The Inclusion Paradox -

An Examination of Travellers' Place in an East Coast High School

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Abstract

This thesis explored the place of formal education in the lives of five Traveller young people in a new high school in the East of England, and the place of the Traveller community and young people at the school. It focused on inclusion from an educational perspective but also as a socio-cultural process.

It adopted a case study research design, which led to the development of five case studies, one for each young person. Methods of data collection included the Mosaic method, which exposed the complex thoughts and attitudes of these young people through different activities around a single theme. This data was complemented with interviews with the school's founding governors and senior leaders as well as an analysis of relevant aspects of its website pertaining to citizenship and values. Finally, a survey offered insights into staff perceptions of and practices regarding diversity and inclusion.

This group of Travellers shared commonalities which they termed 'the Traveller ways', which enabled them to act collectively (though not planned in concert with each other) in negotiating power relations between themselves and the school. Young people and school staff navigated their relationship by employing 'strategic ignorance', that is to say by maintaining metaphorical distance between each other.

The thesis concludes that inclusion is a paradox; it is subjective and intangible. It exacerbates Travellers' 'placelessness', both by amplifying the uneven power relationship between Travellers and the authorities and by risking exclusion from the family or wider Traveller community. Inclusion requires assumptions to be constantly challenged, and the majority society's willingness to 'do differently'.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

This thesis is an exploration of inclusion in the context of a High school that includes a section of young people from Traveller[1] background. It is a case study focussing on the place of formal education in the lives of Traveller young people and their place in the school. It examines the interface between formal education, school and community. It speaks to literature and theory drawn from the field of inclusion in education, particularly Traveller inclusion in education, and contributes to debates about inclusion.

At the start of my doctoral research I wanted to focus on the aspirations of a previously unstudied small group at East Coast High school, my place of employment in a coastal town. I had just finished a Master's degree. My dissertation focussed on raising aspirations. The alleged deficit of aspirations in towns such as this invited national and local attention. Tracy McVeigh described in The Guardian (2014) "holiday resorts […] as centres of low ambition and limited opportunity […] beset by low wages, lack of transport, isolation and poverty of aspiration". My access to a newly-opened school, coincided with the effect of the change in the political and economic landscape, offered a rare opportunity for research. I recognised that for an EdD thesis I needed to narrow my field of study. I spoke with the Careers Advisor at the school who had previously worked as a Traveller Liaison Officer, and a policeman who had forged an effective relationship with the local Traveller community. They were confident that this Traveller community would be receptive to research considering their children's hopes for themselves. Historical information around Travellers in the area, and specific to the Travellers at the school, was provided by a retired Traveller Education Team Leader, a retired Traveller Education teacher[2] and the local Traveller Site Managers. They advised how to gain access to the families.

My previous personal and professional history influenced me to work with this group in particular - I had been raised in multicultural east London and my previous two schools in the Eastern region had thriving EAL (English as an Additional Language) student populations. East Coast High school is not diverse in the same way. The prospect of working more closely with the small, ethnically different group within the cohort seemed to offer scope for research that

[1] Foster and Walker (2009) explain "a number of different communities is included in the generic term Traveller: Romany Gypsies, Irish Travellers, Showmen, circus people, New Travellers and Bargees. All of these communities have a history of a travelling lifestyle, although their ways of life, histories and cultures vary greatly" (p8).

[2] The Traveller Education Service teacher and Team Leader had both retired due to the cessation of the service which resulted in their redundancies in 2011.

could explore relations between the community, school and education. The motivations for research with minorities ought to be subject to scrutiny, to assess whether they are disguising uncritical drivers such as voyeurism, opportunism or a drive to 'other' or exoticise such groups. In my case, there was a degree of curiosity and desire to explore young people's aspirations, mixed with the hope of perhaps improving relations between school and the Traveller community.

I started the research with the primary question "What are the aspirations of the Traveller young people at East Coast High school?". Subsidiary questions were designed to look at the impact of two broad areas, crudely, outside school and within school: "What is the role of family and other cultural factors in shaping Traveller young people from East Coast High school's aspirations?", and "What is the place of formal education for the Traveller young people from East Coast High school?". As my research evolved, new insights were gained from the fieldwork. It became clear that the central concept of the study was 'inclusion'; what inclusion *is* at the school. The meaning of the word to different players in the relationship between the Traveller families and the school was explored leading to a wider debate around the nature of inclusion *per se*. The role of the school in the Traveller young people's lives remained a focus, albeit with inclusion rather than aspirations as the key theme, and I explored the implications of inclusion.

