there is still Travellers travelling around, ya, some of our own people but da kids is not getting much education, you could be a week in a place and you have to move. (H)

We were[worried] ya, we were quite, but either way we were close to da schools we didn't change schools (H)

Cultural education about T&G is also relevant to self-determination in that it allows access to a relatively unknown culture whose stereotype precedes them and thus determines public and political motivations to create barriers to their stopping when the implications are not understood in context:

some people can get confused cuz you hear the word 'Traveller' you assume it's still about travelling (H)

As evinced, T&G have been increasingly giving talks at schools to educate the young community about their lifestyle, using formal education opportunities to spread cultural forms of knowledge. They are motivated by the belief that this will have an effect on their being accepted as part of the community as well as have positive benefits on the treatment of their own children at school (R). There are often key people in the settled society serving as middle men in this cultural exchange and supporting the community directly:

Parish Councillor, Mr. Lemons, tried hard to negotiate between us. He tried to talk between our communities, he lived in da third house along from da site ... Brentwood

Gypsy Support group was doing acting, when they ran out of money he [Parish councillor, Mr. Lemons] gave it to us so we could finish our show (R)

These values for formal education appear limited to elementary and middle school. It was as important as the activities in acting and boxing common within T&G communities in the research. While the findings from the pilots outlined common fears surrounding exposure to drugs and sex beyond elementary school level (4.5), the case studies served to expand and contradict these earlier findings. Resistance to formal higher education is part of maintaining cultural membership and ensuring that girls will have a family. When asked about attending secondary school, College or University, Travellers describe:

No, I don't know, our parents dey don't let us, coz we get married so young ... When we try and have kids straight away its impossible; when a Traveller has kids everything changes, you know you can't go to da boys or come to University, cuz Travellers they don't really believe in dat. But some do, the English Travellers dey have more choice then da Irish Traveller. Da Irish T is really really really old fashioned, it's just when you turn 17 you get married or when you're 18 and by the time you're 20 or 21 you have a baby and you don't think about jobs or.. you just depend on your husband's support. Some girls wanted de opportunity to go to college and to get a job, I would like to be a beautician or something like that, you know someting simple not a lawyer or doctor or anything like dat, just something simple. (H)

It's not that we follow da community, its dat da boys ask why is she going to college well she doesn't want to get married she doesn't want a family, dat girl won't be asked to get married, unless der was very very very understanding father an he really really loved da girl, you just have to choose, choosin to have a nice home if you can afford one and to cook and clean and look after yer kids, and have all your family around ya (H)

They believe it ensures cultural continuity by preventing children from mixing with non-settlers for too long. It has also been suggested that limiting levels of education also ensures children have at least the necessary literacy and numeracy to take over successful family run businesses but not more so they are trapped into these roles.

8.6.1 Culture and education

While there are changing attitudes towards the value of higher education, T&G appear to be limited in their ideas of appropriate vocational roles and training for their children, electing those manual type labour and service provision as opposed to more professional ones in parallel with limitations on education. One Traveller describes:

.... the kids are settlin into proper schools, now they'll get a proper education if dey want to go to college dey can do whatever dey want, dey decide dat dats der future, I know Travellers have der tradition but times are changing an getting harder, it's getting tougher, if they go to College get into hairdressin for da girls or whatever or boys become mechanics or whatever, dat's der decision. I know culture is culture, dat means a lot to da Travellers but somehow day got ta tink of der future as well (H)

But slowly these are beginning to change within other Traveller communities like the Travelling Showpeople where there are strong signs of valuing higher education. One of the first University graduates in 2013: Zoah Hedges-Stocks with a first-class honours from the University of Cambridge (The Times, 2013) and Shelby Homes a young Oxford University entry student in 2012 (Mail Online, 2012).

8.6.2 Planning decisions and education

In the past education support for T&G communities came in various forms relevant to their mobility. Later, planning criteria were adopted by Councils to include a points system for families with children in education. Ironically, evictions such as at Dale Farm served to undermine access to service provision such as education, as described by T&G:

If we were part of the settled community and didn't keep our kids in school den we would have the law putting us to court. Yet now we are being made to take our kids out of school (D)

During the period prior to eviction it was the police who escorted children to school. This was one of the only normalizing factors for them in the emotional upheaval of those weeks.

Interestingly, these officers knew and were trusted by the community, were the only authority allowed to enter and exit portions of the site in stark contrast to the boundaries set up against other officials and politicians focused solely on eviction as opposed to well-being.

8.6.3 Popular and formal education

The experience of local people mixing, such as children at school, creates opportunity for popular educating of both T&G and non T&G, but this has been difficult in recent times. Once T&G children began populating the local school near Dale Farm, other local parents from houses prevented their own children from attending effectively stopping integration where it has the highest potential. In other places such as Roman Triangle, this potential was realized, in part also due to the involvement of T&G parents speaking at the local schools about their culture in the hope this would limit rejection and bullying at school. One Traveller describes:

When we moved in here the local parents were worried about what our kids would be like but now dey know dey are normal, just like der own (R)

8.6.4 Cultural education

T&G are also clear about their desire to maintain cultural norms around certain elements of education namely sex education. They believe this should not be taught to children until they are young adults. They believe there is a cultural education that should also be acquired:

We want to educate dem our own way especially about sex education, we don't believe children need to learn dose things until dey are older and the schools agreed to take dem out of class when des are being taught (R)

We travel in da summer with da kids. Sometimes we take da kids out of school for a week or so now and again if we are leaving for work somewhere. We did a lot of work in Cambridge. We picked potato, onion, cabbage, peas, blackberries, strawberries. (R)

Conclusion

Attitudes towards education are changing; it is becoming clear that the minimum level of necessary education is a rising threshold. In parallel with the stopping and mobility conditions, access to a broader range of careers and the education needed to achieve them are becoming more likely aspirations of parents for their children.

The other side of education, in line with greater time spent in education, is the broadened experience of and thus inherent perspectives of wider society. This mixing underpinned by a common educational framework will expand the possibilities for acceptance of diversity and integration beyond simply lack of intolerance. The institutional education that is feared by

T&G includes those that influence cultural morals and social norms, which has been expressed to be at the heart of current limitation of education. The issues associated with membership means that many more T&G need to accept formal education before social norms associated with it can begin change. Education is thus a forum for diversity of thinking and valuing; it is also the playground for imagining; experiencing and practicing our common humanity.

8.7 Economics

8.7.1 Livelihoods and first-stopping

For T&G, livelihoods are strongly tied to the notion of travelling. Types of employment undertaken reflect the desire to remain independent, which in contemporary terms still require adaptability and capacity for mobility. Given that the services that many T&G provide such as landscaping, tarmaking and waste removal are not needed on a daily basis, they can widen their client base by travelling long distances. They usually work in a variety of occupations resisting wage labour, historically without compromising their autonomy in terms of ethnic participation, livelihoods and housing flexibility (Johnson and Willers, 2007). T&G currently and in the past have also had a tradition of supplementing traditional works with labour on big infrastructure projects (Trudgill, 2012) for which they remained stopped for extended but temporary periods.

There were very specific lines of travel to horse fairs and following crop picking routes for work. He [my father] organized groups of men for farmers to hire as a crew. With changes in farming and needing less workers, he's now doing similar work of organizing the men, in construction. He's construction manager at Stratford, the Olympic site in London. Our mother works as cleaner at Harrods. (anonymous)

Their adaptability works for them, they adapt their peripatetic skills for infrastructure type projects. The men who work off site thus can remain anonymously T&G while for the women working closer to home the attitudes of local community are an important influence that is linked to their capacity to thrive financially. One T&G describes:

community has mixed reactions to us, we are well received at the shops but can't get jobs, they won't trust you to hire you once they'd find out by your address or other Travellers could come in and say 'hi' and owner would know that you were a Traveller (H)

8.7.2 Local Government motivations: values vs cost

Despite values behind NPPF and PPTS (DCLG, 2012) and Borough Council strategies to support the need for housing development, there has been little progress on site approvals or development (Walton, 2013). This becomes even more questionable when comparing the relatively small cost for site provision with that of control and eviction at illegal encampments as well as the ongoing costs of keeping T&G on the road (Morris & Clements, 2002).

Financial costs do not override the pressure to evict and T&G are aware of this as described by one Traveller:

Near 18 million pounds to move 86 families onto the road. They could build a site for far cheaper. 60% of sites holds a licence. Basildon are supposed to provide 62 pitches. We were only classed as an ethnic minority a few years ago (D)

Ultimately political pressure to ensure everyone was living by the same planning rules stifled efforts in negotiation. In addition to eviction costs, £18 m/year are spent keeping T&G on the road with an estimate of £400,000 per local authority (Dorset Council, 2012) and over ten years is nearly £200m. Financially the decision to evict appears irrational; especially given T&G representatives tried negotiating site exchange with a transfer of deeds whereby Travellers offered to take responsibility for the clean-up thus saving Basildon the cost of eviction. But the offer was rejected. Why was it so important to go ahead with the eviction? What does it mean when the economic argument cannot counter a political standpoint in planning, one which years earlier it was able to as with those on the Romani side of the site? Economics was however capable of overtaking strong public dissent in Hackney under the circumstance of the Olympic spotlight:

4-5 years from when Olympics won da games ... dey didn't have a choice, dey had no choice coz we were on land dat was worth millions, so it worked out well each way (H)

Travellers believed they understood the value of their position at Stratford and thus could negotiate for the best outcome they thought possible. The site represents some of these values of what is best. Is this what it takes to balance power; to be on valuable land needed for larger projects and in order to collaborate and get it done so it *works out well each way*? Other T&G

relatives of the Hackney group living elsewhere believed this would not happen again. Such a large scale incentive, to work it out for each side, will not come again.

Evident in all three case studies is a growth in T&G participation in the process of planning.

The next section of evidence focuses on this aspect.

8.8 Participation & Media

This section incorporates evidence and experiences surrounding self-representation and representation by others; media exposure; and consultation in planning.

8.8.1 Support and Representation by Others

There were middle men facilitators who served to facilitate a process or deliver a message regarding tenure security at each case study. The Housing Association in Hackney represented the Travellers at each stage until the end of their consultation with Council (H) and their guidance was evident during interviews with the Travellers (7.9.1). Travellers described a leader in the settled community (7.6) but once this person died, links and relations did not endure (R).

It was noted in an interview that T&G are particular about who is representing them; on a moral level it is important that they share similar ethics and values. The representative's capacity, connections with society or their power have relatively less importance. One Traveller describes:

cover your feet with socks, don't represent us with dirty feet (D)

This suggests representatives are expected to bring their best self forward and share moral standing. The case studies evinced strong examples of representation by T&G themselves. Public reaction to this media exposure was also evolving. Interestingly, those news videos which included politicians garnered greatest negative public responses (8.9, 8.10) while those with T&G alone had few if any.

Quotes from news videos illustrate their emerging public presence.



fig. 8.4 Image above left is still from news footage by BBC, 26 Sept 2011. A Dale Farm resident and spokeswoman was being interviewed by journalists about the residents winning a High Court injunction against the appeal and she explains it from her perspective: **Now we know that the Council has been wrong in some parts of it themselves now, it's time for dem to take some of dis blame ... Instead of blaming us for building on Green Belt land he knows now that we build on ground that he already put down the Council**

fig. 8.5 Image above centre is a still from news footage by BBC, 29 Sept, 2011. Another Dale Farm resident and spokeswoman was being interviewed by journalists about the pending final decision on eviction. She outlined her history of losing these battles: **We have never won notin in our lives so, so even if we lose we're not goin ta be disappointed**

fig. 8.6 Image above right is a still from news footage by BBC, 19 Oct 2011. The filmed interview just after the eviction, is with Kathleen who is replying to both journalist and neighbour regarding his allegations. She describes her history of evictions and this experience: **It's one of the worst evictions that I've seen for a very long time and I pray and hope that my grandchildren or children will never have to go true dis again dat dis will open di eyes of da people dat we're being treated cruelly and something - sites have to be built - someting has to be done for us people**

Comments

Sign in or Register to comment and rate comments

All posts are **reactively-moderated** and must obey the **house rules**.

All Comments (32)

Order by: **Oldest First** Highest Rated Lowest Rated

1. Capt Nige

4TH OCTOBER 2011 - 17:27

Come on BBC, how about reporting why the judge ruled that the "walls, fences and gates" would be allowed to stay, and why the council have to pay 33% of the travellers' legal costs!

2. Chris S

4TH OCTOBER 2011 - 17:28

Of course the UK law must be upheld, no point in having laws otherwise. But the problem of Travellers isn't going to go away. I have yet to hear a long term plan from the Government to tackle this ongoing problem.

3. spc

4TH OCTOBER 2011 - 18:01

Why should the Government and ultimately the taxpayer be burdened with paying for these people, all we hear from them is "we want this we want that", they have no regard for the law or the legal system (except when they want to use it to their advantage) and I doubt a single one of them could produce a P60 or agreed set of accounts to prove paying tax and National Insurance.

3. ProfPhoenix

30TH SEPTEMBER 2011 - 11:47

As we are a multicultural society and the travellers want to do things their own way then we should revise our planning rules as and when required. I don't see the problem. Let them stay, let them move, and down with any racist who disagrees.

fig. 8.8 Image below shows the public blog response to an interview by Eric Pickles (BBC News England, 30 Sept 2011

fig. 8.7 Image above shows the public blog responses to an interview by Ed Miliband (BBC News England, 4 Oct 2011, evidencing a change in public sentiment of one focused on the mistakes of politicians as opposed to the T&G societies

All Comments (32)

Order by: **Oldest First** Highest Rated Lowest Rated

1. Capt Nige

4TH OCTOBER 2011 - 17:27

Come on BBC, how about reporting why the judge ruled that the "walls, fences and gates" would be allowed to stay, and why the council have to pay 33% of the travellers' legal costs!

9. Isopel

5TH OCTOBER 2011 - 11:57

Why is Basildon Council willing to give planning permission to developers on agricultural land while at the same time forcing travellers from Dale Farm, which was a scrapyard when they bought it over ten years ago? The meeting is taking place at 7pm at Mirren Studio, Towngate, Theatre, St. Martin's Square, Basildon SS14 1DL

12. derek tisbury

5TH OCTOBER 2011 - 13:12

The public perception of these people, right or wrong, is that they live by crime and scrap. This perception also extends to them not paying taxes of any kind. Come on BBC do some research on just what these people are actually paying or NOT. My second point is if ALL scrapyards were government run, a lot less problems would arise like drain covers and railway/electricity vandalism.

14. Darren

5TH OCTOBER 2011 - 18:03

@Isopel - the planning meeting took place last night and the application was turned down. So no double standards.

18. Essex Fat Bloke

6TH OCTOBER 2011 - 11:50

IF the travellers are playing by the rules - can I ask which ones? After all if they were playing by the rules they would have packed up and left ten years ago when they were told they were on Green Belt land - or don't those rule apply to them.

4 October 2011 Last updated at 16:45

Share f t e

Deborah McGurran

Political editor, East of England
More from Deborah



Dale Farm: Pickles says planning must be fair to all

COMMENTS (32)

Eric Pickles has launched a broadside at the Dale Farm travellers, telling them the planning system must be fair to all.



Secretary for Communities and Local Government, Eric Pickles, wants to uphold the British rule of law

"We should support those who play by the rules, treating law-abiding people equally and fairly," he said, while announcing that councils are to get stronger enforcement powers to prevent unauthorised sites, like Dale Farm, from being established in the first place.

And the government is prepared to put its money on the table too - £60m will be given to councils who improve provision and build new pitches.

Meanwhile, the judge at the High Court ruled that Basildon Council can remove caravans from the majority (49 out of 54) of plots at Dale Farm.

At present, walls, fences and gates will be allowed to remain on site and the Council has been ordered to pay a third of the travellers' legal costs in relation to the case.

The Secretary of State and MP for Brentwood made his feelings clear:

"The Dale Farm saga has now spent 10 years before the courts. Justice delayed is justice denied."

"It's time that planning law was enforced. It's time to uphold the British rule of law."

“

The Dale Farm saga has now spent 10 years before the courts - justice delayed is justice denied.

Eric Pickles MP
Secretary for Communities and Local Government

fig. 8.9 and 8.10 Image left shows negative public blog response made at news reports by BBC, 4-6 Oct (image on right), that focused mainly on politicians reporting on Dale Farm, namely Eric Pickles from 4 Oct 2011

An image has been removed from this version of the thesis due to copyright restrictions

fig. 8.11 Image above was captured from a BBC news online regarding a program they aired on 25 Nov 2011, where commentators were vocally supportive of Dale Farm Travellers. The BBC were chastised by Government for allowing this support to be broadcast. Support by others in larger society through media is carefully scrutinized for its effect on the image of government while self-representation is free of these burdens. National news coverage must also be seen to be 'impartial' from perspective of Government which appears to mean reporting alongside their position.

8.8.2 International agents

Outsider representatives also impacted on the Dale Farm situation. These included: celebrities, protestors, the UN, media, legal human rights groups, neutral observers, artists, academics, neighbours, Roma groups, and Irish Embassy among others.

The Irish Embassy group took part in discussions in support of possible land transfer agreements but their role was observational. They described not wanting to be seen as too supportive of Irish Travellers and undermining the role of English Government but did not want to be seen to be missing from the dialogue. In this indirect way they could encourage their thriving and ensure their commitment to remain given the highly sectarian situation in Ireland. Few Travellers were born there but the community ascribe to an Irish nationality. Although they make up less than 12% of T&G population (Chapter Two), they have exposure

and support through them. Media coverage of the debates was televised as they escalated to the international arena. There was aggression and bullying by high ranking English officials against T&G advocates including the UN, EU and ITMB representatives.

An image has been removed from this version of the thesis due to copyright restrictions

fig. 8.12 Image above is a still from BBC debate, 20 Oct 2011, between MP John Baron and UN representative - Anastasia Crickley. Discussions regarding the Dale Farm eviction came across as patronizing and bullying by the MP regarding the meddling of the UN in the affairs of England. Although the politics involved were beyond the planning issues, the question of whether the MP would have had the same audacity if faced by actually T&G is relevant here.

During the debate, MP John Baron strongly rejected the suggestion by the UN that his

Government provide special consideration of T&G, he describes:

this is a load of tosh, nonsense and mindless meddling by an organization that should know better this is not about discrimination this is about a planning regulations that have been broken, contravened and it's about us putting the planning regulations right on behalf of the law abiding majority (ibid)

Crickley was cut off and denigrated in her responses while attempting to report the UN's position on fair accommodation provision. She appeared bureaucratic in the face of the politics and reality on the ground. Her critical contribution was that, **equality does not mean sameness** (ibid) in response to Baron's repeated reference to everyone being treated equally.

Further outsider representation by celebrities like Vanessa Redgrave, while well-intended use of media exposure, inadvertently brought across the sense that T&G need to be represented by others. She described that you can't divorce planning from health and education and went on to suggest that Homes and Communities Agency would be good partners in the provision of sites

(BBC, 2011) but there was no mention of T&G inclusion in the dialogue. Media exposure from showed the diverse attitudes within the UK. The debate on the one hand was about people breaking the law and living on their own land without planning permission and on the other hand a Traveller society representing a larger population without suitable alternatives for stopping; an experience culminating out of years of decision-making veering away from support and into controls. Urgency on the part of the EU prompting the community to seek support was relayed to this researcher (Tsolakis, 2010). Despite petition letters to UK-Members of European Parliament, and Commissioner Hahn, there were no links in place for advice or support. Meetings were organized between the Directorate General for Structural Funds; Tsolakis and policy advisors and implementers by this researcher. The meetings served as a reconnaissance visit between the EU and the UK to understand why links for T&G have not yet been forged and why the UK had not lived up to its agreed commitments in terms of a strategy as part of the EU frameworks for Roma integration (Council of EU, 2011 and EU FRA, 2011) which in the case of the UK included T&G.



fig. 8.13 Image above shows extent of media coverage with crowd of journalists, waiting for news at barricaded entrance to Dale Farm, regarding the impending eviction activity (Oct., 2011)

8.8.3 Local agents

The power of local everyday gossip can serve just as strongly to garner support on either side of the debate. Dale Farm residents believe local people are against their being present including Parish Councillor of Billericay, David McPherson. A Traveller describes:

they talk together at pub and poison other locals by speaking badly of us. Ian Grindley is very upset about us he's nothing good for us (H)

Grindley, mentioned previously, facilitated media coverage of the eviction period by allowing erection of media towers on his land at site perimeter. Prior to and during the pending eviction period however, there were other supportive local agents involved including police and neighbours who noted:

we are one of only 6 neighbours of Dale Farm and yet all this national attention ... we'd like to see them stay here. there's been no crime (D)

Police Officers found it difficult to be part of the debate on eviction given their day to day relationship with the community. They had established good community relations and this was comforting to the Travellers. As mentioned, on the days leading up to the eviction, you could see the police van picking up the children at the end of the laneway and escorting them to school to avoid experiencing trauma and fallout of the eviction. The Police were useful middle men and their involvement and support also portrayed publicly that there is little to debate in terms of criminality outside of planning issues keeping focus clearer at least in this regards.



fig. 8.14 Image above of local Police with children from Dale Farm community during typical visits in the calmer months prior to the eviction (April, 2011)

8.8.4 Lack of Cohesion between T&G groups

Throughout the research there was little evidence of different T&G groups acting together or organising politically. In each instance the battle for planning in terms of knowledge and experience begins without momentum from other successes and individual cluster groups sought consent at their respective locations. In some instances there were also issues of infighting with particular reference to tensions within the Gypsy Council.

People serving the community on the Gypsy Council demonstrated conflicting interests and approaches. There appeared to be divisiveness among Travellers and other support groups. The leader of Dale Farm was removed from Gypsy Council after making a public statement to journalists about accepting money for the move and for site clean-up. While it appeared underhanded this represented a significant savings compared to the amount Council was prepared to pay an eviction contractor. The Gypsy Council were not united in their approach and without a pre agreed perspective that they wanted to relay causing this disbanding. The infighting was a severe blow to the respective families with strong ties to this person and at such a tenuous moment in their lives; symbolic of relationships throughout calmer periods as well.

8.9 Consultation

8.9.1 Hackney proposals

Planning consultations took place at Hackney unlike at other sites. The definition of consultation and the degree of influence that T&G had, set against the influence they believe they had vary somewhat based on their historical lack of opportunities to participate. Hackney Housing Association facilitated the interviews once they felt the community had stabilized on site with concerns regarding upheavals given the deadline for relocation ‘completeness’ of Olympic relocation strategy. Regarding consultations, the Travellers describe:

[we] took a gamble. It was very hard, but with the help of Hackney Homes and local council and MP’s, Ken Livingstone Lord Mayor, they’ve all been supportive of Travellers, they got a good relationship wid da local community and what was going on with da Olympics, I tink it was good coz day got to know Travellers ways ... so it’s going to be for future reference here, so you know dat down da line nobody ever knows, when

some big major going on maybe something going on Birmingham or wherever, maybe Travellers could be involved around it (H)

We say what we want and what we didn't want, we had our chance really, we had a choice to come wid us or not to come wid us (H)

The local community were involved despite the fact that:

dere was a lot of opposition and the community came to meetings and said dat it was der area, you know it was a really really tough process and you got to remember dat der was a lot of community backlash, portrayed by the media (H)

Once land at Millfields Depot was secured, the Traveller consultation of the site design began as a Traveller describes:

day had a sketch drew out. Day had a piece of land and dey said for instance we got four families dis side and four families dat side, we'd say ya we agree wit dat where's dose families gonna go, and for park facilities. We didn't change much it was only de interior of our homes, we didn't change de design day made for da site, it was dem dat decide dat, de LGT[U] (H)

Consultations with Travellers began after major decisions on site location and planning had been made. However, Travellers felt in control of the development, perhaps in comparison to being historically excluded. It was seen as a welcome change even if by planning standards a very low level of involvement. Consultations were made regarding interior space layout and furnishing details. When asked about how many times they looked at the drawings:

About 100,000 times, they were kept changed, meetings were at Council, they were great wid us Travellers. Dis is da land we're given ... We were part of da consultations from day one, we got to plan our own property, which is very very good We got choose da colour windows. Every house is different on inside, unique, exact same size, dis is a two bedroom, rest are 3 bedrooms, manage space inside, we only needed a 2 bedroom, we have a big living room so we made da most of da big space we had (H)

When asked about any future consultation or workshop involvement, they relayed a sense of consultation fatigue:

I tink I hung up my gloves, I've done so much and I can't start that up in my life, I appreciate you asking, if I ever change my mind I'll know exactly what to do, I think I've been through dat much So der's been good days der's been bad days, der were days I needed my boxing gloves (H)

The extent of actual involvement created a kind of fatigue; it was an important first stage to involvement in planning.

8.9.2 Consultation Methodology

While limited in the degree of consultation, there were valuable lessons learned from this experience. When asked about drawing comprehension, one Traveller describes:

Well you know if you had da picture, well if it's one of these community blocks it's gonna be a big square picture, and da community block is only gonna take half of it, so you're gonna need how much room around it as possible ... everybody will understand it ya, some Travellers da old ones anyway der not very good at readin an writin but dey know, when its down to der homes dey know, day try to understand it more (H)

During the Hackney planning consultations with local authority, a Traveller describes that having a sketch to work with and picture of the site helps orientate and infer sizes and location:

Its good for someone to give a sketch of it so we know how much space we have, then we could decide where [to put] toilet and kitchen (H)

When asked about a good way to interact with non-supporters at the consultation stage, they believed it was best to start with those supporters who they could have constructive experiences with and who could then help spread the word:

There's some people who were nice and other not who were not very nice but you can't just all be living in one way, some people understand us, start with dose (H)

8.9.3 Localism Uncensored

There are no clear methods for including T&G into the neighbourhood discussions inspired by the Localism agenda (Legislation UK, 2011). As mentioned, in the public inquiry regarding site application at Roman Triangle people believed they could be racist and simply reject the site. One Traveller describes:

Not sure what the people thought about what our kids were like...there were mean things said about our kids like *they should be shot and beware of the pykes*. Why is this racism allowed? Brentwood council could have hidden that racist stuff on the wall, it influenced the people reading it and my children could even read it (R)

The Localism agenda is about creating communities and is far more in-depth a tool than being allowed to just reject proposals. The Council also did not behave well regarding publically displaying racist letters which is certainly outside the remit of the Big Society policy platform (Conservative Party, 2010).