The central question this thesis addressed is:

"What is the role of inclusion in the educational progress of Traveller students at East Coast High school?"

I wanted to avoid the 'league-table' connotation of the word 'attainment' by the current "educational marketplace" described by Cudworth (2008, p362). I used the word 'progress' to connote enrichment in their lives as a whole. Bhopal (2004) describes "a general acceptance of the value the education system could bring to the lives and aspirations of their community's children" (p48) (see sub-section 2.4.5), drawing attention to a sense of improvement in their lives through emerging insights/learning. I leave room for interpretation of 'educational' to refer to education within the formal structure of the curriculum, as well as more widely with extra-curricular activities.

Subsidiary questions were:

"What is the place of formal education for the Traveller young people at East Coast High school and their families?"

and

"How is inclusion practiced in relation to the Traveller families in East Coast High school?".

As the title suggests, this is the study of Traveller "place" in an east coast high school. I use the word 'place' purposefully, its connotations are considered throughout. I refer to the 'place' of the young people in the school as perceived by the school and their 'place' in the school as perceived by themselves and their families. I investigate the 'place' of formal education in their lives along with Traveller 'place' in majority society. I explore 'place' as a concept of Traveller travel and compare it to 'Gadje'[3] travel, and I discuss the 'placelessness' associated with the 'disappearing sense of self' in section 7.7.

I became increasingly aware of the importance of nomenclature as the research progressed, particularly with my growing realisation of the consequences arising from assigning labels. From the start, I considered carefully whether to refer to 'young people' or 'students', the term I would use as a teacher at East Coast High school. I decided to use 'young people' as I wanted to investigate their wider identities, not just those of 'student' applied at school. I refer to 'Travellers', the self-ascribed identity of this group. Some literature uses alternative terms such as 'Gypsy' and 'Roma', these describe groups with a similar lifestyle but of different descent. I speculated that, if staff sought a definition of "ethnic minority", they would access the current (at the time) "Google" definition, "*a group within a community which has different national or cultural traditions from the main population"* (Dictionary.com, 2016). I considered it to be sufficiently suitable for the starting point of my research. I deliberately did not offer a definition in the questionnaires I wrote or the survey I conducted.

I start with the Literature Review (chapter 2) which attends to the important issues underpinning my conceptual framework, namely aspirations, inclusion, the Traveller community and the place of formal education in their lives, and the power relationships which affect all of the other issues discussed. I then present the methodology of this study (chapter 3). I explain my consideration of the ethical implications of my research, and then outline the methodological approach, and design and methods of data collection and analysis. In chapter 4, I present five mini case studies, one for each of the five young people at the heart of my research. Context is crucial in making sense of the data, the case studies describe some of the family history of the young people, along with their family dynamics, and their contribution to the study in my discussion of their answers to questions I posed.

[3] 'Gadje' is one of many variations of a term used by Travellers and Gypsies for outsiders.

Chapter 5, “What Sustains the Commonality?”, discusses the common factors within the Traveller community studied. It provides context to the Traveller families and their heritage. It is followed by “Strategic Ignorance” (chapter 6), a chapter which deliberates the way in which words and actions are misaligned by the Traveller families, their young people, and the school. The omissions and contradictions highlighted in this chapter become pivotal to understanding the relationships at play. In chapter 7, I discuss “The Inclusion Paradox”, which pertains to the explanation participants offered to processes of inclusion, and its complex and dynamic nature. Chapter 8 highlights the contribution of the thesis, the identification and examination of the inclusion paradox. It describes how inclusion is subject to perspective. The perpetuation of the current model of inclusion by those who hold power exacerbates the imbalance of power in their favour. It suggests that to change this requires the majority community to invite inclusion driven by the minority.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

When I started this research I wished to study the aspirations of Traveller young people. As I engaged with the literature in this area I was unhappy about using what appears to be part of a dominant discourse around education which places expectations on Traveller children to conform to what are hegemonic middle class values. Hence, this literature review starts by exploring the role of aspirations for Travellers, as this has important implications for the continuation of their culture and traditions (see chapter 5 for more). I then move on to discuss pragmatism as an operating mechanism in the lives of Travellers, because it is fundamental to their lived experiences (chapter 6 explores this in some depth). I contextualise the research by examining current governmental and educational attitudes in a rapidly changing global economic landscape. I consider the impact of them on individual and group identity, and on society's ability to be inclusive (this is explored in chapter 7).