8.10 Mixed Media

8.10.1 T&G perspectives on media

Various forms of public media have increasingly taken on important roles in self-determination from the perspective of informing mainstream views and political sentiments. From news reporting to docu-fictional revelations mentioned previously, as well as theatre and art. This issue has emerged as a theme because of the degree of both harm and benefit that has been and that potentially can be garnered from it. Travellers have learned to distrust and avoid media even when they were being given the chance to respond to prejudice. Reporters have in the past felt used and misrepresented by media as a Traveller describes:

... there's notin but bad publicity about Travellers, a lot, we wouldn't come back and say dat everyone is good, becoz you get da good and da bad in every community, in every age and every generation and every community and every mix ders always da good an da bad, but I tink dat whatever happens here now we'll still be in Hackney da proof is der children ... never judge a book by its cover becoz dey're taught different ta us about da Traveller community becoz of our bad manners (H)

T&G believe that media played a strong role in their increasing difficulty finding stopping places as one describes:

We are Scottish and N Irish travellers. Scottish came here because der was lots of farm work. Farmers were ok with us staying on der land but after negative media exposure dey were afraid of letting us stay on der land (R)

During consultations at Hackney, media groups wanted to interview Travellers but they refused because as they describe:

when we were going for planning permission day didn't wan us, der was an article in da paper, dey tought we was dirty and people's was worried, day didn't want no Travellers around, well we didn't answer back, we just let dem do der ting and we done ours, but da papers did want us to respond back but we didn't give no statements, alot of da residents from around dis area were saying ... why dignify dem, why would you set us up? cuz we knew dey were setting us up anyway so we wouldn't respond we just let them, and word what about us, just let dem tink what dey tink and we tink what we think (H)

A history of negative reporting by journalists, as noted in earlier chapters, has created mistrust.

At each of the case studies there was evidence of this, at Dale Farm, reporters even defamed support groups by describing neutral observers as rioters disguised as observers in the

Guardian's reporting in a blog with title *Dale farm eviction - Thursday 20 October* (The

Guardian News Blog, 2011). In another article, an editorial piece focused on Dale Farm, paralleled T&G groups who break planning law with the Traveller family that had been charged with ‘conspiracy to hold a person in servitude’ as reported in a Guardian article with the title *Rescued ‘slave’ criticises police raid at Bedfordshire caravan site* (The Guardian, 2011).

After the landmark meetings at Dale Farm, as mentioned, attended by representatives from local Government, the House of Lords, the Gypsy Council and the Irish Embassy to discuss land transfer options, the BBC reported that local residents with land should “lock their gates in case Travellers trespass and set up house over the bank holiday long weekend” (BBC Radio East, 2011) instead of reporting on the negotiations. The Independent newspaper did report on the negotiation meetings but focused their article on the behaviour of teenagers on site where comments of a sexual nature were made to a visitor. The incredible prospect of land transfer supported by Lord Avebury and other officials that day went unreported by these agents.

Media exploits the vulnerability of T&G in this regards. A Dale Farm leader’s beliefs about the media and their accuracy were relayed by his comments:

it’s in the paper so it must be law ... they very seldom if ever make mistakes. (D)

These are incredible statements given the way they are reported on, apart from his own personal experience as he further describes:

news reporters, Lords all these people here is like water off a duck’s back for me ... you have to be careful, reporters come all nice like they’re your friends then they write the nasty side of things (D).

During a moment of expected eviction activity, a communication link was forged between the BBC at ground level outside front gate with this researcher as neutral observer several meters high on a scaffold with a view of the eviction crew, police chief and Councillors. The play by play exchange between them of the escalation of fear combined with public interest was like a surreal piece of theatre.

The eviction could be seen as a kind of drama: helicopters hovering, groups of anti-riot bailiffs in vans with faces hidden, excavation trucks waiting by the access road, crowds of media at the front gate. There was an unnecessarily overwhelming show of force on the part of the eviction crew and Council.

8.11 Non site specific interviews

The broader contextual perspective of the evidence was established through a series of in-depth interviews with a range of agents. These groups included academics, policy makers and implementers, human rights advocates, and practitioners. These are referred to in the course of the research and in analysis of the evidence.

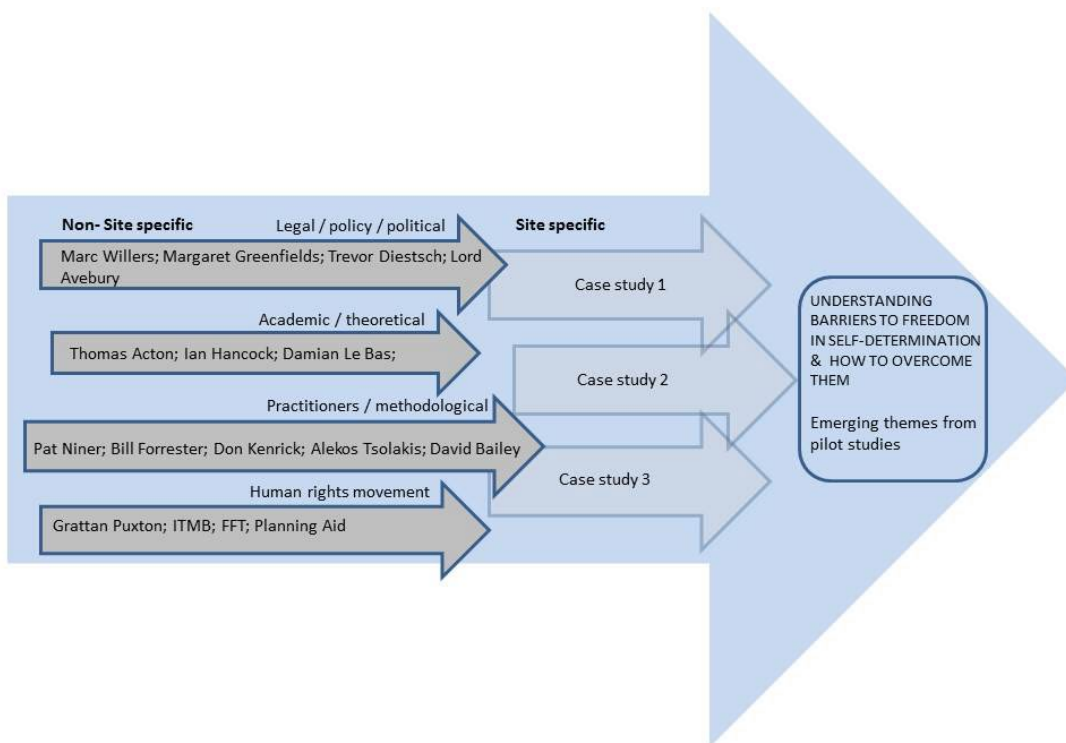


fig. 8.15 illustration above shows non-site specific interview groups (2014)

The value of incorporating these voices is that while many of them have a significant impact on specific T&G groups, their work does not become available to a larger audience.

Practitioners and advocates in particular have a particularly broad perspective and their inclusion has the capacity to balance and deepen the research.

Conclusion

There was a moment when the throng of reporters, at the barricaded entry gate at Dale Farm hours prior to the impending eviction activity, were excitedly drawn to the grandmother who had climbed her way up the scaffold. The cluster of media moved closer, focusing cameras and microphones in her direction which she reacted to with a startled and wide-eyed expression of surprise. She was shaking. Mounting pressure surrounding the looming eviction and forcible exposure onto the world stage over this period likely added to her angst. With all eyes suddenly at her attention, she began shouting profane threats aimed at Cllr Tony Balls. The reporters reacted with resignation; their microphones and cameras slowly tilting away. Her reaction to this was to shout repeatedly down the scaffold inside the site “hand me a baby, I need a baby to swing from the scaffold”! This researcher and another neutral observer standing tightly either side of her on the narrow scaffold hoarding tried to quell her request. She was pointedly reminded of the aftermath of such an incident by Michael Jackson and the loss of legitimacy in his rather unwieldy reaction to a crowd when he swung his 9 month old son Prince Michael II from a third floor balcony (BBC, 2002). She reacted to this advice by using an older grandchild instead to make her point.

Use of profanities and swinging your own grandchild, apart from immense risk, would draw the public away from the fact of the common desire that all people have for the well-being of their children and towards the lunacy of the situation and the state of mind of the people themselves – which is not wholly a bad thing. In the multi sided debate on the Dale Farm eviction, this would have done little to inform on the less heard from side as well as continue to bolster the usual misrepresentation. There was a clear power behind the self-representation of the coherent, informed personalities from inside the community. Dale Farm and the selective reporting throughout the pre eviction period changed portrayal of them from undignified and unlawful trespassers to one of plausible, empathetic and normal families. This change in sentiment has to a great extent both contributed and paralleled the shifting mood in public sentiment towards Travellers as evidenced by online comments from the public on related news articles. Essentially, people are starting to consider the other side of the issues

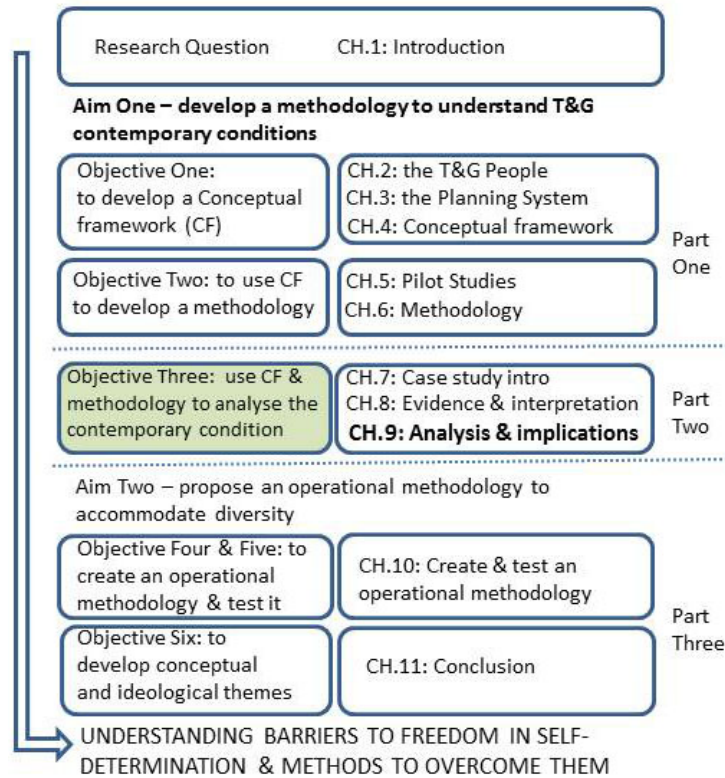
particularly questioning the amount of media attention and cost, as noted in earlier public blogs. The political struggle was becoming more obvious and losing its momentum in terms of stirring public anger while the normalcy of T&G emanating through from the interviews and measured against this wider political network began to raise important questions.

What few people realized at the time was that with all this pressure and fear of retaliation during the eviction, the men of Dale Farm had left the site long ago. Once the news tower was erected on adjacent land, the men did not want to be exposed as Travellers given the threat to anonymity that this exposure presented in their business dealings with non-Travellers. The procession of the community leaving their site at the 11th hour was mostly women and children along with many protestors. This was the actual message that the grandmother atop the scaffold was trying to convey. How could something like this go unreported when the bill for the eviction topped £4.3 million and reported during the time of the eviction closer to £9.5 million? (BBC, 2013 and BBC, 2011). This further made the case that the struggle and cost both financial and human were absurd and nonsensical, announcing with ever greater clarity that this was indeed far more than 'simply a planning issue'.

The following Chapter will analyse the evidence and draw out important themes regarding T&G contemporary culture and barriers to self-determination by using the conceptual framework for analysis from earlier chapters. This will complete objective three and the first aim of the research.

Chapter Nine

Analysis and implications



Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to analyse the evidence from Chapter Eight using the theoretical framework developed in earlier chapters. The analysis will focus on bringing forward concepts and key themes which limit freedoms in self-determination and opportunities to overcome them.

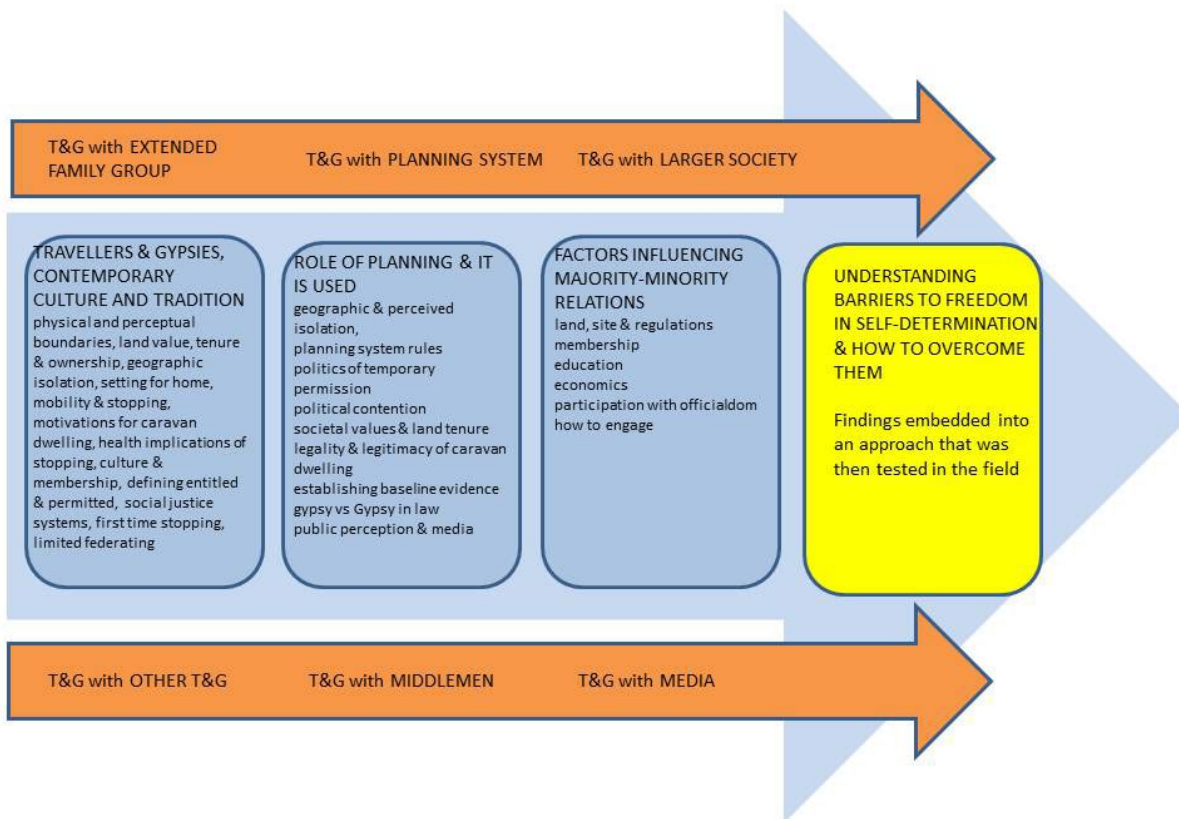


fig. 9.1 Image above outlines the three areas of inquiry with the themes relevant to each following the Conceptual framework from Chapter Four. It also lists the critical relationships considered in this analysis (2014).

Field work evidence was collected according to the conceptual framework in order to answer the thesis questions. These include explorations of the critical relationships described in figure 9.1. The idea that T&G are rejected by larger society and that they, in turn, establish boundaries internally and externally raise an important frame of reference within which to draw barriers to freedom. The concept of othering described earlier by Said (1995) is used to examine the process through which different societies subordinate sub groups and the various alterity responses in turn, by them (Tausig, 1993). These reveal direct and indirect barriers to freedom and the underlying motivations and opportunities to overcoming them. The evidence is analysed in relation to a larger societal context as suggested by Beattie (1993). This context references economic market, political movements and international influences as outlined in the conceptual framework (fig. 4.1).

9.1 *SECTION ONE: the contemporary condition*

An understanding of the contemporary condition of T&G evolved from the background studies (Chapter 1 through 5). Through the case studies, they are seen in the context of the contemporary planning framework. The physical, social, political and economic conditions will be examined with a view to understanding their barriers to freedom in planning autonomy and seen primarily from the T&G perspective in this section.

9.1.1 Physical and perceptual boundaries of sites

The physicality of sites reflects othering. Larger society seeks to be shielded from the visibility and perceived ugliness of the site evidenced by resistance to them by those nearby and the eventual locations they occur in. Larger society wants protection from financial devaluing of land and the T&G presence that the vicinity to sites can bring. These fears were raised by neighbours resisting site development and reflected in the conditions and refusal justification at Hackney (8.10.1), Dale Farm (8.8.3) and Roman Triangle (8.9.3). As described by a Gypsy “dat’s whats required of us for planning, why do we have to hide and a house can be seen?” (8.3.4). Local authorities use discretion when considering what constitutes material circumstance as planning applications for sites are usually an exception to the local development plans. It is within this discrepancy that planning decisions for private sites reflect a response to public sentiment as noted in case studies and letters of consent or refusal (Chapter Seven).

In response, T&G seek to be shielded from a rejecting society, look inwards to their own familial community for protection and to preserve their identity and ways of life. Bourdieu (1990) described that there are many ways of seeing and coping, for T&G it is not just the site and its shaping, but their location which is relevant to maintaining the internal social structure and a sense of ontological and cultural security as evinced in case studies.

Distinct boundaries of sites in urban areas have to create greater isolation without distance but there are competing perspectives as to their value. The sense of imprisonment described at Hackney (8.2.4) is overcome by the need and desire for privacy from outside society that separation also provides (8.2.1, 8.2.4). Site segregation, for instance, ensures this continuity and serves to distinguish and assert cultural identity and distinctiveness relevant to minorities within a dominant majority society. Both housing authority and Travellers were unclear about Council's reasons for the developed boundaries and both offering positive and negative implications (8.2.1, 8.2.2, 8.3.1).

This shows that spatial separation is a barrier to freedoms but it is also a protective place that allows co-existence given the contention between societies. It is the imposition of site design which creates contention.

There are two sides to the isolated locations of sites as outlined by comments contrasting protection, privacy; and 'pridesee' with prison and isolation (8.2.1 and 8.11.1). These contrasting terms are T&G response to their residential setting at several levels: site; pitch; and home. In physical terms site is, gating with bordering walls and buffer zones describing a neighbourhood; pitch is internal site ordering, it is the capacity to have a 'pridesee' (8.2.1) interpreted to mean protection and control over their children's safety.

The prison and privacy compromise at site level is the visual, spatial and social separation from outside society (8.2.1 and 8.2.4). Privacy is not a priority between residential spaces within the site itself. At the pitch level, the evidence shows that while individuals prefer some degree of privacy, their shared capacity for openness, support and ontological security is stronger than their need for single family seclusion.

There is compromise in exchange for internal site privacy which is that T&G have the feeling of being gated in, or in a prison, but retain privacy at site level from larger society. Travellers describe their best site as having privacy walls from larger society (8.2.4) and that housing provided a privacy that was isolating (8.2.4) and that some spatial separation was enough for pitch to pitch privacy (8.2.1).

The strength of the privacy and prison compromise is directly proportional to proximity: the closer their settled neighbours are the more imprisoning their bounding walls thus representing the degree of threat that comes with proximity particularly where it was a place arranged for them. A good place to live, from the perspective of T&G, balances the priority of communal privacy with their definition of integration with larger society on an as-needs basis and importantly one which they control.

Powell (2013) described this isolated position further as both a weapon of control by larger society and a protective context for the stigmatized. The benefits and disadvantages of isolated tracts replicate the oppositional values that sites and their separateness also convey.

Site design and its bordering are about the capacity to manage this safety and security and still negotiate interaction with outside community. Sanoff (1991) describes that site boundaries correlate physical with social boundaries. This correlates with the evidence that integration for T&G is based on a lack of problems where minimal or no negative interaction is occurring (8.4.3) without anything positive occurring. Stronger boundaries ensure a distance and limit risk of problems thus promote 'integration'.

From the perspective of larger society, borders play the role of spatializing division over reunification because neither side is seeking the other out, even in the case of a new site with opportunities and invitations during its development, one year on. This reinforces the outsider view of T&G even when in close proximity as in the urban site of Hackney.

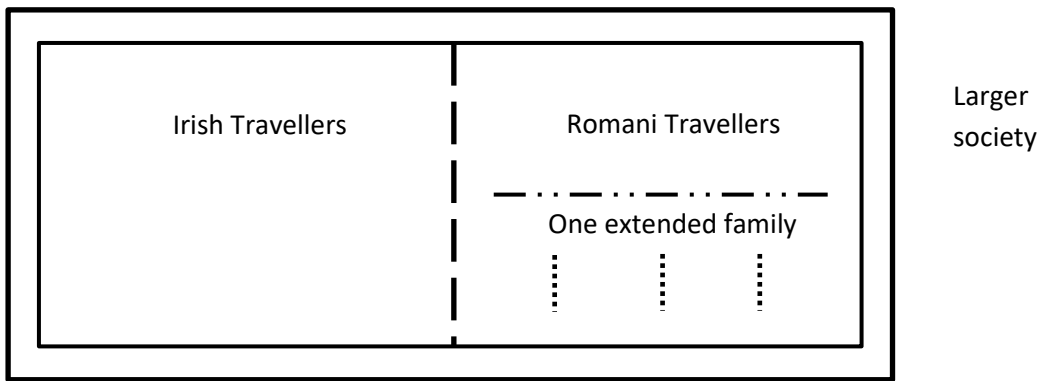


fig. 9.2. Diagram above outlines the metaphorical lines between T&G societies. There is a solid boundary between T&G and non-Travellers; a dashed boundary between mixed residents sharing a site; and a more perforated line between extended families of the same culture that are not related. It is within the extended family groups that the line begins to disappear.

This notion of ‘pridesee’ and protection are main site design element for making home, marking territoriality and ensuring safety and security of children; something that the vulnerability and openness of sites makes even more relevant.

The concept of integration follows a similar line of reasoning where, from a T&G perspective, it means that nothing bad is happening and including no interaction at all but from a larger society perspective, limited interaction is a sign of lack of integration. This work posits that there are other motivations for separateness including the fear of actually being accepted and absorbed into broader society and a protection of their identity which largely includes being the other.

9.1.2 Internal Site Ordering & Size

Internal site ordering has other desired qualities; that of having visual, acoustic and spatial access to all home areas through which the families protect and support each other. Travellers describe that the site is about being with everyone who wants the same thing (8.2.3) and shielded from the bad things that happen outside sites (8.2.4) so they can enjoy and protect each other.

Having their living spaces more open to the exterior means Travellers feel more vulnerable to what is around them perhaps in direct competition with it. It is not as clearly demarcated where

the home begins and ends for caravans as opposed to fixed homes so that perceptions of safety and security differ and have much higher priority.



fig. 9.3. Image left shows a pitch on a private caravan site with perimeter wood fencing. From a settled person's perspective this looks unkempt, with little landscape and not very different from an empty parking lot.

fig. 9.4. Image below articulates areas of use and value of the spaces in T&G terms (2011)



1. 'Pridesee' – safe play area
2. Second bedroom, parking for married children's caravan.
3. Visual interaction with neighbours.
4. Safety buffer area from main site road.
5. Caravan oriented with one surveillance window to main road and others with privacy for living spaces.
6. Work area – sorting recycling goods.
7. Area for storage, work & pets

The contrasting sensory experience, including speed, sound, familiarity and safety, increases with vicinity and precarious juxtaposition of these urban and peri urban sites. For T&G sites are like islands of rhythmic change. The experience for T&G of protection encompasses more than intruders but creates a fort at the level of all sensory perceptions as well. They can see, smell and hear their resistance to dominant society through maintaining their context of everyday life. This is similar to the controlled environment inside the home that for T&G extends onto the site itself.

Sibley (1981) described sites as secure places that facilitated cultural mixing. The evidence indicates that private sites are only allowed as small groups such as the eviction of Dale Farm,

the relocation of sites from Hackney by extended family only and that the only tolerated sites in many locations like Roman Triangle are those only large enough for an extended family group. The pilots and case studies illustrated that three generations make up extended family cluster group. Families thus have less exposure and make decisions less as a community, evinced by Travellers at Hackney and Roman Triangle who describe decisions are not made as a community and each family decides on their own what is right for them (9.5.4). This also means they are decreasingly supportive at larger group levels and the aim of site-living is to ensure an extended family stays together. The impact is one of decreased support within T&G societies as a whole, less federating and more isolation even within their own ethnic groupings. In terms of self-determination this affects T&G capacity to support each other in their attempts to create sites.

9.1.3 Deepened value of societal clustering

While the site is the family level clustering, it is at fairs that societal level clustering is exercised. These fairs are where single young adults choose their life partners within the T&G societies, where families buy common goods, trade horses and where business transactions occur. These events perpetuated the possibilities for, value and meaning of culture. If family cluster groups are important to sustain culture then these Horse and Trade Fairs are important to sustain and confirm contemporary norms, at the level of communal and societal clustering a kind of T&G lifestyle trade fair. The issue of cultural mixing is not given material consideration in planning terms and should become so especially given that planning rules affected their capacity for mixing in residential terms.



fig. 9.5, 9.6, and 9.7. Images above are from Stow-on-the-Wold Horse Fair in Gloucestershire: Above left, British Spotted pony being paraded around for sale. Image centre, youth walking

around in typical dress, socializing. Image right, large section of fair and market stalls with a flow of mainly T&G people (2013)

9.1.4 Site design elements

The design of public and private sites include basic infrastructure and roadways in addition to bordering described earlier (chapters 5 and 7). At public sites, Councils provide only what is considered essential which compared to fixed housing areas are minimal in nature. There is a clear differentiation between what amenity is included in sites versus social housing even though they are meant to provide for similar needs. Social housing clusters incorporate play areas and other urban design elements but sites do not and these are important spaces (DCLG, PPS3, 2006). Sites are seen as a different entity having little in common with the needs of larger society. Their contrived shape and content suggest a very different society and othering is evident even in what is provided and considered necessary for quality living for them.

T&G children do not use public realm play spaces. Perhaps this has contributed to the understanding that they do not need play spaces on sites. T&G children play by being together, they naturally do not need to mix with other children even though as described at Hackney they would have no problem with visitors (8.4.3).

T&G children have no need for settled kids and are taught to rely on each other from a young age. Specifically with T&G, limited contact through play with larger society at an age when exposure develops normalcy in ethnic difference, can be critical first experiences. Low cultural exposure described by Berry (2004) limits acculturation. Play between groups is important to delineate identity as well. Levinson's (2005) ethnographic research of T&G life in England suggests, in light of the dissipation of other identity markers such as travelling, play interpretation serves as a method to confirm identity while establishing boundaries. In addition, in play patterns Levinson recognized socio-cultural signs that differed from the norms of larger society. T&G children were observed in groups in the case studies moving around sites, driving different types of vehicles including real and working toy cars. They were often seen

hanging out which is a more interactive experience and very different from the typical playgrounds that housed children interact within and which can be more of an individual exercise.

Play is central to children's social, physical and emotional development, the limited number of stopping places means that families often stop in environments that are not conducive to safe play areas (Save the Children, 2000). A public site by Kent County Council in 2013 is a first example of incorporating a play area but funds for it had to be acquired separately and it was complicated to justify and gain permission for (Forrester, 2014). It eventually took place also because it is one of the few new permanent, mixed public T&G sites developed in the last ten years by a Council with a history of successful developments.