2.2 Aspirations

I wanted to examine the relative influences of home and school in shaping the Traveller young people's aspirations. This would indicate the level of importance of formal education in the Traveller young people's lives. Travellers are faced with continuously evolving decisions around how to manage maintaining their cultural norms in a changing society. This is within the context of the changing political and economic landscape in which all young people's capacity for aspirations changes. With "new and still emerging forms of differentiation and inequality" (Scott, 2009), those most affected "include large numbers of young people living on the margins – literally and metaphorically" (Black 2015, p371).

Zipin et al. (2015) theorise that "optimism is a *cruel*[4] experience for many" (p227) and "incitements to overcome obstacles through 'raising aspirations' actually increase rather than attenuate obstacles" (p228) by understating the metaphorical distance to the end-point. In a practical sense, "studies have repeatedly shown that young people's aspirations are often misaligned with the opportunities presented by local labour markets" (National Careers Council 2013), I examine how this applies to Travellers in section 7.4.

Marzi (2016) suggests that 'breaking out' from expectations is key to envisaging and achieving an alternative outcome, citing Appadurai (2004), "if she were to try a new course of action, her preferences would evolve, and sustain her choice (p140)". This is particularly pertinent to gender differences, and gender differences are particularly important to Travellers. I explain in

[4] Emphasis in original.

sub-section 5.4.3 how, in this research, aspirations for traditional Traveller gender expectations become progressively apparent throughout childhood. This indicates "the consciousness of alternatives has inevitably resulted in a degree of self-examination with regard to role and aspiration" (Levinson & Sparkes 2006, p87), which they found when they analysed data from an ethnographic study of Gypsies and the educational system in England.

2.3 Inclusion

Inclusion is an overarching concept. It is difficult to define; I examine the subtleties of vocabulary around inclusion in section 2.8. The problem arising from "definitional inconsistencies" is that they "contribute to uncertainty about how to best address issues of social exclusion" (Filia et al. 2018, p185). I define inclusion as being part of a group or society made up of different groups of individuals, all of whom share belonging, "hence difference and commonality are not either-or opposites but are complementary and have to be made – lived – together, giving each its due" (Modood 2010, p5).

Walker and Wigfield (2009) describe inclusion as "the degree to which people are and feel integrated in the different relationships, organizations, sub-systems and structures that constitute everyday life" (p9). This alludes to both abstract and concrete components. These in turn can be considered both from the perspective of those to be included, and the existing group into which they want to be included, if indeed that is their choice. I suggest that 'integration' and 'inclusion' are not interchangeable terms. The intent to 'integrate' is to 'blend in'; to 'include' intends the maintenance of the differences in the minority. Modood (1992) explains this in terms of the 'ethnicity paradox', where "allowing more space to ethnic minority communities to do their own thing enables them to become a feature of the new society and creates a secure base from which participation in the institutions of the wider society follows" (p58). Inclusion and exclusion as abstract concepts and as lived experiences are inextricably linked, I discuss them in turn with the caveat that to completely separate the two is impossible. I then examine political responsibility to facilitate inclusion on behalf of education authorities.

2.3.1 The abstract concepts of inclusion and exclusion

Inclusion in abstract terms hails from a hierarchy based on historical or chronological belonging, Anderson (2016) talks of "awareness of being embedded in secular, serial time, with all its implications of continuity" (p205). Belongingness is a theme throughout this thesis, I discuss it further in section 2.8. It is what Baumeister and Leary's (1995) 'belongingness thesis' describes as a "fundamental human motivation […] a foundational human need" (Allman 2013, p3). Belonging is key to identity, another theme central to this thesis. Banton

(1998) calls the way in which "humans become psychologically dependent upon their identification with particular groups and upon receiving approval from those who represent them" (p200-201) the "conception of procedural rationality". It perpetuates historical assumptions of belonging, particularly pertinent when considering Travellers, a minority which is not geographically rooted and which has been, and remains, subject to bigotry. I discuss racism later in this chapter, and in my discussion chapters.

Belongingness counts for the majority population as well as minorities. It is strengthened by what Skey describes "'common sense' assumptions about the way the world is" (Skey 2011, p6) which become "part of what most people know" (p11). They "enable us – to categorise, make sense of and act in what otherwise may be seen as an overwhelming, uncertain and sometimes frightening world" (Skey 2011, p6). This method of reassuring oneself by ascribing to shared beliefs heightens separation, it is an antithesis to inclusion. And as Allman (2013) explains, "social inclusion and exclusion can function as apparati that problematize people on the margins, and by extension, contribute to their governance and control" (p1). The 'othering' of Travellers is perpetuated in this way.

More than that, Anderson (2016) attributes "the dreams of racism" to "ideologies of class rather than those of the nation" (p149). If this is so, it indicates that "white racism" against Travellers is in fact discrimination based on a perception of social class rather than race *per se*. Travellers' resistance to identifying themselves (see sub-section 6.3.1) confounds the majority society's attempts to stratify them. This antagonises those in power (see sub-section 2.4.1). Travellers are designated a low position in the majority society's classification, the derogatory perception of them attributed by those in power (see section 7.4).

2.3.2 Inclusion in practice

Matters of inclusion are managed by the majority society. Hurd and Plant (2018) examined diversity and discrimination in the US judicial system. They found the majority society, with its "egalitarianism and preference for racial hierarchy", perpetuates the power imbalance they enjoy by "cultivating a common-sense entitlement to diversity" (p1606). More than that, 'equality', where it is claimed, is defined and managed by the majority. Skey (2011) explains that in the UK "it is only when dominant groups perceive a challenge to their own position as 'occupiers to the centre of national space' and culture (1998: 19) that the 'other' becomes a source of anxiety" (p34). If the majority position is challenged it is able to redefine 'equality' which in turn exacerbates the 'less equal' status of minorities. This imbalance is demonstrated in the connecting quality of 'ritual events' - shared, collective practices such as "periodical celebrations and commemorations" which relies on "their everyday representation in books,

film, museums, the education system and so on" (Skey 2011, p25). These are enjoyed predominantly by the majority society - I examine the lack of representation of Travellers in these media in section 7.7. Additionally, "in the struggle to define the terms of national belonging, some are 'more equal' than others because they possess greater levels of national cultural capital" (Skey 2011, p67), I discuss cultural capital later in this chapter. Majority cultural capital counts, but minority cultural capital is largely unrecognised.

Nor are Traveller historical norms respected, "the countryside again 'represents a place of security away from the commonly perceived urban malaise of English cities which have, in the post-war period, become increasingly […] synonymous with an undesirable black/Other presence' (Neal, 2002: 445)" (Skey 2011, p45). This explains the antipathy of many among the majority population toward the Travelling community, who historically have not only inhabited the countryside (which the majority population seeks to claim as its own), but have roamed it, rendering themselves unmanageable. That is, until legislation (see section 7.2) restricted their ability to maintain a nomadic lifestyle.

Baumeister and Leary's (1995) 'belongingness thesis' has been explained. But the need is to belong to one's *chosen* group, not that chosen by others. It seems that exclusion from one's heritage, which some Travellers experience as a result of their inclusion into the majority society, is a painful experience, even when that exclusion is partial. Baker (2017) reflects how, as a Roma artist in England, "in order to get on I would have to separate my home life from my educational and professional life" (p741). I discuss the threat this poses in section 7.4.

Modood (1992) discusses 'the ethnicity paradox' as a means of facilitating inclusion. As described earlier, it allows minority groups the space to 'do their own thing' until they perceive themselves to have a secure base from which they can participate in the majority society. The enforced sedentarisation of the Travelling community (by legislation, discussed in section 7.7) paradoxically restricts them from being able to 'do their own thing', as it quite literally 'creates a secure base from which participation in the institutions of the wider society follow', in this case with enforced 'participation in', and accountability to, 'the institutions'. In this sense, the 'secure base' is a manipulation of Modood's model. Inclusion remains under the control of the majority society, 'done to' the (Traveller) minority. Enforced inclusion, which is examined through this thesis, is not conducive to inclusion in practice. If "an inclusive national identity is respectful of and builds upon the identities that people value, it does not trample upon them. So integration is not simply or even primarily a minority problem" (Modood 2010, p6). Change is required in the majority society to facilitate inclusion, I explore this further in chapter 8.

2.3.3 Political responsibility to facilitate inclusion

When considered purely from an economic perspective, inclusion affects all of society. Filia et al. (2018) studied the link between social inclusion and mental health in the US. They explain "social inclusion has important and beneficial implications for health, well-being, and quality of life" (p183). Inclusion remains a political responsibility even in times of austerity, because "socially excluded individuals place a significant burden on society, with socioeconomic consequences for government, community, and familial supports. Improved social inclusion can reduce this burden" Filia et al, 2018 (p183).