9.1.5 Geographic isolation & Mobility and Stopping

Evidence shows that long term stopping is a relatively new experience that emerged due to limited options and led to settlement in invisible or otherwise unusable tracts into what has become the geographic typology of sites (Chapters 5 and 7). T&G describe the socio-cultural impacts on their capacity to be Travellers in terms of everyday behaviour and that 'stopping' is also 'travelling' where these similar 'home' settings can be established. The experience of stopping for some, or the use of dayrooms for others, still allows them to be Travellers. They describe that it still feels like a site because regardless of the structures they live in they have the privacy and inclusion of a site (8.2.5) and similar at (8.5, 7.11). Giddens (1993) described it as being able to give material form to a particular narrative. In the case of T&G, materiality came in the form of spaces that allowed enough separation and privacy to 'house' specific cultural behaviours. The transformation in the physicality of the site, with some fixed housing, did not change the fact of it being a site. The new context of stopping allowed them the same spatial behaviour and social system. So it is not just about caravans and mobility but about the spatiality of social systems.

9.1.6 Health Implications of Stopping

Stopping has had implications on health of T&G related to family structure break down. There has been a human cost to long term stopping for the first generation of a family experiencing it. In addition to the poor health related statistics described in Chapter Two, this era of transformation for first time stoppers has meant a significant adaptation in terms of behavioural needs and resources also affecting health and in some instances heart attacks as at Dale Farm (8.4.2) and Roman Triangle (8.12). Evidence shows that tenure insecurity and the fear of losing the family fortune to purchase land which has gone a decade without planning permission contributed to deteriorated well-being. Even though a T&G family becomes stopped, they still support themselves through peripatetic livelihoods. Stopping does not create a settled network, they are still Travellers. The law in relegating planning status does not recognize that it is not just about mobility but about what happens in that movement beyond financial subsistence.

This concurs with Dwyer's (2009) cognitive mapping research of Arctic nomads' link with specific mode of transport. By extension, the context as a whole that movement creates be it physical, social or emotional can affect cognitive mapping including the interaction at temporary stopping places. The evidence of health implications in first stopping generations and the psychological aversion to living in fixed housing (2.2.1) are evidence that being in specific, familiar settings of shared experience and support also shape cognitive responses and its loss creates anxiety and ill health. It is the togetherness in the everyday which forms this context of well-being whether they are in movement or not; the togetherness which site living provides whether in fixed dayrooms or caravans on a site.

The temporary and sometimes long-term separation of male heads has been catastrophic for families as men were involved in affairs with settled community contributing to divorce and family break ups which were relatively new occurrences in contemporary terms (anonymous).

This has been a marked change given the religious and societal context that does not look favourably on divorce (7.2).

Stopping a family does not mean that they become like settled people, they continue to be T&G who travel less but who need to travel to survive financially and who importantly need to know travelling, however infrequent is a possibility in order to survive culturally, was a psychological reassurance of societal contact.

9.1.7 Lack of experience being a Neighbour, by T&G

Travellers who have only begun to experience having neighbours do not know what is expected of them by the outside community or what to expect in return as noted in their limited definition of integration. Further, T&G hold specific views of the settled community due to this lack of experience. Hackney Travellers were not sure how things were going to work out but the lack of problems surfacing on either side means they are getting along (8.4.3 and similar 8.4.4). As a first experience in a built up area, they focused on the trust they share with their family and believe the same close relationships could not be possible with the settled community where even “a judge can be a paedophile” (8.4.4). They also hold stereotypical beliefs about the settled community which comes from years of experience at a distance and with mostly superficial and fleeting relationships often involving fear and rejection and ironically, also inflated by media.

They describe distinct differences as well as commonalities describing the universal love of a mother but the very diverse ways that it manifests (8.4.3) and that their own ways are not yet acceptable to settled society. As a Traveller describes “... it’s just dat i don’t tink dey’d be able to come to da gate wid us” (8.4.3). Both societies have formed opinions which incorporate important differences based on what is most valuable to each. As first time stoppers they are confronted with this not knowing more directly and frequently thus continually reasserting their position of alterity through every day, continued, long term contact. Interaction or perceived common grounding is necessary to begin reinforming on stereotypes on both sides.

In pragmatic terms, T&G also do not know what is reasonably expected of them from local Council and often concede with difficult criteria because they think this is the norm. With Roman Triangle, conditions for temporary permit renewal include knocking on doors of local community for signatures in support of their perceived efforts to integrate (8.1.2). Another example was a perverted form of Localism where racially abusive messages by the public were posted on Council walls. Gypsies present with their children at this ‘public consultation’ were left to justify their need for accommodation (8.9.3). Neighbourhood planning instances place power on side of settled society and establish unbalanced conditions for neighbourliness for which respect and equal standing are a basic foundation. There are also no clear methods for local authorities on how to address situations of racism in these contexts.

9.1.7.1 Lack of experience of T&G by the settled community

Interviews or meetings sometimes very brief with settled communities reflected similar positions of not knowing what to expect. They were less arranged in that they were often incidental as opposed to pre-arranged and sometimes drawn from as secondary sources. At the pilots, the local community made their presence known through letters of opposition to T&G planning applications, copies of these were usually with the T&G family. In the case studies, type of contact with local community varied as significantly as did contact with the T&G.

At Dale Farm, the few members of the local community who were involved were usually those pro T&G development and who were on-site on the more public occasions particularly during the months prior to the eviction. Conversations were overheard and those held directly with them were focused on the mounting pressure of the eviction experience. In a sense, the wider public was interviewed through blog response to media reporting, analysis of this also formed part of understanding the position of the settled community. In general, people who have come forward locally to T&G sites have usually been supporters whether as middlemen to help make necessary links with larger society or simply as friends as was also noted in Brentwood.

At Roman Triangle contact with the settled community occurred with administrative staff at Council offices and observations were made with regards to their change in demeanour when they understood which type of development was being inquired about. Business owners that T&G knew were also met with along with random local residents in the commercial area. They were approached but often there was little interest to answer or have a dialogue even with those who supported the family's presence on site.

At Hackney, the settled community were very supportive and this was another random approaching of people who came from homes near the site. Few who lived adjacent to the site had much knowledge of or even interest in the development; and many were not aware it was T&G living there. Replies to questions showed limited knowledge and that they did not mind the development, comments centred on the disturbance during construction. This was a very different experience from the one described by T&G as the local community who were present during planning meetings were very vocal in their dissent (Games Monitor, 2006).

There was no particular avenue to access the local community as there appeared to be with T&G. This was all the more reason to hold a public event and circulate invitations widely. In this way, all manner of public could have a chance of being part of the discourse; this will be discussed further in Chapter Ten.

9.1.8 Tradition and social structure

Tradition is a concept that reflects what is important and vital today. As T&G assert, it is not about doing something for the sake of historical memory (8.5.1). It reflects their everyday culture based on survival behaviour where survival means maintenance of critical traditional elements that support a strong social network at several scales. Giddens theory of structuration (1991) describes all human action within a pre-existing social structure which is governed by a set of norms. This is in line with the concept of othering. T&G social structure is also defined by its distinctiveness to those they 'other'. Community accords with Cohen (1995) in that it is symbolically constructed through morally accepted behaviour and shared identity.

In this way T&G can have a tradition and be able to change, because adaptation does not mean loss of culture, it is in fact the only way to maintain commonly held values and beliefs. To stay together is key part of that. So that using fixed structures does not change a belief system if it means their core values are being maintained.

Tradition is revealed in cultural values where it is necessary for survival. T&G music and folk songs do not appear to be in this category, it is the more critical issues that govern invented culture. In another context it would be a clear sign of historical culture in decline when as described by Vulliamy it is a Jewish man, Sam Lee, collecting and singing Romani songs (Vulliamy, 2012). Yet in contemporary terms what it means to be a T&G is not a reference to these cultural characteristics. There are mentions of acting and boxing as specific interests with some research groups (8.6). With regards music, it was observed that there was no specific instrument beyond singing. Observed during the nights before the eviction on Dale Farm, the women gathered by bonfire with supporters and sang folks songs which recounted historical tales about their lives. Singing was part of the everyday not something to preserve but something to do together confirming and maintaining membership to their social network. They are not preserving their folk songs as a past society; they are experiencing it as part of the present without the nostalgia for something lost.

T&G practiced the same moral codes and behaviours which together adapt what tradition actually means in contemporary contexts in order to maintain this social order. Culture alone does not delineate or guide how life is meant to be lived but is also informed by adaptation to changing contexts as required in order to maintain those critical elements behind what it means to be a Traveller.

The definition of *Traveller* as described at Roman Triangle is that it is a proper noun, the name of an ethnic group as opposed to describing one who travels (8.5.1). Embedded inside their capacity to live in family clusters with those they trust and who share their values and within which they can other the outside world. In line with Cohen (1995) who describes this kind of

behaviour as a reassertion of their culture in contemporary circumstances and Giddens (1991) who describes that a group's identity is not only found in behaviour or in the response of others, but in the capacity to keep a particular narrative going. This appears to be the case with T&G; the cultural narrative continues to be perpetuated only where it is central to contemporary conditions of survival.

The essence of the culture and reinvention of tradition have been changing even the protective qualities of obscurity and anonymity; part of the protective nature of these othered cultures is loosening. This is clear from increased participation at Hackney and in media both reporting and documentary and at Roman Triangle, a key leader who helped make important contacts for this research and serves as secretary with the Gypsy Council. The exposure from these experiences, even if variable in their extent, bring about contact and knowledge which Berry (2005) outlined as central to acculturation and in this instance serving to reinform on the stereotypes which prevent T&G freedoms such as those in self-determination.

Thus there is a need to reveal the tradition and cultural values that will inform and support opportunities to achieve the freedom to make home within the larger planning system. While there has always been misunderstanding and lack of knowledge of T&G by larger society, informing on tradition and custom in this period of transformation is central to achieving this freedom.

In line with Bhaba (1994), traditions are located in those things they themselves take for granted and Hobsbawm (1983), who describes traditions as appearing to be old but which is often both recent and invented. These corroborate with the idea that being a Traveller follows customs through actions and tradition is found in those ritualized practices surrounding the actioning of those customs and the continuity of value systems within a modern framework. This shift we are evincing is from the caravan as custom to it being instead one of tradition in which its variability and use has been to realize other more important and foundational customs such as the social clustering context and its continuity across changing barriers to creating and sustaining them.

As seen at Hackney and Roman Triangle, the idea of being a Traveller is based on still having it, “I think those bungalows are a step forward for the Travellin community, becoz we still have it, you’re still together” (8.11.1), that is, being together in their familial and societal clustering. But are they dropping anchors, as described by Cohen (1995) in this regard, is this a confirmation of what has always been true and vital for them; is this an adaptation for long term survivance of critical values; or are we seeing a shift, a transformation in cultural evolution?

While transformation and adaptations are not new, what is new is the idea of what tradition means and those essential qualities and values that maintain for T&G society their status and culture.

Group identity is so strong that T&G see it rather from a position of survival as opposed to the idea that they segregate themselves from society at the cost of access to service provisions. From evidence, T&G describe the pressure to stay on sites and maintain their culture (8.5.1). It is based on the support network described earlier but also on the idea that “to be outcast from Traveller community is very hard because you know that we’re the ones who’ll protect you” (8.5.1). They are supported by the community but it also represents an only line of support so there is increased pressure to continue being part of it. Even the system of Justice by Avoidance or pressure to satisfy continued membership requirements incorporates this power or threat of segregation from the inner circle of T&G. Falling out of the inner circle means being segregated at another, much deeper level from an already marginalized entity.

9.1.9 Land use valuing, tenure and ownership

Ownership of residential land does not confer rights to reside for caravan dwellers as it would for fixed housing dwellers. Material consideration is necessary to overcome Local Development Plans since residential land use is different from site for T&G and requires separate consent. Points are relegated where needs alone are evidenced, for example, number of school-aged children or any disabilities or learning difficulties. Value of land use is not

considered fully in context when decisions are made. Such a focus would ensure access to Traveller lifestyle or community living and membership with the benefits and responsibilities it commands. Appropriate land use value would also provide this security to the next generation.

The focus was on the potential for their children to have a place on site once they come of age. This is the underlying value and definition of tenure security for Travellers, owning control over their extended family status. This was even stronger than the need for land ownership, as evinced by the use of derelict lands in isolated areas such as recycling plants, infrastructure sites, or tracts adjacent to motorways (Chapters four and six). From the Traveller perspective, plugging into primary social services including health and education are important but not to the detriment of establishing and maintaining 'home' which is what those provisions are meant to support but which for them is the capacity to create cluster family settings.

The extended family also take care of their retired, elderly and sick members as one Traveller describes they take care of their own and when elderly are on their own they come together: "you know, the protection of having the group moved out around her would be the best health provision" (8.5.2).

In terms of tenure security, Hackney is a temporary one satisfying the current generation but with no clear indication of security for the next. The time limited right to buy does not outline future rights. Travellers had been conditioned to expect very little and describe, "we didn't think they'd come through we didn't think we'd ever get this piece of land or another piece of land, the English hadn't called us you know for a long long time, so if we didn't take this land God's knows where, so we take our chances on it" (8.1.2). With pressure to accept, agreements were addressing immediate concern of homelessness. The capacity for the next generation to have the option to buy, or to maintain tenure security remains unclear.

Access to tenure follows a process and valuing system that reflects thinking of larger society. As described earlier, Morris and Clements (1999) note that it is characteristic of indigenous

people to value and manage resources including land use according to socially inclusive strategies.

Tenure possibility at Hackney with the right to buy was a long term temporary with right to buy; Dale Farm was an illegal development; and Roman Triangle a site with series of temporary permits with substantial gaps of insecurity in between. Beyond the limited and invisible locations where T&G are allowed, the lack of options for tenure security is another form of othering. By not allowing appropriate level of continuous tenure security they are being given some access but limited recognition of their rights.

Habermas (McCarthy, 1981) in his communicative action theory referred to the outsider and their plausible position of negotiation within dominant society to contest and negotiate concepts of land tenure. In so doing, the condition of both worlds becomes more explicit (Gaspar, 2011). T&G status in land tenure give us the opportunity to learn more about how the total system works. Tenure has immense financial, political, and for T&G particular cultural value. Denying it while providing excusable tracts shifts the focus from their rights to tenure security and onto access. The negotiations Habermas (McCarthy, 1981) describes to contest these positions have been quite limited and will be important to overcome barriers to freedom in self-determination.

In line with their material approach to land exchange described by Kenrick (2010) there is an inherent need or expectation for mutual trust which in some case became a vulnerability used against them by some T&G as in the case where land was sold at a high price as though it had planning consent when it did not (7.3). The code of conduct between them has for so many years been one of high integrity and challenging this faith also means putting to question those values that sustain the value of T&G identity. As Reyniers (2003) suggests, Roma egalitarian thinking prevents the individual rising above the others, limiting collective consciousness between Roma groups. But in this context these values actually leave them more vulnerable to exploitation by other T&G groups where families do not protect each other with knowledge

and history of rogue behaviour. This also keeps them from uniting together to defend common interests.

This is contributed to by the limited size of cluster groups; now the law stops T&G living together in groups. Hanging onto the essence of being T&G is more critical in the stopped condition making them more amenable to adaptations. Within larger society, this increased control over time has diminished the security of continued use and undermined the value of their cultural presence within England. But given the changing settings, the breaking up of family settings, of community cluster groups, individual families no longer feel the strength of this resolve to protect outside families as evidence of swindling over land has been taking place more and more as evinced at Roman Triangle and in other instances with families previously to coming to Dale Farm (7.3.1). In fact, the significance of such a large site as Dale Farm is one of the last manifestations of this larger communal living outside Council sites where T&G organized together to create this community.

Destroying half of Dale Farm had a far greater significance to local and national governments than simply planning laws; it was demarcating the end of an era of T&G self-determination relegating them now to tightly controlled, small and specifically located places where the communal level engagement between T&G groups is more difficult and sporadic.

The more accepted smaller sites are allowing the critical nature of cluster groups to cohabitate. But there is no guarantee that this will continue as allowing sites is a discretionary decision that is not based on guidelines; they are currently simply allowed. T&G are more tolerated on smaller sites and this has implications on local communities including better relations.

9.1.10 A setting for home

Home is not a geographically based concept for T&G, it is landless but not placeless because there are elements that need shifting and a spot for this shifting to set. From evidence T&G describe that some land just has a special feel to it particularly where they are in the open and close to the ground (Chapter Five and 8.2.1). When asked to describe favourite places they

have lived, descriptions were given in these terms and with regards the travelling routes to getting there and where they were headed as opposed to the place itself (8.2.1).

Home exists outside of the physicality of land and geography and within places that allow systems of societal order and behaviour. Movement encapsulates, shapes and elucidates these orders as the only non-changing element while travelling. Balancing the protective context of your own society while being at home within larger society, has been a difficult combination to negotiate.

9.1.11 The motivations for caravan dwelling

Through the research a number of explanations surfaced regarding caravan dwelling and whether it has been a choice. As noted, there are historic, traditional, cultural, social, psychological and even physiologic explanations. A common response from T&G when asked why they don't live in a fixed house, was "why don't you live in a caravan"? (8.3.3 and similar 8.4.4). This relays the significant differences between lifestyles that the caravan itself enables not least of which is the capacity for site living that caravans afford families in socio-cultural terms. However only 30% are still able to manage this (FFT 2010).

T&G take the risks associated with stopping because of the difficulty to travel and the access to services this allows. But the reasons they maintain caravan dwelling despite the immense difficulties with finding stopping places run much deeper into concepts of identity and social cohesion. There is an emerging transformation taking place but is evinced more strongly with Irish Travellers than with Romani, possibly because the bungalow site at Hackney was a first opportunity to see their reaction.

Important research on psychological aversion to fixed housing (West London Partnership, 2010) and cognitive mapping (Dwyer, 2009) and which Liégeois (1995) called a state of mind was confirmed but means something different in the contemporary context. Intensity of the Dale Farm standpoint on eviction and the relocation of Hackney site, show that the meaning

and importance of the caravan has become a tool of resistance and declaration of T&G identity. In caravans the presence of T&G is understood as is their ongoing commitment to being a Traveller and Gypsy. With the increasing difficulty to caravan-dwell, these commitments are becoming more profound.

9.1.12 Contemporary culture and membership within it

Earlier discussions surrounding tradition, culture, and their adaptations explored the critical qualities that ensure survivance of T&G freedoms to self-determine in general. Evidence also suggests that there are specific tensions and pressures within the T&G societies to accommodate these qualities which in themselves limit life choices also affecting freedom. These pressures are shaped around the viability to maintain those essential characteristics associated with continuity of membership within their respective T&G societies. This correlates with Tajfel (1984) in that T&G derive identity and behave in accordance with the norms of the social groups they belong to (chapter Four).

This awareness guides our actions with which we identify ourselves in a cultural community. The evidence outlines that there is a strong pressure based on the fear of loss of cultural membership and support. This can be seen as both a defence reaction as well a method of control.

Their group commitment was evident in the interviews where, language responses were overwhelmingly in the third person: 'we' was recorded in the responses approximately 238 times while 'I' was used 78 times as contemporary. This is sub-conscious evidence of their loyalty and group perspective.

Okely (1983) describes specific 'rites' as delineating distinctiveness and thus separation between societies. It is also true that the relationship between T&G and wider society serves to strengthen T&G identity (Bhopal and Myers 2008). Liégeois (1987) believes it is the very opposition to dominant culture that shapes Gypsy identity. The consistency of this othering has served to demarcate identity and sustain this relationship.

The pressure to maintain cultural continuity overcomes the threat of homelessness that caravan dwelling has become for many. There is a strong internal socio-political network that the issues of planning are not strong enough to overwhelm. However, the 70% of T&G now living in housing means there must be a threshold. The maintenance of this 'membership' is central to keeping the support that the community brings for existing caravan dwellers but at some point for the majority of T&G the combination of issues has overtaken this pressure.

9.1.13 Social justice systems confirm membership

The Romanichal system of justice by avoidance, described by Acton (2005) resolves conflict through negotiations based on commonly accepted norms (Chapter Five). The system takes strength from the threat of being marginalized from an already isolated community; a most precarious position which motivates resolution to disputes. The important value is that T&G loyalty is present above any commitment to larger society so that even in instances of deep conflict between Gypsies, they will support one another even wrong doers who are T&G above police and other authorities (Okely, 2005).

From a practical perspective, the lack of sites has affected practice of this kind of justice system as described by a female Romanichal after a planning meeting: "that poor person you are fighting with if you get them evicted you know they have nowhere else to go" (5.2.4 and Table 5.8.1).

With regards to freedoms of self-determination, planning interrupts the continuity of justice systems and resolution of conflict. The pressure to adhere to these systems also limits acceptable levels of interaction affecting quality of life by interrupting important social structures.

9.1.14 Limited Federating among Roma of Europe and T&G

Othering has been evinced between T&G groups who see the other travelling cultures as very different and having their own ways and values (8.2.1, 8.5.1, 8.5.3). As a whole this signals a

weakened front in efforts towards self-determination. Limited extent of social networks means limited federating. Evidence from Hackney, use of the 'different' appeared six times in three sentences when asked to compare the travelling cultures (8.5.3).

But there is also contradictory evidence from Roman Triangle where the families are of mixed Romani, Irish and Scottish ancestry. At Dale Farm as well, where the evicted Irish Traveller side was first invited to buy into the large site by the legally developed Romani side even if living on separate sides of the former car recycling site. There is also a recent site in Kent where the premise was to develop a mixed public site where residents worked together and since 2013 it has been succeeding (Forrester, 2014). Despite these examples of mixing, it appears that federating does not go beyond extended family groups.

Although there are the first signs of at least national federating with the Roma May 9th 2013 Brentwood Gypsy Support Group hosted a "Roadshow" of the national Churches Network for Gypsies. They used this gathering to review site issues and other significant issues affecting all T&G communities. This point of reference is a new common ground upon which to potentially build such federations nationally.

9.1.15 Changing attitudes towards education

The cultural adaptations described earlier can be seen extending into educational and vocational aspirations. Where family and communal level participation were seen as more critical than formal education (Okely 1983; Liégeois 1987) we are seeing a shift in this perspective in line with changing careers and livelihoods for survival extending beyond cultural thrivance. This is evident in the priority that families hold to remain close to schools even when being moved; that motivation to stop is about ensuring access to schools noted at all three case studies (chapter seven and 8.1.1, 8.4.3, 8.6 and 8.6.1); and most notably that higher education beyond secondary school is becoming an increasingly likely necessity even if the aim right now is only "simple careers" (8.6) or because Travellers do not believe in going to University and prefer to focus on family (8.6 and 8.6.1).

The real threat will come at the level of perceived membership particularly where it is tied to marriageability of young women. As one Traveller described. “da boys ask why is she going ta college well, she doesn’t want ta get married, she doesn’t want a family, dat girl won’t be asked ta get married” (8.6). Being seen as someone who chooses to continue their education means you risk being seen as not choosing to marry and manage a household through dependence on your husband. In many ways, this is at the heart of membership in both propagation of culture itself and in the alterity response to resist outside norms which sets the boundaries and which gives context and meaning to the cultural values. T&G know who they are not, through these choices.

From various discussions with other planning advocates, it has been suggested that children were expected to contribute to their parent’s businesses and that this was a more central reason for curtailed levels of education. The concern raised was that where young adults gain skills and interest they would be led away from family businesses which to a large extent also contribute to cultural membership and identity. If this is true then there appears to be a tipping point as attitudes towards formal education balanced against loss of other forms of autonomy these norms slowly begin to change as T&G describe, “Some girls wanted de opportunity to go to college and to get a job, Ii would like to be a beautician or something like that, you know something simple not a lawyer or doctor or anything like dat, just something simple” (section 8.6) and “times are changing an getting harder, it’s getting tougher, if they go to College get into hairdressin for da girls or whatever or boys become mechanics or whatever, that’s der decision. I know culture is culture, dat means a lot to da Travelers but somehow day got ta tink of der future as well” (8.6.1).

T&G describe these new vocations as still being ones that allow self-employment in keeping with the autonomous tradition common to T&G livelihoods which can also be seen as a position of isolation that they chose. The changes appear to be recognition that this adaptation is necessary in the new context of being stopped and to maintain a fair quality of life.

Ironically, the cultural perspective is shifting into the notion that it must change in order to survive where once strong unchangeability of elements hinged on the belief that it ensured cultural thrivance. There is a tension based on pressure to maintain membership and gaining the skills to negotiate for freedoms in self-determination with larger society. The formal and informal education from institutions and interaction that bring these about are emerging.

8.1.16 Economics and autonomy

As Sibley (1981) described, T&G subsistence is based on discerning and adaptation to, dominant society's needs. Capitalist expansion leaves gaps in the market which creates a resource base for them. The evidence suggests that T&G provide services and products in line with these gaps and that their presence in peri-urban areas is supportive of these economies. Although it is difficult to extrapolate ethnicity from planning law, it is clear that, planning laws determine T&G status through economic subsistence of travelling (DCLG, 2012) which allows them to be considered in site planning consent. It is under material consideration that other issues are considered and a pre requisite to these considerations is requirement of proof that the applicant is a T&G by ancestry (Johnson & Willers, 2007).

There is a transformative shift taking place while tradition is being recontextualized but overall it is becoming an increasingly onerous task of partnering and rethinking to be able to emerge with 'tradition' and membership in one hand and the capacity to remain financially autonomous on the other; a state of being that is critical to T&G social, financial and cultural freedom and well-being. This balance occurring in the context of limited tenure stability is limiting the possibilities.

From the evidence, their capacity to overcome planning issues does not change regardless of socio-economic success as one successful business owner described experiencing the same barriers in planning (8.4.1).

Also as noted, a family head who is a construction manager in major infrastructure development of the Olympics, also has not been able to overcome planning obstacles and is

suffering health issues from the long term insecurity (.7.1).The Olympics being a critical reference point in two case studies illustrates the major impact of infrastructure projects as opportunities for development as well as highlighting the limitations for long term opportunities for freedom that they influence directly and indirectly.

These examples show that the ability to self-determine appears just as difficult as for those without substantial and stable financial success. There is a difference between poverty and inequality in that even those financially successful families with capacity, who have experience with larger society and confident about their rights are still not able to overcome issues in planning.

Planning rules create barriers for wealthy providing sites as social housing only, thus collapsing poverty with inequality. This is contrary to Kenrick's (2010) theory of integration which suggests that economic success and capacity for ethnic maintenance outlines that groups that are successful are likely more integrated and less likely to be Gypsy. Financial success historically required exposure to larger society and building up of relationships with larger society with a loss of anonymity. This reaffirms economic freedom but does not necessarily confer human rights or freedom to self-determine quality of life on their own terms.

Increased anonymity is not ensuring a parallel increase in freedom in self-determination and may in fact be detrimental to it. Kenrick's (2010) reasoning still applies to Travellers who cannot afford their own sites and instead live on mixed Council sites where their social network is out of their control and where they lose access to this membership to some degree. Those on waiting lists and roaming from place to place are even worse off, although there are few families in this predicament today and those living in fixed houses outside the community cluster as well have more disassociated links to the structure of T&G societies. Democracy in planning lies in the layered mechanisms of control both within and outside these societies.

9.2 SECTION TWO: the role of planning in T&G accommodation

This section refers to evidence from Chapter Eight (8.3) which reflects the implications of the planning system on T&G freedom in self-determination. In terms of its values, processes and tools there appear to be in congruencies between the way in which the planning system approaches development with the values, and processes that T&G tend towards.