Consequently, inclusion is a political issue. Contrary to the "inward-looking multiculturalism (which) leads to conformism, ignorance (and) intolerance" (p53) inclusion is, according to Modood (2010), "multicultural integration or multicultural citizenship" (p7) of those who have previously been excluded or marginalised. This is aligned with Liberalism, which in Britain, according to Pilkington (2003) "prioritises equality and argues that individuals, as bearers of rights, should be entitled to citizenship rights in a neutral public sphere" (p266-267) – including in education. However, "Liberalism does not recognise that the public sphere inevitably bears the cultural imprint of the dominant ethnic group", again giving rise to the majority population being the defining group, and "fails to acknowledge the centrality of communal affiliations to people's cultural identities" (p267), potentially assigning power to 'common sense assumptions' (see section 2.8). An attempt to understand contemporary challenges around inclusion was in the Runnymede trust's 'Commission on the future of Multi-Ethnic Britain'. It states "common values are necessary to hold (Britain) together and give it cohesion" (Parekh 2000, p53). Parekh regards "human rights as providing only a moral minimum, and contends that as they are essentially individual rights they cannot contend with cultural diversity" (Banton, 2002 p171).

How can inclusion foster cultural diversity and equality at the same time? The 'Diversity and Citizenship Curriculum Review' (Ajegbo et al., 2007) was initiated "in response to a growing debate about whether UK society engages with issues around 'race', religion, culture, identity and values in the UK today" (p16). Ajegbo locates "schools, through their ethos, through their curriculum and through their work with their communities" as key to challenging perceptions. This thesis examines inclusion in a new high school, from the intent of its ethos to inclusion in practice. Ajegbo et al.'s report was set in the context of an evolving global economic and social landscape - affected by migration and technological advances, and underpinned by national and global political agendas, all of which continue to flux. It considered "'education for diversity' is fundamental if the UK is to have a cohesive society in the 21st century" (p16). I

explain in section 7.5 how a Traveller parent wanted Traveller history and culture to be part of the curriculum, which may embody Adjegbo et al.'s recommendations for pedagogy around issues of diversity and inclusion.

Furthermore, legislation such as the Equalities Act 2010 sought to hold to account 'Ministers of the Crown' in planning for the implementation practices which promote equality. It details "the basic framework of protection against direct and indirect discrimination, harassment and victimisation" (Government Equalities Office 2015) in various settings, including education (see sub-sections 5.3.2 and 6.3.1). Robinson (in Modood, 2010) highlights "a key concept in equalities legislation is that of reasonable accommodation" (pxiii) continuing "the root syllable of the word accommodation appears also in 'moderate' and 'modest' – the concern is to devise systems that are *good enough*, not totally perfect, and not making a great fuss or drawing attention to themselves" (pxiv) (see sections 7.6 and 7.7). Pilkington (2003) explains that the 'common values' to which Parekh refers are "of two forms: procedural and substantive" where "procedural values are those such as tolerance, mutual respect and rationality" from which the requirement for explicit citizenship education (see section 2.7) is derived, while "substantive values are those enshrined in international human rights standards which 'underpin any defensible conception of the good life'" (p267). Both have been preserved legislatively.

The Children and Families Act (2014) was designed to reform services for vulnerable children. It was wide-ranging, encompassing aspects of child welfare within families, with respect to local authority responsibilities, employer responsibilities, and consideration for those with special educational needs (SEN) and disabilities (later, SEND). Part 5: Child Welfare includes the provision that councils must inform young people and parent carers of the support they are entitled to. Following the Children and Families Act, the SEND Code of Practice (revised in 2015) detailed legal requirements and statutory guidance for duties of local authorities, health bodies, schools and colleges to provide for children and young people age 0 to 25 with special educational needs. I discuss the East Coast High school policies relevant to inclusion in section 4.1.

2.4 The Traveller Community

This discussion highlights considerations Traveller parents face when deciding whether to enrol their children into formal education in the context of wider factors affecting the Traveller community. To give context to the discussion, I first present statistics relating to attendance

(absence)[5], exclusions, and attainment, comparing data relating to Traveller young people with the national average. Absence during autumn term 2015[6] in primary schools was 3.6% of sessions[7]; in secondary schools it was 4.6%, giving an average of 4.1%. Of these, 0.3% were recorded as Traveller absences in primary schools, and 0.1% in secondary schools, giving an average of 0.2% overall (DfE 2016). Persistent absentees (young people missing ≥10% of school sessions) in primary schools during autumn term 2015 was 9.0%; in secondary schools it was 12.1%, giving an average of 10.3% (DfE 2016). There is no breakdown available showing subgroups, but this is a moot point. The number of Travellers of school age not in education is unknown.

Permanent exclusions amongst the UK school population were at 0.08% in the academic year 2014-2015. However, the rate for Travellers of Irish heritage was 0.47% and Gypsy/Roma was 0.48%. Fixed period exclusions were 4.39% across the whole school population, while the rate for Travellers of Irish heritage was 8.17% and Gypsy/Roma was 8.04%. This particular set of data also shows a stark difference between males and females. Fixed period exclusions for male Travellers of Irish heritage was 11.81%, while the rate for females was 4.21%. For Gypsy/Roma males the figure was 11.25% while for females it was 4.7% (DfE 2016). The DfE (2016) explains "Pupils of Gypsy/Roma and Traveller of Irish Heritage ethnic groups had the highest rates of both permanent and fixed period exclusions[8], but as the population is relatively small these figures should be treated with some caution" (p6). I counter that 'caution' should not be an appeasement, the implications of the data must not be underestimated. Additionally, there is a data set for a group which "includes pupils whose ethnic information was not sought or was refused or could not be determined" (see sub-section 6.3.1). The 'unclassified' permanent exclusion rate is 0.16% and the percentage of fixed period exclusions is 6.20% (DfE 2016), both significantly above the average for the category.

Attainment data for the academic year 2014-2015 shows that 66.2% of young people achieved 5+ GCSEs at grade A*-C. 22.5% of Travellers of Irish heritage achieved the same, while 11.8% of Gypsy/Roma did[9]. The statistics for achieving 5+ GCSEs including English and Maths are 57.1% nationally. 17.6% of Travellers of Irish heritage and 8.6% of Gypsy/Roma did. And while 94.2% of young people nationally achieved 5+ GCSEs grade A-G, the figure for Travellers of

[5] I discuss Mary-Ann's absence in sub-section 4.3.1.
[6] All data was the most recent available at the time of my research, 2016.
[7] One session is one half day.
[8] I relate this to the outcome of Douggie Jr.'s behaviour in sub-section 4.4.1.
[9] I relate this to Alfie's presentation at school in sub-section 4.5.3.

Irish heritage was 57.0% and for Gypsy/Roma it was 53.3%. According to the DfE (2016), "Travellers of Irish heritage and Gypsy/Roma pupils are the lowest performing groups out of all minor ethnic groupings" (p24). The British education system is, it seems, contradictory to Traveller attainment in particular, whether by its inherent structure or by its attainment criteria.

2.4.1 Overt Racism

At the start of my research I chose a Traveller parent who works as a teaching assistant at the local primary school as my initial point of contact with the community. During our first conversation she warned me that the community is "very closed", and that the other parents were unlikely to allow me to engage with them and their children for my research, mirroring the experience of other researchers. Kiprianos et al. (2012) observed in their study of the integration[10] of Roma and Gypsy children in formal education in Greece that "researchers faced considerable difficulties in gaining access" (p680). This is reiterated by Levinson (2006), "gaining access and collecting data remained problematic throughout the study" (p83). This is unsurprising given the level of "exclusion, inequality (and) alienation" (Levinson & Hooley 2013, p373) experienced by Roma Gypsies in the UK, in addition to "the stereotypes and folk assumptions" witnessed in Spain (Flecha & Soler 2013, p453), "negative characterizations" of Roma/Gypsy migrants in Scotland (Grill 2012, p49) and "white racism" in England (Bhopal 2011, p315) which the communities have been subjected to. This is not hidden, "the Commission for Racial Equality has recognised that Gypsy Travellers face public hostility, institutional discrimination and widespread ignorance" (Bhopal 2004, p50). There is a popular discourse that Gypsy and Traveller communities are "groups who are continually marginalised and criticised for not contributing (both socially and financially) to society" (Bhopal 2011, p316). The extent of the dislike of the Traveller communities is demonstrated by some Gadje parents who avoid allowing their children to associate with them by "boycotting schools where Gypsy and Traveller children attend" (p319).