9.2.1 Geographic and perceived isolation

From the viewpoint of the housing authority, the purpose of the buffer zone at Hackney was to protect both societies from clashes but essentially reinforces the stigma of having to separate a potentially 'difficult' community from the rest and suggested it was agreed at consultation (8.2.1). A Traveller described it as "dead land for us ... dat was der mistake" (8.2.4).

Planning efforts to limit contention are in conflict with their criteria of integration between T&G and larger society at urban sites. Through these site conditions they are encouraging the Travellers to fit in by actually avoiding interaction and conflict while at other sites evidence of integration was required (R). At rural site, Sibley (1981) believed isolation was a tool of domination and the treatment of sites as transition between cultural autonomy and full integration with resulting cultural annihilation. From the point of view of T&G, their much fought for separation, particularly in terms of site, has helped maintain critical cultural autonomy. In peri urban instances it comes from physical isolation and from the urban it comes from physical buffer zones. At Hackney it was land buffers, at Dale Farm it was distance away from other residences and Roman Triangle the buffer of the Ingatestone By-pass. The site is a transition from movement but it does not appear to be as linear a progression to cultural absorption as theorized by Sibley (1981).

In their isolation of defensive buffering, sites do not enable integration. The lack of contact and even visual awareness of them does not inform the considerations, consequences and sources that lead to their contemporary condition and thus are not incorporated into the planning decisions resolving barriers to self-determination.

Human land use values T&G are seeking are clearly present in terms of social and family clustering; desire for protection; and T&G version of privacy and integration to ensure high

quality of everyday life. While we may find similar values are held with larger society, their translation into built form takes on site characteristics which are not as comprehensively legible, leaving this commonality open to question. For instance privacy for T&G occurs between societies as opposed to between individual families or people. Safety issues are about protecting access to land for T&G as opposed to locked front doors.

9.2.2 Planning system and overall provision of accommodation

While there are contributing tensions from within the T&G communities, there are gaps in the planning process where evidence shows an imbalance between policy and strategies against the details of the local decisions. Local planning criteria decisions discord with National Policy (NPPF, 2012) which is development driven. Local planning decisions for sites lag far behind in most cases with few addressing the mandatory sites allocations (DCLG, 2012). The lack of a regional framework makes this difficult to justify and reinforce because Travellers who are not considered 'local' can be pushed out of districts and there will not be a paper trail evidencing their homelessness, which will as a result remain non-statutory. Council will not be required to act on their state of homelessness (Homelessness Act 2002 c.7, DCLG 2006). Even with a Duty to Cooperate (Localism Act 2011, Legislation UK) Councils are required to strategically address cross border issues but it is not actually a duty and few are doing so (Westminster, 2013). Policy is intended to address national interests where there is an increasing deficit in affordable housing. For the first time since WWII private rental surpasses social housing provision (Lennartz, 2013). Tenure insecurity is widespread and this also informs the debate.

9.2.3 Politics & temporary permission

The majority of negotiations for private site permission have surrounded temporary planning as noted at all pilots and case studies. Temporary permission leaves a local council in control of the future use of land and delegates only limited tenure security in this way. The pilot case was outcome influenced by an overturned refusal by Inspectorate for approval in an area of outstanding natural beauty (AONB) (chapter Five, 9). There are also no clear numbers

demarcating temporary from permanent permission thus the extent of tenure insecurity is unknown.

9.2.4 Planning and political contention

The Local Plan and Neighbourhood Plans inform the Local Development Plans upon which planning decisions are made in accordance with. The Localism Act (2011) which ensures this influence is based on the notion that it is more democratically considered and puts power in the hands of communities and individuals. The problem is that those who have never participated before will not begin now where the contexts for participation and reasons keeping them from doing so have not changed.

From the evidence it appears that the opportunity for Localism (Legislation UK, 2011) for many people has meant the opportunity to say 'no' as opposed to consult on planning where T&G are involved. The racist responses at Brentwood showcases this (8.9.3). Since the development of the Act opportunities for engagement with T&G have not surfaced but the tools are there to be tapped into, it is the method, context and understanding of the issues in planning for T&G that have not been developed or incorporated appropriately.

9.2.5 Societal values and land tenure

Recent projections examining future land use values (The Government Office for Science, 2010) suggest important shifts that require cross sector and multi-level government partnership to unlock value from land and address social, economic, and environmental challenges as projected over the next 50 years. They outline that there have not been common overall valuing mechanisms (ibid). This is an important period in which to coordinate land use values of groups like T&G into the social agenda of land use values.

Land use values and rights will incorporate an agenda preventing the use of land as commodity. Sandel (2012) describes our drift from having a market economy to being one which has implications across critical aspects of freedom and well-being. If we provide land use access only through financial means which are motivated by financial returns only then by

valuing this capacity in this limited way we also demean the living and humanity that they were originally intended to serve. Planning has changed significantly from amenity service in 1950's to infrastructure to today's property value and land as commodity focus.

Access to tenure security is influenced by the broader land use agendas inherent in decision-making at sites. In the case of Hackney relocation site where local authority facilitated the development of a site in an urban area, there were underlying motivations making this case exceptional. The Olympics created an opportunity for Travellers but the advantageousness of the situation seen in context and detail raises important questions. The sense of luck for being on the right piece of land, "a goldmine" (8.1.2), attributed the power to relocate and be part of that process. Even with time constraints and limited urban land options it was seen as a positive experience by Travellers. Lord Avebury (2010) believes the solution demands that local authorities provide land necessary for current needs. But evidence shows this must also come with all local authorities contributing a long term vision for accommodation or the fight will always be for basic level of provision. The way this is done in conjunction with T&G will be important to the sustainability, legitimacy and economic relevance of the scheme. Even if there are ground level informed approaches there is still the lack of a larger, inclusive vision. A mutually profitable and beneficial business partnership between T&G and council is far more realistic and likely than simply provision which has until now not been delivered sufficiently to prevent circumstances like Dale Farm and the incredible response of mass evictions.

New tenure forms cannot emerge where Payne (2002) describes if, they are categorized as illegal, formal or informal only. It is in conjunction with appropriate understanding of land use valuing that sustainable tenure strategies can be created. Larger society can then see T&G settlements as diverse cultural entities which contribute to the cosmopolitan identity of England and deserve a variable approach to ownership and planning. This means seeing them within a much broader vision of the diversity of human nature instead of within the limited scope of legality.

9.2.6 Legality and legitimacy of caravan dwelling

The pressures from lack of sites, exclusion of caravans as appropriate housing alternative and the difficulty securing permission on self-owned land articulates the increasing barriers to caravan dwelling and thus self-determination. What is considered appropriate accommodation in case law is in conflict with the qualities Travellers demand. Apart from need alone there is also the freedom to choose a mode of living that is a choice. The type of accommodation authorities provide is open to debate and thus the next era of rule currently being tested will set a first precedent in this regard. For instance, fixed houses offered as 'appropriate' alternatives diminish caravan dwellers as a community not only in the pressure to change but also in the loss of social networks that the physical and social environment changes bring about because caravans more easily allow site living.

One family from Dale Farm challenged this at High Court in order to answer the questions of whether it was legal for local authorities to offer different housing type than the type that suited their lives. The Housing Act (Legislation UK 2004) can enforce this as confirmed in *R (Margaret Price) v Carmarthenshire County Council* (Willers, 2003) because it defined T&G based on ethnicity. Local authority relies on development plan documents and planning law which defines T&G essentially in a non-ethnic way. They are required to make material consideration once the T&G ethnic status is proven and can take into account way of life but are not bound by these considerations.

9.2.7 Baseline evidence

There are 353 local authorities in England (DCLG 2012), each one an independent decision maker with local rules and pressures (Niner & Brown, 2009). This fragmented delivery of services means it is more likely minority groups with specific needs will remain unarticulated. There needs to be in place user friendly standards and approaches to gaining data on provisions needs and desires. Currently, even those local authorities seeking guidance for quantifying need must create their own framework and reference point. From the evidence, there is a lack of information on the part of local authorities. In order to argue for provisions there is a need to empirically identify and quantify T&G need inside of a larger inclusion vision. In this way the outputs and implications of any intervention can also be measured and verified.

9.2.8 Public perception & media

Expectations by larger society influence the politics of planning and the public perception of T&G. Media is a tool used to reinforce these agendas. For instance, Dale Farm has become a threat as a number of local authorities, in subsequent sites visited mention Dale Farm as a reference point that they want to avoid in their respective boroughs. The people resisting T&G planning use Dale Farm as a fear base and T&G use it as an example of the fact there are a lack of sites to settle on. Romanichals describe that “Dale Farm is the Traveller 911”. This serves to increase pressure and rules do not appear to be useful if considered in isolation from public pressure. The renaming of the Olympic site in Stratford (Chapter Seven) meant that internet access to information could only be made via knowledge of the historical name of the area. Thus few people were aware of the fact that several communities were relocated.

History of media inquiry in an area serves as a measure of the condition of relationships and resilience of local authority to be able to deliver public sites or likelihood of approving private applications. Media could work in conjunction to this aim by publishing evidence of successful sites as opposed to seemingly bad ones or by clarifying complete details of illegal situations.

Participation that has emerged has been in the form of resistance at the 11th hour. T&G have not been involved in the process with limited negotiation on land tenure throughout. While Local authorities are slow to deliver, T&G have not organized or taken local authorities to task on this. This condition will only worsen without regional strategies. As Burayidi (2000) suggested, extraordinary steps are required with regards to participation of the historically marginalized. Given these perspectives, there is a need for minorities themselves to manage discontent within the planning system to get not only what they need but also what they choose for themselves and ensure mutually established contexts are inviting, relevant and effective.

9.2.9 Social and economic integration markers seen comparatively

From the evidence of this first section, there are varying definitions of integration which differ between T&G groups and those of larger society. The reason these are important to self-determination is because they outline those priorities and values in planning that T&G are aiming to achieve which differ from those that the planning system appears to be aiming for with regards this minority group. Important to this analysis is that for T&G any level of what they describe as integration is strongly linked to their capacity for cultural living and tenure security. Also, where acculturation appears as a goal for larger society, T&G fear this and see it more as assimilation as they do not experience a parallel society that other members of ethnic groups in larger society might or at least are not as visually distinct in their choices. T&G behaviour is resistance to these elements of what they consider to be assimilation. These incongruencies serve as barriers to self-determination because they illustrate the difference between what T&G want to create in residential settings compared with the imposed vision of residential settings and criteria as set out by the planning system.

9.3 SECTION THREE: majority-minority relations

This section is a discussion of critical evidence relevant to understanding the influences of minority – majority relations on freedom of self-determination. This analysis draws from various areas of evidence (*fig. 8.1*) and considers them from the perspective of their implications on the relations between the T&G as a minority group with larger society. The implications on the minority when relations with majority groups are poor denigrate the potential for self-determination by them and bring another perspective to understanding the barriers to freedom.

9.3.1 Isolation and Integration

The physicality of site affects vision of who T&G's are thereby setting attitudinal positions in relationships. Considered more specifically, complexity and novelty, imageability (Sanoff, 1991), or the visual reinforcement of physical commonalities (Jacobs, 1961) would serve to establish a sense of a shared life (Sandel, 2012). Where these qualities appear to be missing, then physical evidence of the other is established. Difficulties of finding common ground are as complex as creating shared visions of a beautiful piece of land. Where different visions manifest without perceived common ground, then sites become ugly where residential quarters are beautiful and vice versa.

Would a beautification of sites in accord with the norm recognize a more 'British' order visually and then socially as well? In some ways, the differences in degrees of tenure security are evident in the treatment of sites by T&G. How do these issues of legitimacy, British orderliness, influence the perception of sites and the relationships between T&G and others? Sanoff (1991) suggested that these underlying tensions come as silent communicators that at their most benign suggest an unknown people and create psychological distance.

The physicality of the site on both social and perceived physical levels presents limits to integration but from the perspective of T&G this means something entirely different. From the

evidence, integration means having an enclave set within the vicinity of another public community, even with little limited interaction, the fact of not being rejected is the greatest degree of acceptance they have ever experienced.

From the T&G perspective, they are elated that integration is possible while at the same time their site lifestyles have been maintained. This is the first tentative step in shared community knowledge even if not integration in its broader definition. Isolation and anonymity whether through bordering, geographic isolation or social anonymity (Weyrauch 2001; Rao 2004) are sought after to some extent but increasingly this is changing form and degree. The difficulty to thrive in changing contexts means a new range of vicinity is being tolerated by T&G. The definition of integration is changing.

9.3.2 English – British Issue

The concept of local authority as ‘English’ throughout the interviews was a strong descriptor which served to position the Travellers, themselves English, as outsiders in England (8.1.2).

This term was used to refer to authority and controllers. Ironically, those Irish Travellers in Ireland also experience othering by Irish government resulting in poor quality of life (Bowers nd). Particularly in that sectarian setting there are further levels of distinction and separation.

Evidence suggests that T&G remain closed to commonality with larger society but in the experience of negotiating tenure have learned to balance this position (8.4.3) as larger society learn more about T&G. There is limited focus on getting to know larger society. Traveller also describes, “it’s just dat i don’t tink dey’d be able to come to da gate wid us” (8.4.3) implying that T&G sense outsiders are not ready to accept their social structure, lifestyle and values.

This reaction can also be described as an alterity response, taken to the next level: protecting the site and social network is really about a fear of being accepted by larger society, being absorbed into that larger framework and losing identity and control. T&G are not ready.

9.3.3 Education

This knowing between groups holds potential for barriers and freedom and it comes in many different forms. At its most fundamental it is about creating relationships. Limited formal and popular education in the contemporary era is self-limiting of their own society; perpetuates isolation and social dependency; limits integration, power and self-representation; creates media vulnerability which perpetuates stereotypes and ultimately serves to erode the very culture they are trying to maintain.

It is through increased formal education, experience of dominant society, education by experience that will serve the T&G in their drive to self-determine and which is motivated by their desire to maintain their cultural drop anchors. In line with relative version of integration, there appears to be a fine balance of change in terms of attitudes towards formal education in order to survive, where too much or too little change moves into cultural decline with adaptation, integration and assimilation being the mediating positions. Education about social mores or British reporting and a strong image to be portrayed relay back to themes of education and federating and which would serve to overcome this exploitation through their experience in media.

9.3.4 Economics and Anonymity

Economics and livelihoods can be viewed in the context of contact between minority and majority society as one of the most legitimizing forms of contact. Powell (2013) described the experience of business exchange, contact and understanding as a legitimization of citizen. From observations, the changing context of business exchange is increasingly internet based for the more affluent T&G as noted in pilots and case studies. It was a cumulative observation that became relevant over time. Those with limited literacy got someone to help with online business presence.

Opportunity for business dealings has improved and in turn this has improved relations in lucrative and beneficial partnerships as observed through the research (Chapters 5 and 7). However, cultural anonymity has also increased as most businessmen will not self-identify. Evidence of this is the fact that photos were not allowed to be taken which included T&G men; this was especially evinced during very public exposure of evictions. Thus, the perceived contribution of the minority to the market economy has actually diminished. T&G businessmen, particularly those successful ones perceive a high degree of threat through cultural exposure, noted earlier. Their financial success does not increase power to self-determine as they too report their inability to plan basic amenities on their land. T&G remain thus unaffected by their actual valuable contributions and success which remain largely unattributed to them by larger society. This in turn affects their legitimization and deservedness as citizens with rights to housing diversity.

9.3.5 Perception of Citizen

Giddens' (Jary and Bryant, 1991) theory on constitution of society is an attempt to reconcile theoretical dichotomies of social systems whereby the focus is not individual or societal but an examination of social practices over a period of time. This order of economic contributor as merchant and consumer can be seen to legitimize agency from the perspective of broader society. In other words, economic contributors legitimize their place as citizens of a society by bolstering their perceived contribution to the economy; a perceived commitment to the common good. Olson (2000) argues that the seeds of civilization which paved the way for democracy came as a result of roving bandits becoming stationary bandits. This suggests that the stationary bandit is motivated to achieve economic success with expectation that his position in society will ensure he will take a share in the long term while the roving bandit only has immediate incentive for economic success and thus more likely to steal and destroy (ibid). The function of government then becomes protection of those citizens committed to place and their property against the roving bandit furthering the implications of business exchange anonymity.

Hobsbawm (1983) believes that the actual occasions when people are reminded of citizenship remain tied to symbols and semi-ritual practices like elections so that citizenship is behavioural and not a given status. Their perceived contribution to the perceived market economy corroborates both their place as citizens and their commitment to a locality both as goods and service providers.

9.3.6 Participation and media

The more contentious, dramatic and exposed case study at Dale Farm meant that it also would attract a number of high profile campaigners, celebrities and organizations to mediate, support and oppose the growing social injustice. Some of the agents (8.8.2) were useful in bringing attention to the issues while others were inadvertently patronizing. The evidence shows that it is more effective to facilitate T&G self-representation which appears critical to positive long term outcomes. The most compelling experience with media through self-representation was in BBC video interviews which received national exposure. Female leaders within the Dale Farm community served to bring forward a strong message of empathy and understanding on the part of T&G (8.8.2). While the majority of blog responses were negative and against T&G planning, these short news clips did serve to redress to some extent public sentiment on the planning issue (8.8.2). Multimedia provides other affordances to see the human side of a situation where body language, mannerisms and vocals also relay critical information. Apart from these affordances, it also concurs with Levinas (1987) that the real person representing themselves is far more powerful than them being reported upon.



fig. 9.9. Image left show portraits of children from the site being prepared for a wall montage at the entry gate facing the public side in an effort to humanize the Travellers to eviction crews (2011)

In all of these forms of resistance and reinforming of the other are important elements of participation and self-representation of invented contexts.

9.4 National & European Implications

There are EU structural funds, useful as financial tools, to realize the targets of the Roma decade of Inclusion and implement regional EU policy. A T&G legal consultant (Carruthers, 2012) describes that these are not being tapped into, either by private industrial entities that can acquire them nor governments that can seek resources in industrial terms based on Article 174, Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union-TFEU (Foundation for EU Democracy, 2008). A Freedom of Information request was necessary to find out how many meeting the Ministerial working Group on Gypsies and Travellers had organized and the results showed that there were none since the basic response to the EU on their strategy outline which was not a response to their EU commitments. It is through a lack of national federating that policy advisory groups can eschew these requirements and which has prevented the T&G inclusion into the larger EU movement.

At the EU level, policies being developed have hindered Roma involvement because as some Roma scholars describe it, the Roma movement forgot to incorporate the ground level human narrative and has not been inviting for Roma. Similar to England, policies have been about ideologies as opposed to about people and mostly developed by non-T&G. The new generation of more integrated approaches to dealing with Roma quality of life such as “Best Practices for

Roma Integration” by Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE, 2012) is an acknowledgement that different approaches are needed and takes into account a variety of interconnected issues in parallel such as housing, employment, education, health, and integration. But these programs for Roma are not being led by them. Integration in these projects is ameliorating all life provision but as a number of studies at national and European level illustrate, Roma are not integrated into the framework of delivery. The young Roma movement describe in their petition to OSCE Ambassadors, there is still something wrong because Roma are not leading in projects aimed at serving them and for which leadership and partnership were central aims (Romalítico Roma Policy Analyses, 2014) and as described by members of Human Rights Law Centre Nottingham (2012); by UNDP (Kocze, 2012); and Open Society Foundation (OSF 2013). These issues will become increasingly relevant in the UK given the number of Roma immigrating since EU expansion in recent years with numbers now estimated to equal that of T&G (Brown et al., University of Salford, 2012). Interestingly, the recent wave of East European Roma migrants have been benefitting from the move to Scotland. Glasgow City Council are reporting that the first generation of Slovak Roma families, living in the tenement blocks of Govanhill District, are becoming autonomous (Glasgow City Council, 2014). As part of the World Bank research into integrated approaches dealing with poverty with Roma, the values, processes and mechanisms in place in Govanhill, an area with a history of dealing with waves of migration, the system appears to be working. The underlying ethos of Roma inclusion, in the running and governance of projects aimed at their own integration, has been central to achieving this success.

See **Table 9.1** in the following pages outlining findings by section with implications on barriers to freedoms and recommendations.

9.5 Discussion

The themes through the discussion of findings are occurring at a number of scales from private, local, to regional, national and global. The common consideration is that of integration. Each level of implication relates to integration in some way although it carries different meanings at each scale including what barriers to freedom they create and how to overcome them. The following themes are organized into the scale of influence that they fall into.

9.5.1 Level one, private

Internal tensions from within the T&G societies reinforce the choices of membership, as evidenced in education and business anonymity, with other ethnic groups this choice is not as visible. This creates barriers to self-determination in the limited capacities for dialogue with larger society. For T&G this choice also becomes a reflection of their valuing of culture over nation and this affects their perceived status as citizens also affecting freedoms in self-determination.

At the private level, there is a tension between satisfying membership requirements and behaving like a Gypsy balanced against the struggle for freedom in self-determination which the more insular societal condition compounds. What we knew before was that through travelling T&G gained identity and a sense of cohesion (Liégeois, 1986). Now in the stopped condition of this first era they still manage the critical elements of culture by living together in three generation cluster groups. The limited forms of membership, due to stopping, intensify the pressure to abide by those forms that they are still capable of. Signs of adhering to membership begin to change when this critical condition of cluster living is under threat, as has increasingly been the case.

Membership ensures support and protection of the community and is evoked by traditional behaviour and attitudes towards education and marriage, for instance. Social networks rely on

a continuity of fundamental social mores surrounding marriage and child rearing while other elements like education and employment can change they are adaptable in reference to maintaining this membership. The idea of going to college is a new concept for Irish Travellers and becoming more of a reality for them. There is a change taking place. The fact of role models will also influence the number of young T&G seeking education especially if they are able to maintain this membership.

Acting within traditional rules of behaviour serves to both pay the fee and reinforce continuity of their specific cultural distinctiveness. Taken further, it can also be used as a threat of being othered from within your own society. The implications of which, run deep for an already marginalized person because this would mean loss of this limited support further motivating continuity of membership. This threat was present in the research in varying forms including in the areas of educational aspirations; internal group authority; representation; and economic vitality.

9.5.2 Level two, local community

The threat of integration was evidenced in a number of ways. The resulting implications indicate motivations are based on cultural preservation, a fear of acceptance or a combination of the two.

T&G have different priorities in terms of integration; they seek not for a parallel culture but for just enough neutral relations for economic and planning autonomy. Planning offers instead its own version of integration reflective of larger society. Self-determination is halted by these incongruent intentions in planning between what T&G want and what the planning system is trying to achieve. In a fair society these choices although outside the normative thinking to some are still fundamental freedoms in self-determination and deserve to be addressed.

The physical and perceptual boundaries of sites in isolated areas have advantages and disadvantages. These benefits and difficulties replicate the oppositional values that sites and their separateness also convey. It can be argued that this very distance allowed survival of the T&G culture with limited day to day interference allowing them to enclose and protect a

different internal order. The extended family cluster group which represents the spatiality of social systems is being protected by T&G. This is becoming increasingly important as the trend of control over site location and size widens while at the same time the protection they seek comes at the expense of limited interaction with larger society which carries the fear and lack of knowing them that also puts pressure on T&G freedoms to self-determine.

Separation as Harris (2010) describes it also serves to decontextualize their condition as a society. This puts blame for limited freedoms and quality of life on the ethnicity which appears to be in conflict with the normative order of home in society. While the range of divisiveness between and within sites at the levels described along with varying definitions of integration would be relevant in larger societal frameworks, it is a complexity that the planning system takes for granted and flattens; creating incongruencies between what T&G strive for and what planning can deliver.

The deeper value of maintaining tradition which formed part of this research is the concept that for a class divided society tradition serves as a source of internal legitimacy (Havel, 1985). The meaningfulness of the everyday order of social systems is guaranteed by tradition. So that for T&G so much more is at stake than just losing a way of life. With the loss of tradition T&G would be losing the meaning of order and their legitimizing entity in society; something critical for this minority group whose value in society is often contested. In order for this culture and way of life to survive and not be lost it must and is actually accepting change. Fundamental to all cultures is the desire for preservation and change is accepted when conditions for preservation cause deterioration of quality of life which affects capacity for cultural preservation.

Contentions in planning are cumulative conditions between minority and majority groups emanating from other areas of conflict in education and interactions. Both formal and informal societal level experience and education contribute to increasingly relevant media savvy and the potential to counter the exploitable nature of it; the T&G vulnerability within it; and the

capacity to harness its potential to reinform the public on a massive scale. MirafTAB (2009) describes discriminatory coverage of media as having the effect of further stratifying society, the “authentic” and the “inauthentic”. This furthers the dichotomy between the other and dominant society and serves to strengthen the notion that authentic citizens follow invited spaces of participation while the inauthentic follows a delegitimized version; the invented. MirafTAB (2009) suggests that the way to counter this is through both popular education and in the process of the social construction of deservedness (Ingram & Schneider, 2005). This work is based on the hope that entitlements do change. This education will serve to bring legitimacy to them as a group and to invented forms of participation and render tools for other forms of action and behaviour directly and indirectly related to planning processes.

Education of societal groups is also important to the much sought after concept of anonymity. The case studies show that increased anonymity with dealings over the internet ensure ethnic privacy and unaffected business relationships. At the same time even those successful groups in business terms are dealing with increasingly tough barriers to maintain this double existence but the desire to overcome them has not waned at least with those who have the financial capacity to keep fighting. It follows however that in order to maintain the capacity to be a T&G some degree of integration is necessary be it on business, social and increasingly on formal or popular educational terms.

9.5.3 Level three, local, regional and national authority

Favourable T&G regulations are not supported, enforced and lack of adherence to them poorly assessed or penalized. These strained relations affect their capacity to self-determine in the short term and to forge a place in the landscape of English planning in the longer term.

Planning law which is braced by a system of land use rights providing tenure security that is not solely based on economic survival but on cultural thrivance will include the people into the rules that govern them.

The inclusion of minorities like T&G into a larger vision of planning through LDA from the start will bridge the divide between access to land for sites and the right to accommodation;

better knowledge of national assessments with specific statistics gathered by local authorities and beyond what Census or caravan counting can garner and which would bring forward the extent of tenure insecurity that is currently hidden behind legal and illegal status and which do not delineate the groups with temporary and permanent permission.

In terms of land use there would need to be a diversification of land use values which will extend welfare through planning legislations making concepts like small family clusters possible and which protect the rights to do so. The trend is moving increasingly towards private land ownership because without land-use security the realities of everyday existence are not in the T&G control which is the platform for freedom. The re-emergence of self-build approaches from the National Self Build Association may be a source for new tailored possibilities as local authorities consider more small-scale, private type development as opposed to the larger scale ones that have dominated the release of tracts of land. There are other approaches in place in countries that place a priority on diversity of human land use valuing such as in Trinidad & Tobago and their comfort scheme (Payne, 2002). These kinds of thinking may inspire not only by the technicalities of schemes but the very fact of valuing and supporting a diversity of accommodation styles.

At the moment the T&G are not in a position to articulate their needs and wants until an evidence base is established to plan and quantify provision and then to be able to measure and assess outcomes. Such a survey will also reveal stratification within the T&G culture. Planning for T&G collapses inequality with poverty.

There is also a disjuncture now between broader issues of accommodation provision where regulatory bodies no longer oversee long term trends or statistics on housing needs. In contemporary context of planning, while the NPPF has created a Duty to Cooperate on the part of local authorities as part of the Localism Act (Legislation UK, 2011) there is no statutory forum to discuss the evolution, intentions, or future destiny of areas that cannot be contained within the boundaries of one local authority (Roze, 2013). With regards to T&G sites, this

means that if each local authority does not provide sites there is no national recognition of the lack of sites. Planning Inspectorate (ibid) suggest focus on mediation in planning will evidence and deal with this omission where the aim is skills development and creating capacity instead of outcomes based on agreement.

9.5.4 Level four, national

T&G have not federated well together across regional or national boundaries to create a united front in support of overcoming barriers to freedom but there have been recent developments. The National Federation of Gypsy Liaison groups have been funded for three conferences since their formation in 2005 and keep updates available virtually. The European Roma and Traveller forum established in 2004 is a policy based association working with Council of Europe. There is a disjuncture between these new emerging groups and the local level.

In planning terms, it appears that each extended family group survives on their own and past lessons are not widely shared. Consequently, there are limited avenues to support and develop relationships between groups in regional or national scales. They do not have larger support mechanisms and have not built up the story regarding lessons learned on self-determination at the local level; each new application must generate new momentum. Those instances where groups have formed to support each other in planning have not extended this to the larger societal arena. Organizations have also been limited on their remit due to infighting. The combination of ground level practice of federated T&G groups in combination with groups like the Traveller Law Reform Project (2006), whose members have produced materials that this research draws from, will make progress in the long term.

9.5.5 Level five, National & European

Recent National Government progress emerged in 2012, when an integrated approach for England required under their commitment to the Roma Integration strategy of the EU, as mentioned. A report was produced (DCLG, 2012) of the Ministerial Working Group on reducing Gypsy and Traveller inequalities and set out what Government ministries intended to do and as confirmed by email (Naysmith, 2014). This was in response to the 2011 European Union Framework for National Gypsy Roma and Traveller Integration Strategies. But the UK report was actually not an integration strategy, instead their report put forward 29 recommendations. A recent press release from National Federation of Gypsy Liaison groups (NFGLG, 2014) suggests that the Coalition Government is not taking leadership in this in combination with the Localism agenda.

Federating of the academic, legal, practical and human rights movement is needed to effect inclusive change that is Traveller and Romani led at National level and with which to forge inclusive ties at European ones.

9.5.6 Level six, European & global

The World Romani Congress created in 1977 was represented at the time by nine nations was started near London by Romani academics and advocates Donald Kenrick and Grattan Puxon. It is the same advocates from the 1970's who are leading efforts with T&G today; those same ones who were catalysts in this research by creating critical links. As initiators of the forum they remain today key catalysts and reference points and were also critical contributors to this research. But there have been six meetings in all up to 2013 sometimes decades between meetings.

Other organizations have been created including the European Roma and Travellers Forum in 2005; an international body with privileged links with the Council of Europe. Membership is limited to NGO's required to have members in at least ten countries along with other

conditions and are now largely policy consultants. These organizations are important for ensuring inclusion but also can become bureaucratic and which make bridging with ground level and positive ramifications of their presence, more difficult. Despite the presence of such organizations, T&G are still left out of support mechanism being developed by the EU designed to accommodate access to better quality of life through integrated approaches. There is a break down between top tier Council of Europe recognized groups and the reality of inclusion.

The growing body of Romanichal academics need to be strongly linked to the ground level movement, with T&G communities to ensure there is the integration envisioned by the young Roma movement mentioned earlier reporting on the lack of leadership roles by them.

9.5.7 Level seven, global

Beyond the World Romani Congress meetings (six in 46 years) there was negative evidence at global level. It is within the academic voice that greater annual progress can be seen and which is becoming increasingly more T&G involved but still comparatively few. The academic movement which for T&G began in the 1970's and the human rights movement of T&G self-representing will need to have stronger alliances. Given their global diaspora, T&G can look to examples globally that have succeeded in time to balance integration with cultural freedoms in order to emerge out of patterns of exclusion from important realms of civic society. Successes and failures can be shared on this wider platform. Drawing from the cumulative understanding of these in context will contribute important considerations in response to the issues raised. This would require a wider scale system of networking between the diverse groups of the largest transnational minority in the world.

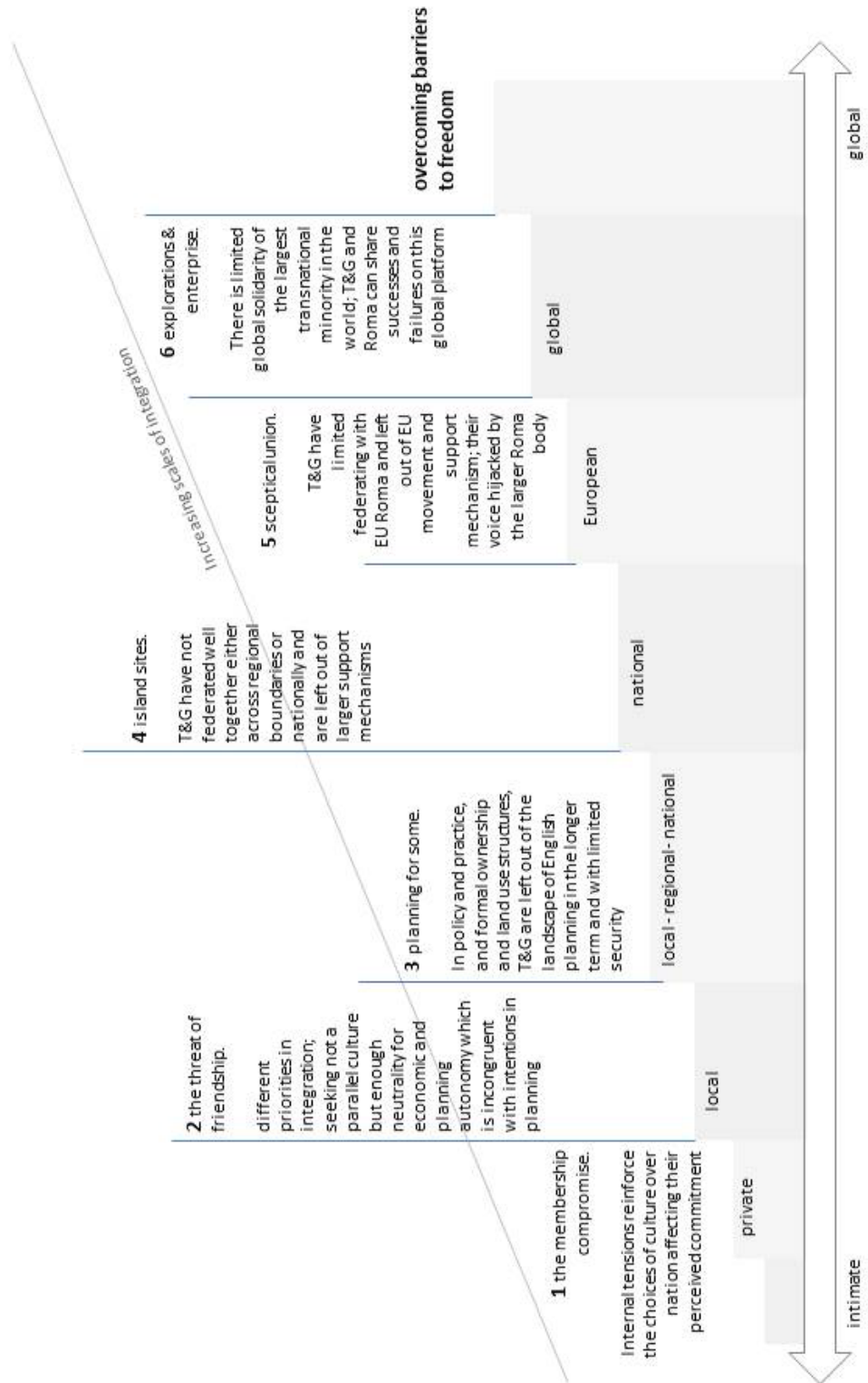


fig. 9.10. Image above shows the broader thematic findings described within the increasing scales of integration necessary to overcome barriers to freedom (2014).

	Themes	Short-Medium Term Interventions	Long term
1.	Internal tensions from within the T&G societies reinforce the choices of membership, as evidenced in education and business anonymity, with other ethnic groups this choice is not as visible.	There must be a balance between the freedoms of cultural choice which involves limited access to education, training of young T&G with their freedoms to choose and still be judged T&G within their own societies. Both formal and informal societal level experience and education contribute to resolutions.	Opportunities for interaction will draw out common ground and alleviate pressure on perceived status of citizen even within the very visible choice of culture.
2.	T&G have different priorities in terms of integration; they seek not for a parallel culture but for just enough neutral relations for economic and planning autonomy. Planning offers instead its own version of integration reflective of larger society.	Taking chances with less anonymity in trusted business relationships given that successful T&G businesses are dealing with increasingly tough barriers to maintain this double existence. The relationship between T&G and larger society is one of resistance. It has had its advantages and disadvantages which have become an inherent part of identity for them. Policy needs to encourage opportunities for exchange and collaboration.	In order to achieve a balance between economic thriving and cultural anonymity some degree of integration is necessary be it on business, social and increasingly on formal or popular educational terms. These occur over time through everyday interactions and through appropriated planning discussions.
3.	In policy and practice, T&G are left out of the larger vision of planning which delegitimizes them as equal citizens and do not form part of LDP so that any positive outcomes in planning surface as exceptions to the rule from the perspective of larger society. Planning law is not braced by a system of land use rights providing tenure security that is not solely based on economic survival but on cultural thriving	Definitions regarding appropriate accommodation and Gypsy and Traveller in planning terms make favourable decisions appear as exceptions. Changing these will broaden the housing agenda into a more inclusive vision of planning. Solutions to land tenure security are still needed that include land use valuing, extending welfare, as you would planning regulations, into the concept of small family cluster housing and tenure opportunities based on temporary land use with ongoing security.	Dialogues between National bodies and EU Roma bodies including UK wide T&G and EU Roma as leaders and catalysts Specific land ownership and secure tenure options need to be established, in partnership with local authority and HCA that allows access to varied tenure schemes.
4.	T&G of England have limited federating across regional and national boundaries. Key policy advocacy groups have been reference points but there are limited links between policy and ground level practice. Missing are larger integrated support mechanism which have built up the story regarding lessons learned on self-determination at local level; now each new application must generate separate momentum.	Awareness and solidarity can occur as evidenced through a degree of self-representation. The international exposure confirmed their position but more importantly showcases their right and deservedness to have a position. Policy development in terms of definitions and reinforcing inclusion into LDP.	National and regional T&G bodies made up of T&G, both elite and less advantaged created to inform governing bodies and bring message back to ground
5.	T&G have limited federating with EU Roma and thus have been left out support mechanism being developed by the EU; UK is a distant partner within the EU also affecting these links to integrated approaches. The support mechanisms being developed by the much larger Roma groups have in a sense taken over the Roma voice.	Roma in solidarity Nationally and across the EU would facilitate tapping into available support resources and funding mechanisms but also buttress a stronger self-representing standpoint contributing to freedoms in self-determination, quality of life or cultural continuity in the broad ranging conditions and contexts that Roma and T&G identify with in their respective contemporary contexts.	Regular Exchanges between Ministerial groups creating policy; Local Authorities delivering policy; and T&G national and local bodies.
6.	Stronger movement required at global level and which tie high level policy thinking with ground level academic and human rights movement; with Romani leading.	As the largest transnational minority in the world, T&G, Romanichal and Roma can look to examples globally to explore what is possible in tenure structures and share successes and failures on this wider platform.	Romanichal and other peripatetic groups draw from cumulative understanding and experience.

Table 9.2 Outlines themes with proposed interventions and schedule periods (2014).

Fields of Intervention	Power groups Implementing										Intervention Schedule		
	Travellers & Gypsies	Local Authority	Larger society	Media	National Government	EU Government	NGO's (EU Roma)	Local Police	HCA & other lenders	Global Rom federation	SHORT-MEDIUM TERM 1 TO 3 YEARS	MEDIUM TERM 3 TO 5 YEARS	LONG TERM 5-10 YEARS
1.private -the membership compromise	R	☑	○	○	☑	○	○	○	--	--			
2. local -the threat of friendship	R	☑	○	○	☑	○	--	○	--	--			
3. local-regional-national planning for some	R	☑	☑	☑	☑	○	○	--	--	○			
4. national – island sites	R	R	○	○	☑	--	○	--	☑	☑			
5. European – sceptical union	R	○	○	☑	☑	R	☑	--	--	☑			
6. global exploration & enterprise	R	○	○	○	☑	☑	R	☑	--	R			

(format based on Punekar 2010)

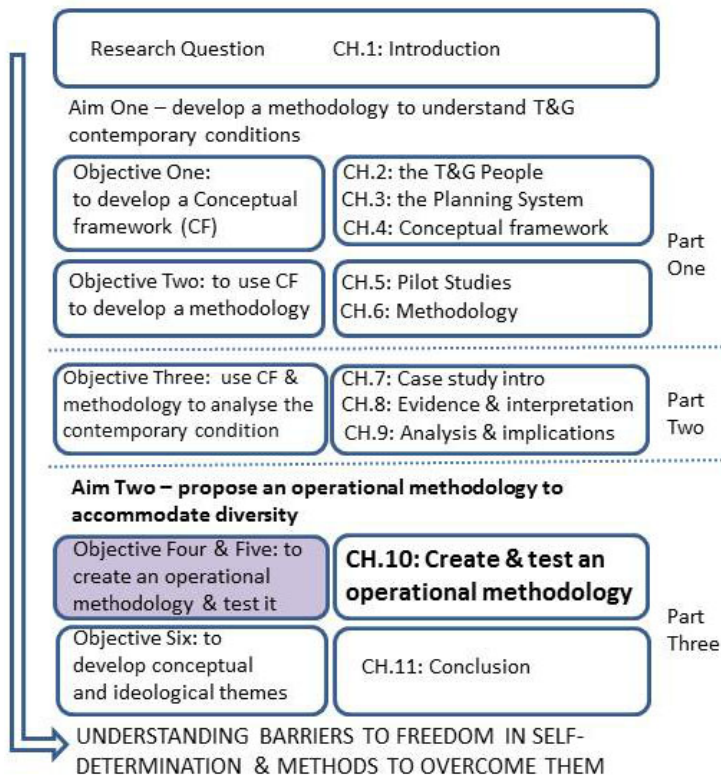
Table 9.3 Outlines themes, responsible groups & intervention schedule (2014).

Conclusion

At all these levels (9.10) there are the common issues of integration which vary in meaning from co-dwelling, to accessing higher education, to engaging in planning and policy discourses, to travelling abroad and amalgamating with Roma groups who are forging routes to autonomy across Europe and the world. The T&G community has been excluded from the local to the global level. Their resistance to follow normative processes, at its most fundamental, represents a threat to their society. The threat is assimilation and it is a real threat because being othered at all of these levels means acculturation is more difficult to achieve, and assimilation becomes a direct implication to such a multi-leveled and multi-scaled condition of exclusion. In order to avoid threat of assimilation, degrees of integration are necessary at each of these scales which are paralleled with overcoming barriers to freedoms, in planning and beyond. Integration requires interventions from the local to the global. Efforts are designed to integrate T&G into the civic fabric of society, where collective action address issues of public concern, as opposed to posing a threat of cultural assimilation. Recommended interventions at these scales will focus on leadership and engagement opportunities. Using evidence drawn from the context of planning a workshop will test the relevance of this thinking at one level. Chapter Ten will outline what occurred at the local level of such an intervention and the scalar implications of the outcomes.

Chapter Ten

Local intervention



Introduction

Chapter Ten uses the recommendations from the analysis in Chapter Nine as inspiration to develop a practical approach to collaborative engagement. This developed in conjunction with theoretical and practical background research in this realm. The indication that inclusive approaches in planning that involve T&G are needed, appear throughout the research. This chapter outlines a new way of thinking about engagement that will be implemented and tested within a community setting. This will satisfy the second aim of the thesis: to propose strategies and an operational methodology to overcome barriers to freedom in self-determination and accommodate diversity of settlement provision within the English planning system.

This chapter is organized into the following four sections:

10.1 Section One explains the intended aims for the collaborative efforts along with theoretical and practical findings;

10.2 Section Two outlines the operational methodology;

10.3 Section Three discusses the findings of the testing;

10.4 Section Four critiques the outcomes as a success and the scalar implications.

Section 10.1

Why this Collaboration?

The purpose of this collaborative engagement is to take the results of the findings, outlined in Chapter Nine to the next level by using them to derive an approach to overcoming barriers relevant to T&G situations in planning. Because of the barriers identified in the research (9.5), the task is about testing whether we could unlock them bearing in mind the various scales of integration requiring attention (9.10). There are theoretical and practical purposes for attempting this; apart from the fact that the need for it has been well established in this research. This is also in keeping with the thinking of other collaborative experts like Sanoff (2000; 2010); Healey (2006); Miraftab (2005; 2009); Sandercock (1998); and Hamdi (2004) who in their own articulated thinking and approaches in land use conflict operate under the notion that there are wider scalar values emanating from such exchanges.

The aim is not to resolve all issues through discourse at the ground level, but to set a foundation from which to build relationships that will be relevant at other levels as well (9.10). Long term interventions to further unlock the tools of planning include informing policy definitions relegating status on inclusive visions. Informing them through ground level engagement could ensure appropriate developments occur. This could then lead to experience and confidence for audiences at national levels with Ministerial and European groups while improving capacities for federating at these important levels. This engagement uses the various realities framed by the conflict over land use as a way of exploring broader cultural standpoints

such as the differences between land use needs and implication of barriers between housed and T&G communities. The intervention, while specific to a particular time, place and mix of community groups will be derived by the groups together. The process of co-creation initiates the mutual exploration; the long term intent of which is to overcome barriers to freedom in self-determination.

10.1.1 Inclusion of Marginalized Groups

T&G now feel like they are ‘taking a gamble’ (8.9.1) but as shown in the case studies there are increasingly critical tipping points motivating participation. In particular where core cultural, socio-economic thresholds are being challenged these can be seen as critical starting points.

Miraftab (2009) describes that the method of inclusion is vital because symbolic inclusion does not in itself ensure material distribution. There is a difference between the invited and invented spaces, as described by Miraftab (2009) as invented ones are determined by selective definitions of what a civil society is and delineating what public participation looks like. The key issue behind invited spaces is the assumption of a common understanding and common access to equal rights and obligations. At Dale Farm (8.10.2), the resistance to eviction was an invented space contesting the local government’s long term accountability to their civil and political rights to housing stability as a way to reclaim this long term eroded sense of deservedness.

Appropriate social interventions have the capacity to help T&G overcome the perceived risk of dealing with larger society and authority; create opportunities to contest the lack of local government accountability; practice their civil and political rights; establish their invented spaces for dialogue; and expand the vision of citizenship construction with larger society.

The role of planners as facilitators enables the inclusion of a broad range of diverse and potentially conflicting interests (Sandercock, 1998; Miraftab, 2005). This will shift the focus from government’s version of needs and priorities to an expanded vision of citizenship construction. This also requires that the capacity of facilitators ranges from expert and problem solver to ethnographer in a range of contexts (Miraftab, 2005). But it is all parties that need to

be informed and prepared: planners also require appropriate training which they seem to be lacking especially when it comes to dealing with T&G as evidenced by many of the outcomes in Chapter Nine. Appropriate interventions also offer these kinds of opportunities.

10.1.2 Ideology of the intervention

In terms of ethos, the engagement context ideologically draws from the way that T&G resolve conflict. Only since 1993 did Weyrauch and Bell (Acton, 1997) first argue that there was a consistent and rational system of legal practice with principles drawn from Romani culture.

The system attributed to the English Romanichal, is derived from an ethos and value system enforced through social control appropriate to peripatetic groups (ibid). The practice was found to be similar to the conflict resolution practiced by Travellers (5.1 and 9.1). In essence, the Feud system is about making an appeal in order to arrive at an agreement through discussions between individuals. Neither party would assume or suggest that there is one way to go about it. Similarly, no Romani will feel bound to what a national Gypsy organization has set up as a set of rules. But there is the opportunity to make a justifiable, moral counter offer and this starts off the mutually agreed system of negotiation which the avoidance system emanates from (Acton, 2005).

A key virtue to all of the Gypsy socio-political structures is that not only must justice be achieved but also that it must be seen to be advocating towards this end and whether they are led by kings, judges, mediators or social leaders they share the common traits of wisdom, experience and neutrality in their role as advisors and guardians of tradition (ibid). According to Acton's overall thesis, the system can change by assuming different functional forms as required by the specific society it serves (ibid). In the quest for a resolution, the justice by avoidance system combines the value of tradition with a lively sense of personal responsibility.

The First Nations people of Canada and the US have reservation land that can be compared to Council sites, the important differences lie in their rights of access, autonomous rule, and in the

fact that reserve lands are protected space for traditional, social institutions and local law-making. They do not own the land but have tenure security on reserve land which is a right for those with Aboriginal ethnicity. From the limited control by T&G and the lack of cultural appropriation of use, the evidence shows that Gypsy sites are explicit examples of the opposite. The weakened position of sites is that even their management is controlled by non-Gypsy thinking. Contexts for negotiation that are completely their own do not exist in the public realm.

First Nations consultation strategies that follow the existing hierarchical structure and flow of information within the society allows non-confrontational, informed and inclusive strategies of negotiation transferrable to the realm of urban design (Chrzanowski, 2008) by extension to conflict resolution in planning. The fixed nature of land tenure as on reserve lands allows this continuity. But this kind of permanent tenure of a historically peripatetic society also serves to end the discourse on movement altogether; their dialogue in present terms, has moved beyond the idea of nomadism. Whereas for the Gypsy, it is still an ever present issue requiring renewed commitment and social cohesion to continue fighting the system and remain in caravans even if not travelling.

Contexts for engagement are about conflict resolution and about bringing forward the value of and actual local knowledge. Healey (2006) proposed a new institutionalism approach which works in combination with a communicative approach. This practice is grounded in a relational view of social life and focuses on people actively and interactively constructing their worlds, both materially and in the meanings they make, while surrounded by powerful constraints of various kinds (ibid). She believed that knowledge is a social construction that emerges out of 'open' conversation among diverse peoples, through argument based on the available information that we can claim what is 'truth' and what is 'value' (ibid). As Habermas (1993) describes, the outcomes of such interventions are most relevant when based on principles of honesty, sincerity, and openness to people's views and to available knowledge then these truths and values can transcend the relativism of different perspectives (ibid). But as Habermas

(1993) describes, *argumentation is not a decision procedure resulting in collective decisions but a problem-solving procedure that generates convictions* (p.158).

This is in accordance with Hamdi (2004) who describes that in fact “consensus can be counter-productive and counter-creative in participatory work” (p.137) because it leaves out those who object thus gaining their passivity instead of active participation. Sanoff (2000) also suggests that the process of getting at consensus provides a means for reflectivity and establishes a setting for cooperation outside of its capacity for consensus building where valuable ideas and strategies can be developed together. In the contentious situations between T&G and other relevant stakeholders the aim of this participatory methodology is set within this kind of collaborative thinking. It is more important that truths emerge than that there is resolution especially in the case where as Geertz (1983) describes, it is important to realize that there are limits to intercultural communication.

10.1.3 Practical lessons from previous collaborative approaches

There have been to date a small number of participatory experiences with T&G in England. Fenland District in Cambridgeshire for instance, has a successful history of site development and engagement within it. David Bailey (2010) describes that this is because there are clearly set out expectations on what is legal and illegal which creates common ground between local communities. It is a context where the spirit of the everyday is about mutual respect, regular informed rapport and building relationships over the long term. T&G interaction is about allowing them to know and trust their district Councillors. The individual is also seen as an active part of the wider societal framework instead of a T&G or non-T&G and importantly there is continuity as this is an everyday attitude as opposed to an event. Trevor Diesch (2010), former policy advisor for CLG, believes local conflict is about demystifying the real problems of land use between local communities. It is with this demystification in mind that the framework for the intervention emerges.

10.1.4 Where the collaborative intervention took place

The intervention took place in Brentwood and Mountnessing in various locations including people's houses, caravans, in cars, on sites, in shops, at council offices, and the local elementary school. It was led by the core group from the Roman Triangle case study. This group was involved primarily because some community leaders were known from the case study research; they had reached a stalemate in decision-making over planning consent; and because there were willing participants in the various relevant groups who formed part of the community and its management. An added incentive was the challenge of addressing the question of sites and the process of decision-making in the Secretary of State's – The Rt Hon Eric Pickles backyard and who also showed interest in the progress of this intervention. Meetings were arranged by first contacting and getting to know leaders in the community. Posting news of the events in local papers also extended the group further. News of the results also in the local press extended the audience even further while also bringing a level of legitimacy to the process.

10.2 Section Two

The Collaborative Engagement

The methodology for this engagement was co-created through an inquiry by design approach (Zeisel, 2006) which is based on the enhanced creativity inspired by collaboration of researchers and designers. In this research the approach underscores the inclusion of diverse groups in understanding behaviour to inform efforts in designing their mutual societal spaces. In order that the local invention is a relevant one to accessing freedom in self-determination it requires the commitment of various local agents to understand and then co-create.

This test group at the local scale is essentially experimenting with resolutions to overcome barriers in planning specific to them. The important elements of the approach incorporate both the contentious and common grounds specific to these communities and are inspired by the findings from the research that apply more generically. These include:

- sourcing of important evidence of conditions, needs and desires

- understanding the T&G, the way they want to live, implications of not being able to
- effects of planning without their input
- complexities associated with peripatetic economies and cultural thrivance
- opportunities for taking leadership roles and self-representing in mediation regarding land-based conflict with the public, media, politicians and other communications
- innovating variable tenure security and ownership schemes that incorporate human land use values
- establishing a local invention that is informed by the T&G invented spaces in order to ensure a more balanced arena for interaction.

Sanoff (2000) suggests that it is the combination of conflict resolution approaches and participation that can help evolve a relevant methodology. There have not been enough opportunities for dialogue that includes forums for disagreements to be aired. Groups have not engaged together to resolve issues due to the underlining tension, land use conflict, and exclusive structures reinforced by media. In cases of segregation and contention it is the human and face-to-face engagement that is necessary to shift paradigm thinking (ibid). This shift necessitates inclusion of the thinking that in the past limited opportunities for fair engagement. The opportunity of local conflict over space and place brings together, as Healey (2006) describes, diverse agents operating with different ways of valuing, seeing and from varied cultural and societal frameworks. In turn this means that their perspectives on conflict differ as will their approaches to dealing with it (ibid). This requires a culture of argumentation based on reasoning which pays attention to the diversity of people's concerns, their ways of knowing and of valuing.