Why is the situation allowed to continue? O'Donnell (2014) cites the Commission for Racial Equality, stating that "discrimination against Gypsy, Roma and Traveller communities remains 'the last 'respectable' form of racism'" (p201). As a response to this widespread negative discrimination often facing Traveller parents many either choose not to register their children to any school, "up to 12 000 young Gypsy Travellers in England may not even be enrolled in any secondary school" (Ofsted, 2003 cited in Derrington 2007, p357), or not to identify

[10] Kiprianos et al. (2012) the term 'integration'.

themselves as 'Traveller', Greenberg (2010) observed that across Europe "many Roma decline to answer surveys or lie to surveyors, fearful that the information will be used to discriminate" (p926). Levinson & Sparkes (2006) recount the experience of 'Hester', a Traveller girl who chose to stay in education at the age of 17 but who "confessed to having had to hide her own identity at times, only revealing her ethnicity to those she felt she could trust" (p93). This is unsurprising, name-calling incidents are "not taken seriously by the teachers in comparison to incidents when other minority ethnic students had the same experiences" (Bhopal 2011, p320) because "schools could not understand that because these groups are defined as White, they were able to experience racism" (p324). I recount an example of such an incident in sub-section 5.3.4. To further compound the issue, when Traveller young people tried to defend themselves and each other, their behaviour "was interpreted by teachers as a 'mob mentality'" (p320). Derrington (2005) confirms that "a disproportionate number of Traveller children were excluded from school[11] despite the general assessment that the behaviour of the Traveller pupils was good (Ofsted 1996)"(p55).

Blame for Traveller young people not accessing formal education is directed at their communities. Flethcher & Soler (2013) report a situation in Spain where "parents no longer trusted the teachers" resulting in "many Roma families" removing their children from school, "contrasting with the widespread myth about the Roma that they are not interested in education and dislike schools" (p452-453). The problem is exacerbated by "a history of bullying 'generation after generation' in [British] schools" (Myers et al. 2010, p538). Little wonder, then, that Traveller parents "want assurance that racism will be challenged and dealt with effectively" (Derrington 2005, p55) if their children are to attend school. Not only are Traveller children subject to the "negative attitudes of teachers and pupils", but also to the inequality of "the curriculum, which fails to be inclusive"[12] (Bhopal 2011, p317), a failure, as explained in section 7.5, lamented by one of the Traveller parents in this study.

Evidence of the acceptance of, and perpetuation of overt racism toward Traveller communities can be seen in the British media, Bhopal (2011) describes "hatred and vitriol towards Gypsies and Travellers" (p317). A lack of understanding of cultural differences is seized upon by the press and used to justify racial stereotyping. For example, Grill (2012) describes how "Roma sense of public spaces does not fit in easily with local understandings". He explains that "spending time in the street is simply part of their daily habitual sociability" but this makes

[11] Exclusion data is presented earlier in this chapter.
[12] East Coast High school's Equalities Policy discussed in section 4.1 refers to the curriculum.

them “highly distinctive” due to the “intensity of interactions, level of noise and large crowd of people assembling together” (p46). Unfamiliarity underpins racial intolerance. Bhopal (2011) asserts that “in order to make the school experience positive for Gypsy and Traveller children, aspects of racism in the wider community must be addressed so that schools can operate within a ‘safe community’ context”[13] (p317).

And yet, racism against the Traveller community is allowed to continue. Worse, it is treated as ‘respectable racism’. Citing a piece written for the Western Daily Press, Richardson (2006) exclaims that it is “virtually impossible to imagine” any other group being described in the published press as “‘thieves, liars, lazy and dirty’” (p90). Richardson questions why the editor has allowed the piece, in so doing demonstrating a belief that it is “acceptable to talk about Gypsies and Travellers in this way” (p90). Conceivably this perception persists due to a similar acceptance demonstrated by government, Richardson quotes Mr Andrew MacKay, the Conservative MP for Bracknell speaking in the House of Commons on 15th January 2002, talking of Travellers and stating that the “normal” people of Bracknell and its surrounding area “want protection from the law *when they are invaded by this scum. They are scum*[14], and I use the word advisedly” (p93). Not only was this inflammatory statement not challenged, the Under-Secretary of State for the Home Office at that time, Angela Eagle, spoke of her “gratitude to the Right Honourable Member for raising this” (p93).

The situation persists by ‘othering’ Travellers. Richardson (2006) describes both the media and the government “perpetuating the stereotype of Gypsies and Travellers as ‘folk-devil’”, a strategy which “serves to heighten their presence in society, which makes it easier to monitor them” (p85). This strategy appears to have worked, Damian Le Bas Jr.[15] (2018) recalls “Our family were the mistrusted local Gypsies, the bane of the decent, upstanding parish council. We were “gyppos”, “pikeys”, “diddakois”, “them lot”. Locally, we were infamous”. In an analysis of negative comments in the press surrounding Gypsies and Travellers, Richardson reports “in 14 instances it was a local person quoted with a negative comment, but in nine instances it was a local councillor or MP” (p92).