This kind of reasoning and bearing in mind a local context means that any model that comes out of this approach is the product of local invention. As Healey (2006) describes, there is the opportunity for a kind of storing up of mutual understandings and in the process of doing this the networking of existing social and intellectual capital in order to grow it. The following stages of the intervention include examples of these locally invented products that were co-created in the run up and then shared in the later event in an effort to overcome barriers in self-

determination in planning. This intervention took the form of a workshop, co-created in a series of meetings over approximately a two month period. Efforts to resolve land use conflict were the initial catalyst and were informed by the rules of play, and process of decision-making. This intervention showcases the opportunities of urban design in the creation of a new process. Beyond that of initial catalyst, the role of this researcher was as facilitator; winding up the co-created inventions and setting them loose in Stage three. The stages and examples of local inventions looked something like the following:



fig. 10.1 Image shows draft workshop invitation before the venue change. The Church venue was cancelled by the Parish Priest who feared going against the process of planning despite earlier meetings. The venue was moved to the local school where many of the participants' children attend including those pictured here (2010).

10.2.1 Stage one

Separate meetings with different community members are held, individual, in groups, and then in combination. Sometimes these included field trips in various housing contexts. These encounters are about raising issues from all sides in order to outline opportunities, responsibility, ethics and possibilities of their role in overcoming these. The roles they play will be discerned by them, they will also invite other members and a detailed purpose and shaping of the event evolves in this way. The following is a graphic representation of local invention from stage one:

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fig.10.2 The collage of photos show history of media at the site regarding local residents and reflect comments from various community groups (image collage by author 2010; embedded images by SUN news, 2010, and Hoare, 2002).

This exercise explores who the people are in the local community including livelihoods and employment industries of resident groups. Early stages of the workshop raised important information regarding the history of relationships between stakeholder groups; issues and goals of the diverse communities; local government position; and media reporting. This also established the trends in reception of T&G; the level of contention; and perceived mechanics of power relations. Stakeholders contributed to and shape the agenda separating their own private objectives. Local authority commitment to provide information and be involved ensured a robust multi-sided dialogue. Parish Council, local authority and local resistance group enrolment was also critical. Other groups identified through leaders of the community were met with to enrol them in the intentions of the dialogue including business owners, outside T&G groups, advocate groups, local MP's, planning officers, police, local media, NGO's, and DCLG. These groups were represented at the series of events including indirectly by Eric Pickles who upon refusing the invitation asked that a key known reporter at the event provides feedback to him.

The presence of journalists at the workshop highlighted the importance and validity of this collaborative experience and it was also an opportunity for T&G to use the exposure in a way which benefitted them.

This contextual study of the area includes T&G and local community history and their industry, livelihoods and economic supports including a parallel discussion on turnkey moments in planning law that affected T&G including the Caravan Sites Act (Legislation UK, 1968) and Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (Legislation UK, 1994) (3.2). The session on education of current residents include experiences at school and what it has meant to live without tenure security. The session on health and healthcare include level of care in the area, where people receive medical care both short and long term including how different communities deal with elderly and long term illnesses at home in hospital settings (8.5.2).

Preparation for meeting includes knowledge of recent accounts, conditions and numbers of council or private sites. Regarding inclusion of T&G from public sites, site managers alone will not suffice to bring the full picture to light on these. They are not likely to understand the T&G, as described by Home Space Sustainable Accommodation (2014) who work with registered social landlords on providing sustainable accommodation for T&G.

10.2.2 Stage two

Participants from Stage one led another series of more inclusive meetings involving a mix of community group representatives. The questions and schedule of the meeting were informed with reflection on previous meetings and the creative input of participants. These early stages begin to derive experience beyond planning and into ongoing democratic governance and inclusive management of neighbourhoods conducted in a manner in keeping with the quality of relationships established. The following is a graphic representation of a local invention from stage two:

Perception

- Perception of Home



- Perception of neighbourhood



fig. 10.3 Collage of photos from sites forming part of the perception exercise. It was used to draw out varying perspectives on diversity of home structures and residential spaces in order for community members to understand each other better (2010).

Permit types & Illegal stopping

- Temporary
- Permanent



- Illegal encampment
- developers



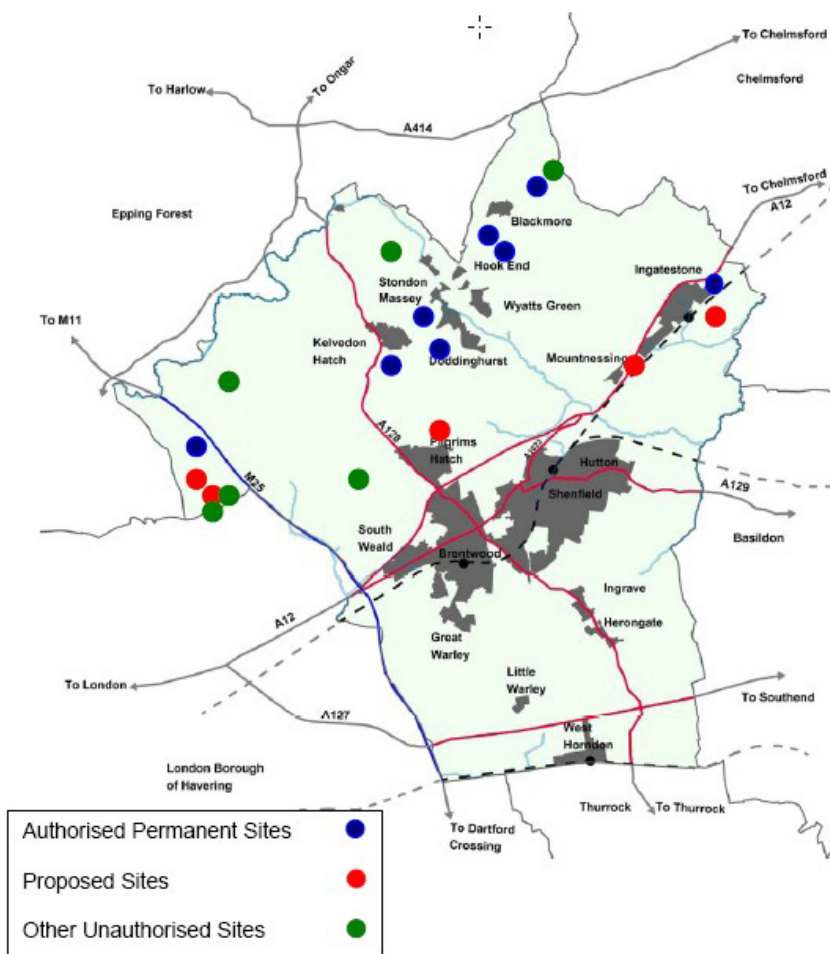
fig.10.4 Shows the varying needs, conditions and situations of T&G in England discussed including the case of illegal encampments (collage and embedded images top by author and bottom online sources 2010)

10.2.3 Stage three

The series of meetings in earlier stages are designed with the main and all-inclusive event in mind. This can take place over a weekend and in this case was one day with some events occurring the evening before. The intervention was a didactic sharing of the local invention accumulated over the period before, each component lead in discussion by those it was most relevant to. The land use conflict incorporated understanding of social, economic, educational, policy, process, and history of the local areas in the form of generic and in more personal narrative style dialogues. Land use issues can be seen in context once these other realities are presented.

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fig. 10.5 Informal details play a significant role in terms of opening the day with an open mind. T&G prepared lunch (shown in image) the evening before; the elementary school offered the locale free of charge; and the Gypsy Council set up an exhibition of photographs depicting the history of T&G settlement in the District (image by Oshima, 2010)



Plan 1. Existing Authorised and Unauthorised Gypsy and Traveller Sites in Brentwood Borough

fig. 10.6 Map above illustrates the abstract nature of proposed sites in the Brentwood County Council Local Development Plan 2005 (Brentwood Local Plan, 2005).

There is no sense of scale in the Brentwood Development Plan, or apparent accuracy or decisiveness in the site allocations. Maps do not distinguish between sites with temporary or permanent permission and thus do not indicate the true extent of tenure. In the workshop different local groups had the opportunity to identify sacred areas they would not want

changed and this reflects how residents use the environment, parks and waterways and any animals in both public and private realms. The Commission on Integration and Cohesion report (2007) identified shared public spaces and residential areas as key starting points to generating community interaction leading to cohesion. The common spatial ground serves as a focus tool to get people thinking and interacting together and from these issues of interrelation, cohesion emerges. This can be a neutral starting point and help establish a common setting from which more contentious issues can later be dealt with and from which cultural identities have a place to emerge.



fig. 10.7 and 10.8 The exercise in site allocation was taken up by mixed groups participating in the workshop using satellite image of Mountnessing (image left) and map of Pilgrims Hatch (image right). (Images by Google earth, 2010, and Ordnance Survey maps accessed through Digimap, 2010)

10.2.4 Stage four

A post workshop dissemination of the experience is necessary in order to confirm overall findings and encourage continued participation with and between community members. It builds long term confidence in these kinds of processes when people see the effect of their efforts and it gets packaged in a way that can be shared with other communities as well as local and national governments.

Information and evidence were reviewed with the community to verify outcomes were understood correctly and in context and took appropriate forms to suit the various skill sets of the agents involved (Brown & Scullion, 2012) thus through images and discussions. The review outlined their potential for bringing about creative and thoughtful exchange and importantly, the degree to which they facilitated exchange and understanding between stakeholder groups. Spatial implications may be physical, practical or theoretical. Illustrative versions of these showcased the product of the collaboration, were collated with the help of the facilitators, and used in the culminating stage of the intervention. The outcomes will be summarized for DCLG, and useful to local authorities and T&G groups in decision-making and in seeking support in collaboration. Reaction from planning authorities will confirm usefulness of the efforts.

10.2.5 Summary of meetings and stakeholder groups

The following Table 10.1 outlines the key stages of the event and workshop, meeting types and stakeholders involved. The table also outlines the extent of researcher involvement across the intervention with T&G lead becoming most prominent at key stages.

10.3 Section Three

The key findings and what came out of the intervention

The aim of the work was to create an operational methodology that was inspired by the details and various perspectives of the land use conflict and which could contribute to overcoming barriers to self-determination. This was a way to test the approach aiming to gain tenure security for a T&G community while also establishing a new rapport between them and their larger community. The following critical evidence and analysis shed light on the achievement of these aims and are arranged into the following themes:

- 10.3.1 Self-representation, popular education, and media;
- 10.3.2 Legitimate tenure options, land use valuing;
- 10.3.3 Urban design and planning concepts;
- 10.3.4 Conflict resolution and methodological implications

10.3.1 Self-representation, popular education, and media

The exposure, preparation and experience with settled community as a whole was a form of popular education for all groups. During the workshop T&G presented background of their residential history, livelihoods and employment, attitudes towards traveling, health and education conditions and this allowed a discussion on issues related to planning to occur in context. They also raised local media issues and their perspective on the manner in which they were being reported. A Gypsy describes,

a Traveller is something that you are not something that you do

This refers to the fact that Travellers do not need to be travelling in order to be one. An important starting point raised by T&G was to redress media reporting not only in the definition of Traveller but particularly the stereotypical notions associating T&G with criminality. A Gypsy asked,

how come if there is a burglar, if they are settled they don't get identified as one but if they are a Traveller then media calls them Traveller?

T&G expect that society believe this view of them presented by media. But they also hold biased views of local communities from their own lack of exposure. During the perception exercise, T&G were asked what they thought about settled people:

Well [pause] we have our own views ... [everyone laughed]

The popular education extended to the settled community and Councillors as well. After the series of exercises Councillors commented,

There needs to be more information out there. The problem isn't what people don't know about Gypsies, the problem is what people think they do know about them.

When you have to prove to a planning officer that you are a Traveller, you're talking to an officer who doesn't really understand what it even means

Comments regarding local community acting as go-betweens, as mentioned earlier in the research, were reiterated and have implications for the workshop as a whole. Go-between personalities were invaluable in helping overcome issues in planning and education but once that personality moved away or passed on then that support also ended. In the case at Brentwood, these kinds of relationships over many years contributed to the possibility of the intervention as were the three generations of a specific family's efforts in support of T&G communities in their area. T&G in turn were motivated to participate in the intervention in part because of the trust built up with these local families.

The presence and follow up exposure of media had both positive and negative ramifications. While presence legitimized the value of these efforts signalling progress in the area of collaboration they also published news articles that appeared critical of Brentwood Council. Council's reaction was that they had been poorly represented by the media suggesting their limited capacity to deliver successful engagement exercises to solve land use problems. The article was described by them as being "oddly reported". Subsequently there was a breakdown of communication between Council and the T&G involved in this intervention. Council also vetoed the follow-up repeat intervention that had been requested by the Parish Council members present from Ingatestone.

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fig. 10.9 Image shows news article appearing in the Brentwood Gazette, 2010, p.7 one of several local newspapers reporting on the workshop. The article congratulated the successful efforts of the participants and was critical suggesting Council's inability to achieve similar results.

Secretary of DCLG, Eric Pickles, had been invited to the event as it was in his constituency which he refused suggesting that he did not want to appear pro T&G and that he could not contribute much from his national role but was open to reviewing outcomes of the workshop. This was relayed by one of his key reporters who brought a digital presentation outlining the key outcomes at Pickles request. This same journalist also agreed to be present at all other workshops if he was guaranteed exclusive invitations expecting a surge in demand for such

interventions. The journalist delivered a summary of the events to Pickles and then a reply back from him. The response by Pickles on the outcomes of the event was that he was “not ready for this kind of thing” (Johnson, 2010).

The hot topic of planning meant that people could easily feel threatened by it and as seen here even successful events could harm long term communication when it meant creating something new which as reported, challenged the role of authority. But the question of whether local authority can eventually accept shared control is at the heart of this work, it is this equal standing and valuing of local knowledge that will bring legitimacy to minority citizens and in turn for their particular needs. Workshops can take place without Council but the value of the outcomes will need to somehow transcend into the thinking of this relevant player.

10.3.2 Legitimate tenure options, Land Use Valuing

The workshop was aimed at drawing out perspectives and new concepts in legitimizing land tenure structures; to legitimize citizenship as a foundation to accessing them; and expose land use valuing behind these options.

The capacity to shift paradigm thinking was evident when the local housed residents and long-time members of Ingatestone Parish Council began the day from a strong counter position and which became more open by the end. They described,

We are desperate to protect our village and our identity, other people put in for permission and get turned down, and yet the Travellers were agreed to have that land, it's not fair

Travellers and advocates expanded the discourse replying with,

The question is how we should make the Green Belt liveable and how we should stop putting the aesthetic prejudice of middle class planners at the turn of the century ahead of the real negotiation of the interests of people.

Assuming that there is an answer, we can move forward from the rigidities and unfairnesses and in the end ultimate lack of legitimacy over present land use. Rich developers get their way and ordinary people don't get their way.

Human land use value, as previously evidenced, highlight desire for site living as it allows cluster family networks; is well suited to caravans rather than houses; and enables families to look out for one another:

we wouldn't put an elderly in a hospice, they come home to their children, we don't want other people to do our work; a Traveller family wants to stay together and living in a house you can't do that ... there are laws of the land but there's also laws of the culture; if you have nothing in this world you have your family then you're rich, der support and der love is all that matters.

Historically the mounting pressure to be housed comes because sites are not considered appropriate accommodation and do not have the protection of the law in legitimizing claims for residential tenure status:

Every caravan site that's been built, has been built as an exception to the existing rules and that's no way to go forward; we need a set of rules that allows a set of sites, my idea is that wherever you can build a house you should be able to build a site, provided it passes criteria on design, looking good, access etc then it shouldn't matter if it's a site, a house a mansion etc residential land should be any type

I am not suggesting Travellers have cheaper land they should pay like everyone else. But Traveller money is not as good as everyone else's since there isn't as much land available for Travellers

In the US, the Romanichal has a higher quality of life and is even sought after as site tenants.

Their situation is different because of economic repercussions and visible presence of this contribution:

There isn't a Traveller site issue in America, English Gypsy own their own land and it's not a problem, same with Australia. 14% of population live in trailer sites, [when a] Gypsy turns up they are welcome because they pay their rent and are the road tarmac workers; they also hire other tenants so site landlords know Gypsy presence allows everyone to pay their pitch rent

Differences in perceived contribution to dominant society's economic vitality mean that land use options are broader in the US to include T&G. Contribution to economic vitality can come by way of livelihoods but also in terms of real estate. T&G are no exception and those options of mortgages and fair land pricing are the most viable options but also set the presence of T&G on equal footing. Instead of asking for exceptions to cost, the focus is on exception to land use:

there are no council sites in Brentwood. You'd be much happier paying double, buying land from council and paying mortgage for 10-20 years and having stability and ensuring your dad's health, than how it is now with this instability

Travellers have got to buy land and get a mortgage like everyone else, at the moment the supply of land for Travellers sites is artificially low, and is the reason they get involved in these land grabs.

People don't build Gypsy sites out of philanthropy but for making a profit, there is nothing wrong with making a profit, taking something that was worthless, adding a value and selling it on so long as its legal. But at the moment we have a law that says you can't do it anywhere, the result is people will do it wherever they can

T&G who want to own land do so on Green Belt, it is affordable but offers no tenure security.

They do it because land zoned for residential means zoned for a house only. So there is little option unless land valuing informs zoning practices:

if there was a piece of land zoned for caravan site provision then he would be paying a mortgage on it, as everybody does in houses.

T&G sites needed would take up only a tiny portion of the British lands, due to these pressures they often end up in Green Belt. Public perception is very different though and often cited as a source of contention:

Green Belt is 2% of total land of England [reports by CPRE and Green Belt Politics etc. outline range between 3-16%], sites needed would take up 0.01% of that. It doesn't even start off as an anti Gypsy thing, I don't think. It's about land.

It's how do we get to that stage, it's how do we not work in crisis mode all the time ... if we actually did that rezoning exercise then in the end the market would take care of itself. Some of it would be social market some of it would be people putting their own money.

We really need a royal commission on planning altogether, which would rebalance the interests of ordinary citizens. It sounds really highly principled but we know how easily developers can gobble up huge amounts of British land with promises of planning gains. We talk about T&G doing this thing but the really rich people can get away with whatever they want in planning, the poor people find it a straight jacket.

Financial land value is prime concern for housed residents and the human land use value is secondary to this issue. There is a reality to this concern but it is a small part of the bigger picture:

If you buy a house and Traveller move in next to you, if you sell that house you won't get that value.

But in 5-6 years you will get the value back and your house will even become more attractive to a Traveller, before you buy a house you should check what the zone of the area around it is, if we have got a clear and stable zoning system then people know what they're getting into and the fear diminishes.

The housed residents reacted with surprise at these new concepts and felt they had much to think about and take away with them. They wanted to be reassured of continuing engagement so that they could allay concerns as they came up particularly with regards land value and how to see this bigger picture which includes T&G also having a part of Brentwood without drawing from their own vested stake in the village. The idea that the limited range of land value is more a question of fitting into the market means that there will be opportunities for creating access routes such as those that emerged in the workshop and models that have served the peripatetic well in the world and used as relative points of comparison.

10.3.3 Urban design and planning concepts

Before the mapping and during the perception exercises, the variety of stakeholders engaged in dialogue brought forward a broad range of physical manifestations of home and neighbourhood inside of a narrow range of shared values.

The perception exercises helped bring these forward through the use of diverse images that are familiar to different groups beginning with a granny annex then a caravan. Housed resident describes that,

A granny is where you would invite your mom and dad or an extension of your family, they could live there forever, it's not a holiday home.

I lived in a terraced house like that in Stratford, lovely and warm, your neighbours would put proper heating on so you don't need to, your back garden is absolutely secure ... you can leave your children and they can't get anywhere ... security, community, comfort.

Traveller described that,

No safety. It looks like a caravan storage but it's a house storage ... there's too much going on, too crowded. I'd be afraid of my life of one of my kids falling out, it's too high up ... in the air... we've got windows every side, I can open up my windows and light comes through in all directions you can't do that in a house.

Travellers buy houses that look as much like caravans as possible and then take all doors off

A Traveller I know who lived in a house moved out after he realized he could no longer hear the rain

The reaction of groups to the other view point was compelling; the housed residents in particular were quite surprised at T&G views on their sense of home and what they valued from it as a structure and a site. Describing image of a cluster of homes, participants replied:

It is the outside of the caravan that makes it a home not the inside; one of the things about Travellers living in the community is what's around the site that's more important, the land area, that sense of public space between the buildings is something extra that T&G bring to the vision of a community

We have a double gate, I have a three year old, one gate in our own plotted piece and one so she can't get out the site. You can come anytime. You need to see how our idea of safety is.

Traveller described that,

the toilets are outside, we don't have an inside toilet, our toilet is in our shed not in our caravan. In a mobile the toilet is so close to the kitchen

Housed resident described,

I go on vacation with caravan and I'm quite happy to use the toilet in there

It obviously is the case that for Traveller cleanliness is the biggest case for avoidance of disease ... it's a case of functional hygiene and persists from the days of horse drawn wagons. Roma all around the world often think about cleanliness and keeping things separate and it's a very important thing about understanding their culture.

When asked about the vision for Brentwood, away from the specifics of neighbourhood and in terms of public realm, local responses focused on land use:

One of the most important things is space; people want their public outdoor space for children's football pitch for instance. We all want ownership of space, we want to do our own thing, I love the idea of being surrounded by green fields. People have come out of their own village to be part of this community

T&G lead the dialogue on future issues in planning and asked a concisely pointed comparative question of housed community at the heart of parallel concerns for future housing:

will your children get married and move out of Brentwood since there is no land available for new houses?

This was a clever way to present the challenges faced by the younger generation of T&G requiring site accommodation. Response by housed community was that in that instance they should be able to challenge the values of Green Belt against clearly necessary provision:

No. Then we will have to rethink things and compromise

During earlier discussion of site provision on Green Belt this kind of compromise was not brought up by housed residents, but during the mapping exercise they asked the T&G groups,

What will happen when your kids get married, will they have to move off somewhere else?

The response by T&G was that inherent in the type, location and size of sites they select is the capacity for at least one more generation to be taken care:

There's room to accommodate one more family and eventually we'll all fly off and they can have our sites

This describes the short term response related to survival, in the longer term this represents an under provision. During the mapping exercises, the stakeholders had a chance for more personal contact and the types of questions and negotiations were, for many, first time direct exposure to each other.

When locating sites, the landmarks used to describe a specific geography by T&G were based on slope of the land and proximity to roadways while for housed they were described by who the specific neighbours were and their specific use of the adjacent public realm. T&G do not use shared public realm and instead prefer to have their own 'public realm' incorporated into their site. This place where society mixes thus has been until now off limits to them and during the mapping dialogue it became apparent that they did not see it as something they were privy to. This lack of everyday experience was reiterated by a housed participant:

The other problem we have in the village is that the Traveller and the village we don't tend to really mix. People don't understand the Traveller and the Traveller don't really understand us and that's why I think this would have given others an opportunity to understand you and you to understand them.

The local community were also focused on wider issues related to transport as seemed to suggest that T&G sites were akin to receiving immigrants:

We have inadequate bus service; we won't get money for another doctor's surgery. Look at us how we are today; if we take in more people will we get help with facilities and roads?

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fig. 10.10 & 10.11 Images show groups working together in the mapping exercises with each specifying their choices for site allocation and reasoning behind their specific land use values at both residential and public realms spaces (images by Oshima, 2010)

There were insightful and suggestive observations of relational dynamics between stakeholders during mapping exercise including T&G, Councillors and housed residents. For instance, when the groups were locating parcels of land for development, their varying ways of describing the land revealed their land valuing perspectives and priorities to each other.

Common issues shared in the mapping work are the concerns for their children. While for housed people it was about accessing public space to play football and to have enough open and available land; their focus was on how their children use the public realm; future use; and the history of ownership of that particular parcel. For T&G instead, concerns were more fundamental and based on safety and security for their children, so that the size, shape, location, orientation, and site layout were a response to this; and the perfect piece of land had access near A12 but with controlled boundaries for safety and surveillance from outsiders. Thus, they see maps in very different ways, looking for a broadly different set of markers.

Public realm thus has different values to different groups, some using it as part of their connection to the community while T&G not really taking on their right to this public space and thus further relaying a sense of not belonging and the lack of mixing exacerbating this.

Designs of the public realm and urban design considerations would need to incorporate a kind

of welcoming to the lifestyle of T&G. Spreading out their sense of ownership and use into the public realm will be the next step for these relatively new stoppers and in that behaviour will find new ground for this ‘mixing’ that will enable a level of integration that legitimizes their presence through sheer experience and knowledge of who they are and their presence and sense of deservedness in the wider community. The public realm is the next arena where uncoupling of the issues between citizen with ethnicity and de othering can occur with T&G acknowledging that this shared entity also belongs to them.

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due to copyright restrictions

fig.10.12 & 10.13 Image left, show groups sketching outlines for site locations and specific site characteristics such as access, orientation, privacy and specific areas of land use within a residential quarter. Image right, shows detailed sketch from another group’s mapping exercise completed in mixed groups with T&G, locals and politicians (images by Oshima, 2010)

10.3.4 Conflict resolution and methodological implications

The layout of sites within the community was paralleled by the seating arranged by the participants, where the T&G were all grouped together by the door, and the housed, Councillors, journalists and outsider participants were more generously spread across the meeting space. When they were made aware of this observation, they found it funny and several T&G agreed at the mention stating that it was “about right”.

Early on in the workshop some of the local residents were quite vocal about being left out of the dialogue, almost missing the event. Their views on T&G taking advantage of land opportunities that others were not privy to were delivered in judgemental, angry tones. They

were thanked by the facilitator for bringing their views forward because this was the only way to redress this kind of thinking. The tone of this response was so markedly different from the comments made that it became a humorous moment and a point at which the energy of the day changed, people appeared more relaxed.

The last minute change of venue, which prompted this reaction, meant the community did not get much notice on the invitation in the newspaper. The value of the workshop was outlined in response to participants who wished more advertising had been made so more residents could come and also be informed and in the ensuing comments about the progress of events:

Maria is somebody from outside, persuaded us that she believes she has a new way of looking at it that can break through ... work is about looking at ways for people to get new perceptions of each other ... if it's possible that we get something new then we should grasp at it.

This day is about looking at the same issues that come up again and again, very painful and contentious things in a different way ... this is a new thing based on new research and has never been done before.

Member from Irish Traveller Movement described,

There's not been a lot of multi community stuff. Most planners do consultation separately with settled and then with T&G, I know this is a good idea I'm all behind it

After the morning's events and exchanges and some degree of allaying of fear, the housed residents opened up more about their curiosity of these mysterious seven yearlong neighbours:

Every time I go past the Triangle I'd love to go in there, it's like the Willows it's all lovely. I see your children at church, and the children are integrated into this village. This village is accepting of the Travellers but I think it would be beneficial for more of this village to have the opportunity to meet the Travellers and talk ... it would give both groups the opportunity to understand each other better

After a casual invitation to visit the site, the local resident agreed: **I will come down** [to the site].

As part of the effort to maintain ongoing dialogues, the idea of a long term report outlining changes in neighbour's views with engagement was also suggested. The example that inspired this suggestion is the only known report written in the England where local authority went back after two years to see if the concerns that residents had about the new site were realized, none of which were (Duncan, 1996).

This would be a big step forward given the poor exercise in discretion by Council during request for public consultation on the proposed Roman Triangle site years earlier (Chapter Seven). By the end of the main workshop session there was variable agreement on the value and necessity of sites and from the Traveller perspective they felt they understood how to avoid contention and remain under the radar of the public eye as much as possible. A Traveller described,

I think it's a good idea that sites are small, smaller the site the more likely you are to walk in and see what's going on' less likely to walk into Cray's Hill. Then we're not overcrowding your village ... We had that communication with Mounnessing, when we got planning permission we didn't want to do anything that went against the Parish Council.

Housed resident described,

Dedicated sites would be a good thing, to help Travellers to understand, to mix [with settled community].

But this thinking really runs counter to the idea of taking a step back and getting the bigger picture, and ensuring that legitimization of site-living is accepted and seen as commensurate with zones where houses are set onto; as opposed to living in ways which avoid tempting contention. There is a big space to bridge between these two types of thinking and it will take time and many more of these types of exercises.

The political nature of the issues was evident when Labour who was in the minority, challenged why Conservatives had not come. A Councillor described,

it's totally up to the individual Councillors to choose to come, that's why I'm here I'm a Labour Councillor, the question is why Conservatives are not here?

Parish council were all notified but did not want to participate or tell their constituents.

It was encouraging that the biggest recurring complaint was that more people were not there to be informed and experience the event as outlined by comments verbally and on feedback forms including:

it was a chance to dispel common stereotypes;

the exchange was fruitful and positive;

I am more understanding of the settled community's views;

all groups within Ingatestone need to meet Parish Council;

I had deep rooted opinions but had been semi brainwashed by years of bad press but this workshop has re affirmed what I have always believed about Gypsies and means I can speak in future with some authority

Compelling evidence was from a Gypsy who described that she learned more about who the settled people are. In an ensuing meeting after the events at Ingatestone, the Brentwood group was visited during their regular Gypsy Council meeting. Themes from the workshop were discussed and it became clear that while a few of the local community had developed relationships it was difficult in normal everyday circumstances to expand on these. The issues that were raised in the case studies and incorporated or deliberated at the workshop were further discussed. This time there was the sense of rightful inquiry; that what was being asked for was fair and legitimate; and the dialogue was less anxious, clearer and more robust.

Over two years later, the Brentwood site at Roman Triangle set within the workshop area appears to have benefitted. As described by Acton (2013) at a Roma Support Group meeting regarding the latest pending planning application submission: "we thought her ideas were a bit mad but it got Council to listen to us ... got us off on a new start, now we have two-thirds of what we asked for. We just have to hold out for the last third". This is the only time Brentwood has agreed to such terms on site provision. The workshop contributed to years of advocacy by other groups, Council are still attempting to allocate lands for sites but the experience of the workshop put pressure on them to agree a standard for engagement and for what kind of land the T&G groups were after that the larger community could agree with.

Then on July 23rd, 2014 four years since the final stage of the intervention, Brentwood Council decided that the Roman Triangle site, residents of which were the main participants in the intervention, be given permanent planning consent (Brentwood Borough Council, 2014).

Professor Acton, part of a multi-generational family advocate of the Gypsy Council in Brentwood wrote in an email,

Rejoice with the Macdonalds and Reillys that after so many years struggle they are safe at last! May this just decision by the council, respecting its own developing policy, be the start of a real "Traveller Spring" in Brentwood! (Acton, 2014)

Roman Triangle is a rare example of permanent private site provision; an example of what is necessary and importantly of what is possible. This was a landmark decision. The workshop proved to be an important element in the push towards broader thinking about the realities of the T&G life; shifting of public opinion on the constraints of planning; the common humanity of its residents; and what needs to occur in a just society. What came out of this was that permission arrived. The other level of success was that a methodology could be transferrable at other scales as well, building up through different stages and responding to different scales of integration. Resolution at this scale is not complete; this cannot be a one-off as engagement needs to occur on a regular basis along with collaboration at other scales of integration to ensure the long term viability of such successes and real access to freedom in self-determination.

An image has been removed from this version of the thesis due to copyright restrictions

fig. 10.14 Image above of extended family group at Roman Triangle elated about their being granted permanent planning permission by Brentwood Borough Council (Brentwood gazette, 2014).

10.4 Section Four

A critique on the outcomes

10.4.1 Methodological Lessons

The local planner provided insightful considerations for events. However, during a meeting at planning offices where it appeared useful to bring a T&G leader to join in on the discussion, things changed. The Traveller used the opportunity to argue for their specific planning application and the planners were then concerned that at the workshop they would receive a similar reception. Efforts to steer the conversation to the larger agenda did not prevent the planners from pulling out including from any further communications. The Traveller's agenda, from Roman Triangle, at that time, was not a long term one but their own planning application concerns and although it was rehearsed, the desperation of decade long tenure instability got the better of the Traveller when face-to-face with decision-makers. The planners, representing

the politicians who were the likely leaders on contentious issues such as their application, were available to them in person on this rare occasion.

Although local planners were not present at later stages, their contribution during shuttle discussions helped set up mapping exercises and organizing groups. His suggestion that Travellers preferred small sites with an understood degree of permanency “so they don’t have to keep looking over their shoulder” and sited so that the settled community do not know they are there, showed their agenda was to just get by and all T&G to be ‘good neighbours’ through invisibility. This kind of thinking will solve short-term problems but not long-term ones related to inclusion and deservedness. Understanding that decision-making was being made with this kind of agenda helped broaden the discourse at the workshop.

Methodological lessons were shared with Planning Aid, PA (England) who in Oxford, had problems with poorly attended meetings with T&G. PA used the same context and methods of collaboration designed for non-T&G; the expensive and business-type venues served to dissuade participation. Experience at Ingatestone of the community contributing free public meeting place of the local elementary school showed commitment by the local community; was a more equal context; and served as a kind of premonition of the common ground that would emerge from the engagement. Despite taking very different physical forms and from diverse values, the settings for all involved concerned their children and the school represented the only public meeting place; physically and ideologically.

Incorporating personal stories and calling on T&G at specific moments allowed the expression of clear, empathetic and relevant narratives. In difficult moments, the use of humour had the capacity to raise the level of conversation. British use of humour in highly contentious periods was exemplified in the sixth episode of the BBC’s *Fawlty Towers* called *The Germans* (1975) which popularized a Hitler impression by John Cleese in the phrase “don’t mention the war”. Cleese confirmed “Everybody thinks that was a joke about the Germans but they missed it. It was a joke about English attitudes to the war; the fact that some people were still hanging on to

that rubbish” (Graham, 2008). The exposure through humour of the elephant in the room has the capacity to set it free.

10.4.2 Conclusions

Preparatory meetings were key to focusing the engagement and helped deliver it with a strong presence in discussion on contentious issues and then to move beyond that. There were unusual signs of near equality emerging even from these early meetings. Simply being present was an investment in sorting things out regardless of the ideological starting point between participants. The value of this was commensurate with the outcomes of the exchange between stakeholders regarding land use. There was still some of the early anxiety on the part of T&G which these pre sessions, it appeared, served to quell on the day of the main event.

When othering is discussed in earlier chapters it is from a more distant and long term evaluation of dynamics between societies. Considering the aspects of othering and their role in workshops, it is as though out of courtesy these dynamics became suspended and there was space for an interchange to occur. It became a kind of social public realm within which to practice being a neighbour and discover those personalities you thought you knew before ever knowing them as people.

The outcomes and impact on these relations reverberating back into the separate world version of the public would take a long time to garner and just as quality of life is difficult to measure so this influence is difficult to follow. However, these can be monitored in the number of T&G who are settled in caravans and in ways that suit their lives; cultural continuity; the experiments of tenure that are both attempted and take hold; and when the idea of having a neighbour for seven years that you do not know becomes unreasonable. It became a forum for storytelling and raising innovative thinking within common values emerging from vastly diverse physical realities.

The moments of greatest contention were very important in that they reiterated out loud statements emulating those news headlines on T&G presence. They were valuable because they appeared out of place, irrelevant and like immature thinking. This relays the power of

bringing faceless reporting to the grounded reality of the everyday revealing their dissociative nature and even their impertinence. Participants saw the value of the work and the progress made during these series of engagements.

From the feedback received, the workshop served as a good balance of academic and practical input; inquisitive people bringing the usual questions into the discourse and unexpectedly, for the participants to agree on holding another workshop. But it can still happen with or without local authority in the hopes that in time they will agree to participate given the usefulness of their input. Ironically it is accepting the shared leadership, relinquishing and expanding power roles that will allow the work to become a mix of invited and invented spaces inside of which is the capacity for overcoming issues in self-determination. This workshop is about local planning and about informing at larger scales how it can be done including at regional, national, ministerial and European levels. It is a catalyst for asking important questions; a resource for engaging local communities who are not even aware of their potential power.

As important as engagement is, if there are no tenable tenure options that fit into existing market contexts then it will be difficult to put these good intentions into a reality that establishes equal access to self-determination. While workshops can serve to ease pressure on political layer by ideally allowing settled to see the common humanity of the Traveller and Gypsy, this will not break the back of a hard-wired market society. What is needed are articulated options for land use valuing with corroborating policy, embedded inside of a culture along with tenure access and support options that the energy of the new found common humanity can help propel into existence. The variety of tenure opportunities that arose through the research and from the workshop resulted from analysing the current barriers and realizing potential new routes through urban design processes to overcoming barriers to freedom in self-determination.

Currently in the UK, there are various tenure possibilities being proposed and they will more likely be successful if in parallel to their specific human land use value they are understood in

context. These will also need to appropriately balance public control and individual initiative and where there is support in these self-help circumstances for deriving one's own security of tenure. For T&G it is not only possible but necessary as the policy at play works for a generic model and a market based one. The tenure options must be viable models that also work and thrive within this same market context. Some of these include as mentioned, Cooperative Land Trusts (CLT) which as separate entities, allow for group ownership, and because they are industrial companies also qualify to apply for grants from the EU (Carruthers, 2012). CLT's are a way to achieve secure access to land and services in a way that can maintain affordability and a range of economic diversity. Although CLT's may establish tenure stability and security they may however exacerbate that lack of mixing and in the long term also the segregation and conflict between communities because lands are usually located in clusters separate from existing community settings. In order that CLT's do not turn into informal subdivision settlements, their creation must be based on a broader notion of property rights which include legitimization of the right to settle which will emerge from those same approaches to legitimizing them as citizens.

The land registry of England and Wales grants land rights and is controlled by local authorities. There have been attempts to privatization and if this happens then private firms will have the power to grant land and adjudicate on land use conflict. Its potential impact on minorities like T&G will be an area for further research. A possible scheme involving the land register would provide tenure access without ownership rights but equalize the residential value of houses and caravans so it becomes a potential shared by all. Where land is relegated residential use, this would imply space for residential caravans as well; similar to the suggestion raised at the workshop. This approach would be more difficult to bring to a reality since it would be based on local authority interpreting national policy and require them to equalize the value of residential lands for both houses and caravans; something which has not been happening to date. The multiple value of this would be the very visible legitimization of caravan sites, and thus impact on the idea of equal citizen, when set side by side with fixed housing areas.

The implications of the capacity for mixing and the regularity of everyday experience with sites would grow the experience of T&G and over time potentially alleviate fear based conflict as experienced in the shorter time-frame of the workshop. The articulations of the public realm in urban design would need particular attention given the varying significance, use and sense of ownership that different societies hold. Solutions to land tenure and human land use valuing have not been in a lack of them but in their limited capacity to address all the pertinent issues related to self-determination. In order that these and other approaches evolve to substantiate a place for diverse minority groups seeking to substantiate their rights to property then, stability and planning autonomy, broader issues with self-representation and media, urban design and planning, and conflict resolution need to be incorporated.

While in the workshop it was difficult to agree on land allocation for sites, the complex nature of ownership and land use values aside, it meant that the vision that developed between communities illustrated there was common ground which came about in face-to face meetings with each other's humanities and seeing each other needs, fears and desires in context.

When some of the dissenting groups came to the workshop they believed that the power of Localism (Legislation UK, 2011) meant that they would have the power to simply say 'no'. But the discourse required is one that is far more mature. This challenging piece of Legislation requires people to actually put together necessary elements of the communal puzzle. Having a set of values and needs to work with was a valuable reference point as evidenced in these engagement exercises and makes a simple answer less plausible. The series of events showed what was possible when not only the T&G is enrolled in their power but also when the local community groups are trusted as well. Two years on the relations between these same groups of people has developed with this event now being cited as a reference to what is possible in the next era of planning in England in *A Big or Divided Society* (Ryder et al., 2011). This was followed by landmark success in May 2014 with permanent planning permission being granted at Roman Triangle.

10.4.2.1 Overcoming barriers in planning

Barriers in planning were overcome by facilitating the co-creation of a program that far from being a standard type was as co-created local invention. It required immersion into the community in order to fully engage and experience the context from each perspective. There were no assumptions made about what needed to be resolved or that there would be an answer. This bottom up approach focused on discovery and facilitated the development of the local product through the leadership already present in the communities those visible and less visible.

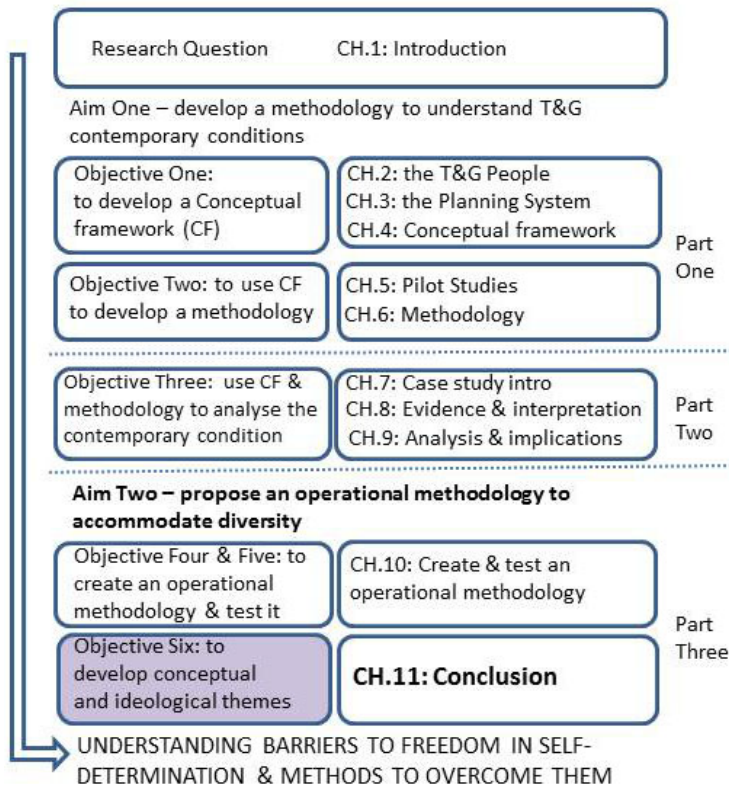
This occurred because the local community was able to gather evidence of and then utilize a local invention of who they are and what the place means to each of them. Shared thinking particular to a place and people created the context for long term relations contributing to conflict resolution. Nuanced by the various social mores of conflict resolution and informed by the value of both invited and invented spaces for discussion; they were about extending the societal experiences as well as aiming for objective-based outcomes that would in-turn influence decision-making processes.

This success has a bearing on the capacity for integration in its various definitions, across the scales identified, that is both necessary and possible and especially significant when dealing with the historically marginalized. While each scale requires different contextual understanding, representation, preparations, and building up of experiences; this serves as an example of what can happen when existing T&G leadership steps out into the public realm.

This chapter satisfies objectives five and six of the research: to test the operational methodology in an appropriate case study; and gain feedback to develop conceptual and ideological themes to inform the conceptual framework as a transferrable methodology in order to overcome barriers in freedom of self-determination and accommodate diversity in settlement provision. The following Chapter will close the research and look back on what has been achieved with proposed future considerations.

Chapter Eleven

Overall implications and conclusion



Introduction

This concluding chapter is arranged in seven sections. This includes an overview of research outcomes, a critical review of the approaches and outline of future implications.

The sections are arranged as follows:

- revisits the original questions of the research and the answers to it
- positioning this work within the larger academic setting and recent developments
- sets out future research implications
- sets out policy implications
- sets out action implications for each of the communities

- a personal critique of what has been achieved and the transferability of the work

11.1 The questions of the research and answers that emerged

The main questions of this research were focused on understanding the contemporary condition of T&G in the context of the planning system and approaches in overcoming barriers to freedom in self-determination, accommodating diversity of settlement within the English planning system. The responses came from analysis of a variety of evidence at several scales and from different perspectives. Discovery of them as a people in their circumstances of planning and affected realities with topics as listed below and as evidenced, referred to and discussed in Chapter Nine (9.5, 9.6, 9.7) include as follows:

- opportunities and threats of economic anonymity (9.3.4, 9.4);
- well-being within stopping (9.1.5);
- internal societal pressures (9.1.11);
- in their adaptations and their definitions of tradition (9.1.7);
- shifts in cultural thinking related to education (9.1.11, 9.3.3);
- in their evolving aspirations, beliefs and their place in larger society (9.2.5, 9.4);
- externally in othering relations with larger society (9.2.4, 9.4);
- varying definitions of integration (9.1.1, 9.1.6);
- effects of process, rules and legislations in planning (9.2);
- concepts of T&G within the public realm and assertion of citizenship (9.4.1, 10.3.2);
- emerging capacities in self-representation and participation (9.3.3, 9.3.5);
- wider societal politics, local and national (9.3.2, 9.4);
- and the urgency of joint federating at National and EU levels (9.1.8, 9.1.13)

The broader themes that emerged supported and underscored by these findings and their implications which contribute to barriers in self-determination and in overcoming them, are as summarized from Chapter Nine (9.10) setting out the scalar levels of integration issues these include:

1 The membership compromise. Private level

Internal tensions reinforce the choices of culture over nation affecting their perceived commitment

2 The threat of friendship. Local Level

different priorities in integration; seeking not a parallel culture but enough neutrality for economic and planning autonomy which is incongruent with intentions in planning

3 Planning for some. Regional, National level

In policy and practice, and formal ownership and land use structures, T&G are left out of the landscape of English planning in the longer term and with limited security

4 Island sites. National level

T&G have not federated well together either across regional boundaries or nationally and are left out of larger support mechanisms

5 Sceptical union. European level

T&G have not limited federating with EU Roma and left out of EU movement and support mechanism; federating of the academic, legal, practical and human rights movement needed to effect inclusive change that is Traveller and Romani led

6 Explorations & enterprise. Global level

There is limited global solidarity of the largest transnational minority in the world; T&G and all those of Romani descent can share successes and failures on a global platform linking the policy consultant groups and forums with the ground level movements.

The findings and their implications informed a new operational methodology that was tested in the field. This illustrated the possibilities of engagement where community groups affected co-created a local product which focused on the context of land use conflict in order to overcome

barriers to self-determination. The outcomes from this testing (10.6) showcase the overwhelming potential that is possible when T&G take leadership roles in conjunction with larger society, media, politicians, local planning authority and support groups. Findings in this instance that emerged in the areas of urban design; tenure security; land use valuing were specific to overcoming barriers in this community and with more generic lessons at other scales and for other communities. The landmark decision at Brentwood Borough Council is relevant and transferrable to other locations especially given the contexts: a decade of both limited exchange and positive responses on applications; and the negative response from the local community during episodes of what was considered public consultation over those years (8.9.3). It is important to note that in the context of the PPTS (DCLG, 2012) requiring Council's to allocate sites, the move to provide consent on existing sites may have well contributed to this decision. In such case, the long term provisions necessary have not been addressed. Further evidence of this is the fact that days after the publication of planning consent at Roman Triangle illegal encampments were overflowing in Brentwood requiring a response by the local authority to prompt evictions. As reported in the Brentwood Gazette, "Travellers pose 'a difficult problem' for Brentwood as site plan is mooted" (Sturdy, 2014). The problem of site provision and freedom of self-determination is far from over and for a period of time it is even exacerbated as people move with the hopes of finding similar success. But the process can take more than a decade and local authorities are careful to control the density of planning permission for T&G in an area so the hopes of the newly arrived will begin to be frustrated very quickly.

In another on-going planning advocacy case, a Gypsy family seeking planning consent on a second application was recently visited on 8 August 2014 on the Isle of Sheppey. The context is similar in that the local community refuse to accept a site on greenfield and are accusing the Gypsy of forcing the White Owl out of its natural habitat. When the Gypsy man asked why he didn't get information before land purchase or apply for planning on his own, the Gypsy landowner replied that after "getting a thousand knocks a day" he would not risk having a

place for his kids to sleep by applying for planning on his own. He and his family have been in and out of fixed housing for years and while their status back on site now is a relief it is with the knowledge that at 41 years of age he has never had the security of planning consent (Isle of Sheppey, 2014). The workshop intervention is transferrable to these situations but referring back to the scales of integration (9.10), it is necessary that each level is addressed from the local to the wider global in order that freedom in self-determination becomes achievable, wide spread and long-term.

11.1.1 Contributions to Knowledge

Revisiting the three areas of contribution to new knowledge, the following summarizes the research in the preceding chapters. The pilots and case studies were an avenue to attain contemporary evidence of the current condition of their societies in terms of both cultural conditions and extent of freedoms. The analysis of this evidence through the conceptual framework allowed for a critical understanding of these important issues at several decisive scales from internal to larger European levels. Importantly and less expected was the revelation that the issues of integration which varied in definition at each scale were equally significant at the local and practical level. The influences on the limited capacity to create home and community were evident at each of these levels including within the cultures themselves. This area of knowledge emerged from Habermas (1993), Bhaba (1994) and Beattie (1993) who described that an understanding of context and the everyday experience brings about this perspective. The larger scale discovery of evidence links more closely to the national context described by Cemlyn et al. (2009) and the European one described more recently by Biro et al. (2013). The responsibility of integration lies within and outside of the T&G cultures but the perceived hopefulness is both augmented and diminished by current issues in planning.

The cross-disciplinarity of this analytical framework is the next area of contribution. The nature of urban design inquiry is about creating perforated boundaries between various relevant fields of research. This particular combination of concepts was designed to bring together what are often disparate areas of research which on their own were not forming the complete perspective on T&G issues and which in turn were not foundational to resolving

issues of freedom on their own. The research showed that this particular partnering of conceptual work across the fields described in Chapter Four allowed for a more holistic and effective measure of conditions and a foundation for strategies to overcome barriers in planning freedom. Specifically the economic and urban physicality which drew from Weyrauch (2001), Powell (2013) and Sanoff (2000) was used to interpret T&G contexts in varying realms to establish a more holistic picture.

This cross disciplinarity was complementary to the extended use of Inquiry by Design (Zeisel, 2006) in which field work, research and practice were used cyclically to understand and strategize in the development of the research. The articulated use of this research and analytical strategy for discovering the contemporary condition of T&G and in deriving strategies to overcome barriers was utilized through each stage of the research.

The third area of new knowledge encompasses a new methodology for how we can mediate across key actors to arrive at appropriate planning decisions. The intervention aimed to overcome locally-significant barriers to freedom while being emblematic of what would be possible at other scales. The use of preceding evidence and their implications led to the development of a period of events culminating in a workshop which was articulated by the ideology of a locally derived and led programme to create a local product. The thinking expanded on the research approaches of Niner and Brown (2009, 2011) and the fundamental issues of engaging with marginalized communities raised by MirafTab (2009) and Healey (2006) to create a local process of engagement in T&G contexts of land use conflict.

Importantly this work was incongruent with historical theory by Sibley (1995) which reflects the contemporary nature of the new knowledge. Sibley (1995) relayed correctly that T&G are too narrowly described by larger society to be understood in context but he also posited that their involvement in the national economy would ensure cultural annihilation. The research shows that the T&G perpetual capacity for adaptation specifically their evolving nature of participation in the national economy has fortified the contemporary power of their capacity to

community site dwell. Those more capable groups have managed this while the number of housed T&G continues to increase. The link to cultural loss in housed circumstances is yet to be explored in this new era of transition. Beyond this, the concept of integration has shown to carry a different meaning from inside the T&G community as it does from the outside by the larger non caravan dwelling society. It is within this disparity of perspectives where some of the founding issues of land use conflict reside and which the local level interventions serve to expose. The common ground was the discovery that underlying these diverse perspectives there were actually aligned value systems.

The workshop was the first of its kind and presents a new prototype approach to collaboration with T&G and other marginalized communities with the aim of overcoming land use conflict and those barriers to freedom of self-determination. This work contributed to the eventual permanent site development of its participants. The workshop strategy as new knowledge presents new strategic thinking to developing locally relevant and articulated events. It is an operational methodology designed to aid in the creation of other such efforts in response to the need for collaborative models of engagement between T&G and those stakeholders identified across the research in order to ensure that a common freedom in planning is accessible to all.

11.1.2 Transferability of the intervention

The intervention with the Brentwood group was unique in that the local product created was specific to them and specific to that period of time. It is the expectation that outcomes would be unique to each particular case. The generic outcomes are the long term effects of the intervention; the improved relations between communities and the new importance that the need for resolution carries for local authority given the exposure and volition that emerges. The work is not simple or standard and a facilitator must be prepared to become embedded into a community setting, and be open to dealing with real contention and situations where both sides can be justified in their thinking. This work can be replicated elsewhere by others because the role of broker can more naturally be taken up by an outsider to the area and whose focus is not on finding a resolution but simply building a local product. Community groups are

incentivized to participate in the hopes of finding resolutions and in this interaction come face to face with another reality. It is from this process that emerges both a unique outcome and a more generic effect.

This researcher was invited to present the outcomes at the next Gypsy and Traveller Westminster Briefing for 2015. The focus will be on the lessons learned and the transferable nature of the work. The key tenants included in this summary will be the commitment on the part of the facilitator, the tapping into key leaders in the community, using the academic and practitioners familiar with the specific and more general issues of the area and being very present in each meeting and throughout the process.

11.2 Review of research undertaken

A review of the methodology of the thesis as a whole; sampling, evidence and implications illustrate the validity of the approach as well as lessons learned for future research.

11.2.1 Methodological lessons

The methodology set out to discover the broader pressures and tensions contributing to limiting freedoms. The approach was action oriented and about being present during important events and getting to know community leaders interested in creating new opportunities to resolve issues in self-determination. The work being based initially on background research was inherently focused on prejudice of T&G by larger society; this awareness influenced a redirection of the work. Broadly the work began from incongruent and damaged relations with T&G, although historically and globally relevant, this in itself began to present its own obstacles to the development of efforts towards greater freedom and served to reinforce an unbalanced and powerless position of the outsider. The work thus emerged from a place of understanding the intricacies of the majority-minority relations as part of the very complex networks that these groups survive within and contribute to. While groups find the workings of their own system advantageous to be part of, there are limitations and conditions to the price of

continued membership. It is inside of these relations and the mutual contributions for potential gain as common ground that the thinking of the research was developed.

These premises set the tone for the methodological stages of the work. In addressing the first aim, the methodology used both ethnographic research in site-specific investigations and more formal interviews for non-site specific interviews in large part with practitioners and other legal and policy experts. These groups were investigated separately as the formation and clarity of the research objectives were also developing. With regards to the site-specific groups there are two points to consider. First, it was more onerous to incorporate local communities than it was T&G, politicians, local authority and media. Particularly in settings where there was much contention over land use, the local community often appeared irresolute to participate. The outcomes could have been more robust where the strategy to incorporate the public voice was more inviting beyond the more involved situation of the local intervention. The second point is that earlier mixing of the groups during the research, that is, including the T&G or local community in non-site specific interviews would have broadened their scope and thinking and served to prepare them for involvement at the other scales of intervention mentioned as described in Chapter Ten.

Reflection back on the transferability is also relevant to the methodology given the premise that specific features of this researcher aided in befriending the T&G community. Could a British male have had similar access to the community groups? This research is about humanity, and people of mixed groups coming to terms with another group's reality. There is a resounding positive capacity for anyone who innately believes in what is possible when people understand each other including someone from what T&G describes as "the English" (8.1.2). It is more in the nature of their volition than their appearance that will ensure interventions with useful outcomes. This person would need a level of freedom in their investigative and facilitating work, a freedom that working for local Council may not allow but as noted in the research this is not the case with all Councils (9.1.14, 10.1.3). A well-informed one that is trained in the methods and contextual discoveries presented here will be in a far better position

to allow the freedom necessary for a researcher / facilitator to approach investigations and engagement in this way and more efficient in supporting and utilizing the outcomes.

11.2.2 Sampling

Sampling of pilots, case studies and workshop groups were about opportunity and expanded from the snowball method (Chapter Six). The table of pilots (Chapter Five) highlight the range of conditions in tenure and circumstances. While the pilots were families requesting help with planning permission they also would not have been accessible or open to dialogue without this valuable exchange. It is also true that the sampling includes mainly those with temporary or lack of planning permission. While there are likely many with permanent status within the T&G caravan dwelling community, there are no clear numbers in Government counts distinguishing between permanent and temporary permission. The lack of regional coordination means that there is no large scale understanding of the growing issue accommodation. Thus the extent of tenure insecurity which temporary consent is part of remains unknown and is something that requires attention. Sampling in this research attempted to draw from each of these important categories in order to begin to see a larger picture.

The in-depth case studies (Chapter Seven) were event opportunities that coincided with the timing of the research and which the pilot studies contributed to. They were chosen because they illustrated distinctly diverse contemporary conditions. The diversity ranged in tenure status, socio-economic conditions, varying levels of motivation to engage by local authorities, and included a mix of T&G groups in both public and private site circumstances. The workshop group forming part of the third stage of field work expanded from experiences in the case studies. The time allowed for part time research enabled these relationships within the sampling to intensify through familiarity and developing trust; time to revisit and observe as critical decisions and changes were occurring within the communities, within the planning structure, and within larger society.

Important changes in the planning system during the course of the research also influenced sampling. Those groups on the verge of a culminating decision in planning status and who would be significantly affected it were included in the criteria for the case studies. This illustrated the effect on their conditions and autonomy in planning through the systemic changes in planning including: devolution of regional government; delivery of the new legislations, NPPF and PPTS (DCLG, 2012); and shifts in power when the DCLG led by communities secretary Eric Pickles, began using their powers to overrule PINS in a period seeing growing politicization of the planning system (3.5.1.1).

The PPTS (DCLG, 2012) requires local authorities to establish a supply of sites against locally set targets. In order to satisfy these numbers some local authorities have recently changed the status of site applications with temporary consent to permanent in order to meet this requirement without actually providing new sites. This may have been a contributing factor at the Brentwood site in which case, the decision presents a long term hindrance with regards to provision. Without a National level understanding of targets resulting from needs assessment the real impact cannot be verified or even addressed. In the short term, provision is being provided with real tenure security and it is somehow happening outside of emergency and highly pressurized situations. Bearing in mind the contributing factors for recent decisions by Brentwood as a whole, this is the momentum we want to build on in future, long-term decision-making models. This work is not just about planning permission but about seeing the workings of the larger system as a whole and its effects on marginalized minority groups as has been evident in these sample and in this research timeframe.

11.2.3 Evidence

The longer term nature of the study allowed for evidence to be triangulated. Background academic research was balanced with interviews including non-site specific T&G groups, practitioners, planning authority, planners, MP's, Lords, academics, NGO's supporting T&G, solicitors, National T&G Government bodies, EU Roma support networks, the public in each of these contexts both supportive and resisting site developments, along with many others.

Interviews with other agents helped clarify and expand contemporary value of theory and new ones for expansion (Chapter Nine). The evidence throughout drew mainly from T&G even though the background research outlined that these were hard to reach communities who were not willing to participate. This research and evidence suggest that it is not the T&G who are difficult to access but rather the wider public and local authorities who limit participation with regards to them. The historical contention keeps local governments and local communities from dealing at the ground level, seeking to deliver decisions and services at a distance.

Those involved in case studies chose to participate in efforts to ease the threat of eviction or of long term tenure insecurity or getting their story heard, positive and negative perspectives, in the hopes that larger society can eventually ‘come to da gate wid us’ (8.4.3). T&G with so much at stake are willing to be part of the process, it has simply been that methods to partner with them have not been created or implemented.

11.2.4 Implications

There were methodological implications related to the sensitive nature of the first stopped and in seeing patterns of change of which, T&G were not ready to speak publically about. There were some instances in this often emotionally charged, close contact that could have been dealt with differently. Important contentious moments during research included being asked to leave a caravan during the interview that raised emotional story of a husband becoming ill and dying soon after being forced to travel away from family for work in their first stopped circumstance (9.1.6). The association made verbally perhaps for the first time and the angry reaction of the family was unexpected and emotionally distressing for everyone there. In a separate incident, this researcher was also publically scolded for speaking to news reporters prior to Dale Farm eviction while on site. Conversation with a journalist from the British national daily newspaper, The Guardian, that a key community spokesperson had painstakingly arranged to create a documentary covering the pre-and at the time potentially post eviction experiences, was considered a distraction and threat. These experiences serve to elicit the hardship and

immense stress experienced by the community and the fact that supporters recognize media as an efficacious partner in overcoming barriers in self-determination while the presence of a researcher with very long term goals was tolerated.

11.3 Research conclusions within broader academic, practice and policy settings

This work links with recent emerging papers and academic work. First studies in the UK regarding housed T&G (Smith & Greenfields, 2013) follows another decades earlier in Sweden (Trankell, 1973) showcase the relevance of the findings to increasing numbers of first time housed T&G in parallel with changing conditions of first time stopped. This research is also relevant to approaches to working with them and perhaps even more compelling given the more constrained and limited cultural environment that the more than 70% housed T&G are experiencing (ibid).

Many of the findings regarding barriers, approaches to overcoming them and even fundamentally the workshop itself are about education. Recent research in Australia focuses on early age learning comparing the UK Roma to the Indigenous Australians (Levinson and Hooley, In press). Lessons learned and shared across these important societies in their relative contemporary states of nomadism will contribute to ameliorating access to education for the younger generations influencing important aspects of freedom.

The tenuous and unstable conditions for many first-stopped families have had quite distressing results. In the past five years practitioners are reporting an increase in drug abuse and suicides among the T&G attributed to a lack of secure accommodation; low skills; marriage breakdown and the limited access to continuous NHS care so that issues like breast cancer and mental health screenings which are culturally particularly shameful to admit, are not as readily available for them (Bergen et al., 2014). This area of research is an important motivator in targeting issues of accommodation and realizing the contributing impacts of tenure insecurity.

There is a growing body of Roma academics providing invaluable critical reviews of EU Roma projects. These focus on the lack of Roma leadership despite programs specifically aimed at

Roma inclusion and the evidence presented is compelling, as mentioned in Chapter Nine. It is more than ironic if we are implementing policies of inclusion that are not Roma-led. These considerations fit in with this research and contributes not only to developing routes to inclusion but understanding the reasons why it may not been occurring.

The stereotypical mythical image of Gypsy is relevant to recent research of the indigenous in the Philippines. Indigenous are expected to be tribal and primitive, an attitude which justified their inequality, exclusion and poverty. With the NGOs who work with them this status gives them the opportunity to reframe their indigeneity into a tool to fight their exclusionary position. This requires a continued commitment to being 'the other'. The question still remains whether this identity carries enough political weight to offset the disadvantages of being the outsider (Frake, 2014).

Important to the empowerment of communities are the issues within gender as were raised in the article: 'Caravan wives' and 'decent girls': Gypsy-Traveller women's perceptions of gender, culture and morality in the North of England (Casey, 2014). This is an exploration of gender roles from the perspective of Romani women and the acceptable beliefs and practices they stem from illustrate the difficulty to overcome cultural taboos in order to address inequalities. This area of research will contribute to the development of several important scales of integration raised in the research.

The next level of exclusion at the community level is being explored in terms of children's relationships across ethnic boundaries. This work is getting at the roots of exclusionary practice by examining how peers norms of inclusion affect children's interest in cross-ethnic friendships (Tropp et al., 2014).

These areas of thinking across social anthropology, neurology, mental health, sociology, education and social policy converge on the notion of integration. They converge to develop concepts to understanding contemporary contexts and to address issues that minority societies face within the settings of larger society controls. It is within this body of research that efforts

and positive impacts will grow in terms of accessing freedoms. These must be corroborated by practical and policy approaches and the critical areas for this research revolve around land use, access to tenure, negotiating with the planning system and with larger society.

Positive examples of working at the local level on some of these issues are relevant and increasingly more such work is being documented with Roma groups. There has been a shift in Roma studies research which from an exclusionary stance to a more communicative one but the body of work emerging still inadequately reflects the majority of Roma voices in the world. Recent research in Spain within its most underprivileged neighbourhoods illustrates the possibilities of engagement with grassroots Roma to transform local conditions (Flecha, 2014).

On the private side of site provision, those few Councils earmarking land for sites are doing so by incorporating the requirement into deals with developers as conditional approvals for the much larger social housing portion of their contracts (Tatum, 2014). These are tolerated by communities as Council describe they are receiving higher level orders. T&G can participate in these developments by procuring land as social landlords or simply for their own family needs. Practices mentioned with Self-build and the Community Land Trusts organization's model which holds land in perpetuity have had increasing success in allocating land for sites (Wells Journal, 2013). Understanding the workings of the planning system, T&G would be in a position to advocate for each other while developing co-ownership schemes for land use or purchase for private use or as landlords.

11.4 Future research implications

There are a number of other important topics that this work could be linked to; areas to pursue in future. These are particularly relevant to cross-disciplinary efforts with a number of academics including in the area of politics, sociology, anthropology, neuroscience, physiology, economics, education and planning. This work illustrates that it is through a holistic view of contemporary conditions that the complexity of minority groups be envisioned in order to derive useful interventions relevant to cross disciplinary thinking.

Some of these potential areas of research include advances in areas including:

- theory on place attachment and interpersonal links (Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2013) related to what attracts specific groups to certain land characteristics;
- the concept of othering and (mis)representation and its influence is also being discussed by prominent and Gypsologists (Okely 2014) examining the less visible ways some groups are controlled;
- theories related to the complex nature of social systems within the situation of Roma camps drawn from those in the former Yugoslavia; ethnographic study of ‘campzanship’ to reveal a contemporary example of a stratified and diversified political membership (Sigona, 2014)
- theories on Roma integration in the UK (Powell, 2014) and its relevance to T&G;
- building on theories of orientation, perception and utilisation of space, current project linking technological with cultural development (Istomin, in progress)
- impact assessment of changing Legislation and policy post site and housing development and examining relations with non-T&G;
- impacts of legislation affecting T&G peripatetic livelihoods
- assessment of temporary and permanent status of T&G in England forming a true and measurable picture of tenure insecurity with appropriate response in provision
- effects on minority-majority relations with performance work like theatre of the oppressed (Boal, 1995) where contentious histories are re-enacted;
- Growing body of knowledge emerging from community activism and hearing the voices of Gypsy, Roma and Traveller communities (Ryder, Cemlyn, Acton, 2014)

The thinking and efforts in this research have already begun to move forward into practice. In a recent think tank with the ROMACT (Council of Europe, 2013) group of the EU in Strasbourg, a consultancy was undertaken to contribute to the development of engagement approaches between local councils of mayors and their proportionately large and highly segregated populations of Roma in the countries of Eastern Europe. This work is also timely in that while the decade of Roma inclusion 2005-2015 (Decade Secretariat, 2003) is nearing a close this is a

period of assessment to understand what has worked and in order to set new agendas for the future. In a recent consultancy with the World Bank (Faraone, 2014) who finance EU initiatives, in-depth investigations were undertaken to evidence outcomes of the more holistic project approaches and the specific results of both soft and hard initiatives (ibid).

11.5 Policy implications

There is academia and then there is the other side of practice informing policy, the two sides meet and inform each other in these stages of exchange. The work illustrates that policy collapses the idea of poverty with inequality, and that situations and social systems of T&G societies are more complex than the way they are dealt with in policy (9.1.15).

While academic research has been evolving, very little has filtered back into informing at the policy level. Rules regulating travelling in the UK remain unchanged for decades and outdated with regards to contemporary conditions as presented in the research (9.1.8, 9.4). Policy makers need to be able to connect and draw from what is happening at the ground level as well as forge substantial ties with European level government. Support and important exposure of T&G needs to occur and will ensure policy implementation at the local authority level is relevant, fair and accountable.

Leeds local authority has utilized a new temporary stop permit approach as presented at Westminster Briefing (Leeds, 2013). It is premised on the fact that providing temporary stops will allow communities to grow tolerance and which in turn allows all groups a period of reflection and create the basis for co-existence. These “areas of temporary acceptance” or “negotiated stopping points” represent a common thread with new emerging technical realities. It also brings the various communities together, encourages habits of co-operation through better understanding of them, and enables them to shape public policies in the light of their cultural requirements.

Other new thinking has been to reshape the edges of the Green Belt to include sites at its border lines. Larger society do not see it as Green Belt land and those T&G requiring land in isolated rural areas, such as those with farms or rearing horses, then have access to land

(Westminster Briefing, 2014). The separation of ethnicity from policy is not a simple matter as definitions on T&G status are not clear or conclusive. This thus makes these new approaches by local authority especially important.

11.6 Action implications

The successes and failures of efforts to overcome barriers in planning have implications on the responsibilities of the communities described in this work. For instance, the academic focus needs to shift from prejudices and onto what is possible, how and in what context. Just as a focus on a seeming lack of rootedness of peripatetic groups takes the focus away from their actual inherent connection to place; focus on prejudice takes away possibilities to emerge from them. In the realm of planning, achieving freedoms for such minorities is not just about locating sites in excusable areas but about serving T&G both those caravan dwellers and housed as part of the landscape of a cosmopolitan England. The practical realities involved accessing local knowledge, creating a target, and creating the solutions. Since the development of participatory planning, the thinking and approaches have evolved in order to find innovative methods of inclusion, these have been skills-based as opposed to being informed by the same reasons participation had not occurred before.

11.6.1 Government actions

Following from this, the role of government includes having a role of respectful distance from planning. In this era, use of planning as a political tool and the taking over of powers to override final decisions of inspectorate called a “calling-in” of a holding direction under Article 25 Town and Country Planning (Legislation UK, 2012) diminishes the professionalism and potentially substantive progress of long term visions as a compromise for short terms political gains. The irony is that the UN’s Universal Declaration of Human Rights also includes an Article 25 (UN, 1948) which instead outlines reassurance that safe and adequate shelter is a basic and fundamental human right. Larger society do not perceive caravan

dwelling Gypsy are vulnerable to being made homeless, but T&G would also never make that association themselves the reality on both counts is something very different.

In policy terms this would also mean that the definition of 'gypsy' in planning (PPTS 2012 Annex 1) should not only focus on economics, as it has, but include lifestyle and the T&G in cultural terms as well. Extracting ethnic implications on planning outcomes, as mentioned, is difficult; it must also be more explicit. Tenure stability and human land use value cannot be solved by land access alone or considered in isolation because in every instance of decision making and every level of government, economics has not been the deciding factor (8.7.2, 9.2.2).

If we do not create perforated boundaries to these definitions then we are working within a framework of injustice whose implications reach far beyond the realms of planning and into concepts of citizenship and well-being (9.3.5, 9.4).

The proposal for a new definition of Traveller (DCLG, 2014) and its efforts to exclude the majority of T&G from 'benefitting' from the status means intolerance as reflected in policy is growing (3.10). The implications are far reaching and the influence of research such as this will be used to inform the agenda and its manifestation in policy.

11.6.2 T&G actions

Importantly, this work also showcases the robust evidence of potential emanating from T&G involvement; their own efforts have been seminal to this movement. They have a more vested interest in place than most given the exclusivity of being able to plan with some autonomy and make home outside of the normative terms as set out by the planning system. It is for them to take charge, work together and grow towards a more articulated autonomy, one which broadens the language of planning in a bid to remain directors of their cultural shaping and which challenges the normative stance of what society is willing to tolerate as family, deserving accommodation in its relative contexts. This must occur at every level of integration from the local to the global as described in themes (9.5, 9.6).

11.6.3 Media actions

Media is the active and ever dominant stakeholder group with both destructive and constructive tendencies. They are most influential because they appear to passively represent the best interests of larger society when in fact reporting chooses those facts that pique public interest and which are usually not in the best interests of T&G. Even more powerful than what is reported is in fact what remains unreported as noted in the Dale Farm land transfer deal that was not widely reported by media or the case of the suspected child theft girl, Maria, where the less interesting resolution of facts pushed the story away from being front page material. The varying levels of critical inquiry mean that most will be drawn into the face value of reporting only. British media has a sardonic, sarcastic tone to it and in some ways this too represents the freedoms of society, freedom of thought often used to bring the interests of the world to a place for discussion, through this attention society reacts and resists or supports a changing ideology. But some topics have been slow to evolve towards a balance and have remained at the stages of entertainment (2.7).

The opportunity however within media for self-representation has been that the humanity for T&G is brought into the discourse apart from the immense implications of a populace capable of bringing forward their own coherent discourse to the greater public (9.3.3). Where positive and negative events and situations are reported in context means there is less room for journalistic bias and gives people, historically pejoratively represented, a chance to be present in these stories. The capacity for self-representation as exemplified by BBC and Guardian (8.8.2) meant there is room but we are seeing only the start of things. The power of media does not have checks and balances until after the implications of reporting have been affected. Roma media body could serve as reference tool, for instance, to advise, extend or negotiate on reporting content and style with leading papers and be trained in return. While the Traveller Times Online (since 2009) and the Roma channel, Sutka TV (2014), appeal to T&G and Roma, leading papers are read by all.

11.6.4 Larger society, support groups and the middleman actions

There is a substantial middle group framing the relations between T&G and larger society. Their efforts range from insightful and passionate to patronizing and self-interested. These include NGO's, protestors, interest groups, researchers, artists, MP's, academics, parish council, the UN, various media types and many others (8.8.2, 8.8.3). These bodies can be as helpful as they can be damaging. Avoiding the go-between in either case and making self-representation, T&G led, has the emerging effects of rebalancing the disparate nature of their minority-majority relations. On the whole middle groups can also undermine these relations and take over opportunities that direct interaction can achieve.

In the days leading up to the eviction at Dale Farm, the UN held a press conference as show of support and opposition to the tenure insecurity resulting from planning decisions (The Times, 2011). The UN political 'speak' showed a certain lack of dialogue and break down of 'representation' with the Travellers. After a press conference to the media on site, the Travellers looked around asking each other "what's he on about?" They were not sure what the message was and what, if any, possible resulting outcomes. Ultimately it is in the hands of T&G to direct this invented stage and invite those relevant actors necessary to achieve their success and in many ways are still located at a difficult starting point.

11.7 Implications of this work on other groups

Lastly, there are implications of this research for other peripatetics, marginalized and minority groups. Societies and cultures appropriate change, they evolve in the manner of their identity and in the ways these become manifest. Rules and legislations underscored by norms must also be changing in order that they too adapt in line with the evolving nature of humanity. The need for which, the case of the T&G is clearly articulating. The consequences of the interactions that took place as described in this research present both possibilities and responsibilities of those groups involved in this partnering. The wider value is that through the struggles of the outsider we see the larger system in its entirety and can ask the critical questions about what is

important to a just humanity. If autonomy comes from adherence to a comprehensive framework this leaves little room for diversity.

The balance we seek in maintaining richer more diverse societies is to be perceived as deserved citizen on the one hand while managing cultural coherence on the other, both memberships have their fees and require compromises, for vulnerable and othered communities there is much more at stake affecting the how and why of paying for them. T&G fear being accepted. Their identity is embroiled in the history and discourse of resistance. It is part of who they are and what motivate them. Frameworks for society such as the critical one of planning serve all of society best when they are robust and flexible enough to take these realities into account. But these must be fought for and by them in particular within the social structure of a common justice which allows varied visions of the good life. This is facilitated where the mechanisms of wider society perceive the value and presence of the minority. For T&G this would also alleviate disadvantages accrued intergenerationally, ensure fair opportunity, support culture and in these ways cumulatively also encourage integration, in whatever level and degree the minority are prepared for and as shown in this work is becoming increasingly relevant to them. While the contexts vary between peripatetic societies and while we will never have truly egalitarian systems, there are fundamental truths inherent in both societies that can be used to bridge the divide ensuring social justice takes a form that allows quality of life through the grounding capacity to self-determine, for everyone.

11.8 A personal critique on what has been achieved

A forum for engagement in contentious situations has showcased the possibilities in planning for local level integration of minority groups. Apart from informing on new realities it also raised important issues related to integration at other scales and national governance.

The question of integration which has a different value and meaning to T&G has been a focus of EU policy, but to what extent has it been helpful to them? Where a degree of integration has been necessary for economic autonomy and for tapping into social services, it has been

mutually exclusive to their own version of what integration means. This draws attention to the fact that all programs aimed at integration assume the source of problems exists within their separation from larger society but to the T&G it has been more about ethnic cohesion and lack of inclusion than isolation from larger society in itself. From the research it appears that integration is not the opposite of segregation.

Segregation occurs at the larger societal level while limited integration is a choice of ethnic groups – they have the right to choose their level of integration to the degree it suits them. Integration has a different value, choosing ethnicity appears mutually exclusive to choosing nation, themes surrounding economics and anonymity expound this reality. From the T&G perspective, choosing nation also appears mutually exclusive to choosing ethnicity. The intolerance for integration by T&G is not at the level of culture but at the protectionist level of social control because while culture can be seen to adapt the requirement for membership only deepens when the pressure to integrate increases or when the issues associated with societal segregation create immense barriers to freedom.

The incongruencies which exist between T&G and larger society definitions of integration are at the heart of barriers to self-determination. In order to maintain cultural thrivance T&G have to some extent integrated in economic terms. For them, fears that social integration lead to racial integration has created a strong power of control where T&G behave in ways which show continued membership and importantly need to be seen to be choosing to do so. The problems appear when dealing with issues controlled by larger society which work under the fundamental notion that social integration is a desire of all members of society.

But these choices on the part of T&G are now changing. They are more open to educational integration because the critical elements of their ethnic culture are being challenged. Whether social integration leads to a racial one is yet to be seen. What is certain and what has challenged positions of anonymity and contact with larger society is that in order to maintain culture, T&G have accepted that they need to change.

What integration actually means and how much of it we want for our respective societies in each area is relative. The way we measure it is relative, it is through these tipping points where we see changes that we begin to envision the larger picture and the motivations behind it but in a fair society these are our own choices to make.

It is this choice and the implications associated with being seen to choose your culture over integration that allows diminished citizenship and the allowable imposition of segregation along with the other issues that societal isolation permeates. This is what has allowed this particular minority group to remain excluded from discourses affecting them. Thus the intentions behind integration strategies demand further exploration; the expectation that it will solve problems of marginalization is unrealistic. Segregation is relevant to inclusion where it limits engagement and thus this work has shown that through appropriate opportunities, informed, holistic decisions can be made in unison on how to create long term approaches of consequence.

Overall the work brought together important subject areas for consideration in the discovery of what limits freedoms for T&G and how to overcome them. Considered holistically the implications of evidence and findings reveal, most importantly, the complex realities of the diverse T&G communities and refer to solutions considered within these contemporary realities. Understanding these struggles and the possibilities for negotiation with dominant society is a way to learn more about the total system.

Creating tools for dialogue that allow the experience of self-representation, societal knowledge and confidence will create a route for the outsider to tap into, as citizens do, the structures of societal frameworks that allow for freedom and a self-determined quality of life. Ensuring on-going creative thinking in the realm of tenure and land use opportunities, whether as individual or groups and whether private or public will ensure planning affords enough flexibility to continue adapting and meet our evolving needs, desires and visions. These changes will come from within our cultural communities but must also be supported by society in intention and

action spearheaded by T&G leadership. If the trend continues then fewer and fewer until none will be in caravans in England, this work is not about preserving a way of life but about preserving the freedom to choose, that everyone should have in a fair and just society.

As the largest transnational minority in the world, while many cultures have succumbed to the effects of globalization, the Roma have survived to remain distinct. They have managed cultural links which have helped them survive as a people for millennia. Those peripatetic groups of Roma are perhaps becoming the most connected to a specific geography because this tentative state gives land and stopping more possibilities and security but it also creates a stopped nature and dependency. They are the ones now with a more vested interest in place. Very specific conditions make it more difficult to find the right place, thus more uncertainty and insecurity surrounding travelling.

The growing unease of the larger societies they live amongst to the disparity that Roma and T&G experience on every level and their own growing knowledge and confidence to seek a better life means that we need to acculturate spaces of negotiation. As in this work, access to signs of equality begin to appear while we are creating these spaces together, long before dialogue itself even begins.

The value of the work for other marginalized minorities struggling with autonomy is that they are much more than this struggle and their apparent failures to behave like larger society. They are complex and culturally rich societies who through robust socio-political internal controls have managed survivance in the margins of the powerful majorities they have lived among for centuries. These minorities hold the values that will enable a more just and sustainable world with their focus on equality and their more limited materialistic values, if they succeed in overcoming cultural dominance.

Larger society will need to look at the values minorities like T&G are fighting for at all costs. Working with the Romani in our own societies is the test of whether we are open to outsiders and truly cosmopolitan. They are in fact our common citizen but our and their familiar treatment has been to act like they are not. They are as guilty of accepting it as larger society is

of allowing it to continue. Ultimately T&G and other minorities will also need to be present and prepare to represent themselves within those larger societal settings in which they want to ensure a place of co-existence today and in the future based on mutually derived public terms which protect their capacities for their own private ones. The process of creating residential settings and their critical value to thrivance means that they set the tone for not only cultural strength of minority societies but also of the civic soundness of a democratic society as a whole. The role of planning in England has this next important step to take as platforms for brokering these dialogues begin to emerge.

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