[13] I recount Douggie Sr.’s description of racism in the community I sub-section 4.4.1.
[14] Emphasis in original.
[15] I refer frequently throughout this thesis to Damian Le Bas Jr., a Romany Traveller who attended Oxford University and subsequently edited the Traveller Times. Le Bas has written for the national press, speaks at academic and Traveller conferences and has recently published a book. I use him as someone with kudos and recognition from a community with some common characteristics to the one I am researching but with caution; he is from a different community. Le Bas’s descriptions provide context but it cannot be assumed that his views represent the Travellers at East Coast High school.

And the mistrust between the majority and minority communities becomes mutual. Highlighting the difficulties faced in overcoming the barrier of racial tension, Owuamalam et al. (2014) explain "negative meta-stereotyping is linked to reciprocal negativity towards the perceived perpetrators" (p262). Resolving issues of conflict and power is complex, and the concept of 'power' permeates this research. The nuances of power relationships in my data collection is discussed in section 6.8 and in terms of inclusion in section 7.5, and power is considered in my reflections and conclusions presented in chapter 8.

2.4.2 Geographical Barriers to Education

When considering the education and schooling of Traveller young people it is important to remember that "in England education is compulsory for children of school age, schooling is not." (D'Arcy 2014, p819). D'Arcy (2014) notes "Travellers are a distinctive, yet often disregarded group of home educators" (p818). Whether predominantly travelling or sedentary, Traveller families face distinct challenges in navigating formal education for their children. I discuss issues and attitudes concerning Traveller travel and formal education next, and revisit them in sections 7.2 and 7.3.

Traveller young people's absence from school due to travelling is an example of a polarity of perspective between the Traveller community and the establishment. "Schools may find it difficult to understand why extended family responsibilities and community events should take priority over a child's learning" (Foster and Walker 2009, p33). This type of nomadism "irritated the school". Bhopal (2011) quotes a Traveller mother explaining "I can see the teachers don't like it when we are travelling, like we have to go up North for a funeral or we are going to a horse fair. They think we are not being good parents for just taking the kids out when we want" (p322).

It must be noted in the context of this discussion that schools are accountable for attendance data, national and Traveller attendance statistics were presented earlier in this chapter. To accommodate this, Flecha & Soler (2013) highlight that "it is necessary to provide schools and communities with the actions that help citizens succeed in education" (p452). One adjustment to enable schools to reconcile Traveller travel with schools' need for attendance to be within government defined levels is highlighted by Foster and Walker (2009), who explain that Traveller travel "absences can be recorded with 'T'" (p33).[16] A 'T' records the absence for Traveller travel rather than as being unauthorised, consequently the absence does not affect

[16] East Coast High school's Attendance Policy, and its practice for recording Traveller travel, is explained in section 4.1.

either the Traveller young person's or the school's attendance figures. This may solve the immediate problem for the school in terms of attendance targets but it is one concession with little other support available to schools with Traveller young people in their cohort. The demise of the Traveller Education Service, discussed later in this chapter, reduced the level of support for schools along with that for Traveller young people and their families. It also does not address the gap in the young person's education. Dual registration, where the young person is kept on roll at their 'usual' school but is temporarily enrolled at another school is another possibility, but "parents who are educationally disadvantaged themselves may find it difficult to understand how education is an accumulative process, undermined by frequent absence" (Foster & Walker 2009, p33) and so may decline to access temporary enrolment at an alternative school during periods of travel. Fears around racism, discussed earlier in this chapter, may further compound this.

Travellers experience additional barriers such as poverty to their participation in school. Valls & Padros (2011) talk of "social isolation, segregation, and vulnerability to continuous changes" (p174) as factors of poverty in Europe, and Richardson (2006) explains that for Travellers this 'feeds' the negative stereotype, "this makes it easier for the settled community to deny them decent homes, access to schools or welcoming neighbours". Moreover, the situation is deteriorating, these "views have become more extreme in the years since the site was closed" (p91). A self-perpetuating cycle of mistrust is established as majority and Traveller communities are kept at arm's length from each other. Geographical barriers reinforce the situation, Hamilton et al. (2012) found that across Ireland "Travellers are the most socially excluded from school education […] Travellers still remain on the margins of society, particularly with regard to education"[17] (p506). Greenberg (2010) discusses segregation by "local official policies"[18] and supported in practice by "more informal forces, such as housing policy, neighbourhood homogeneity, and the like" (p935). The effects are explained by Rossiter (2010), Traveller children "usually attend schools with lower than average rates of achievement, have higher than average rates of free school meals eligibility, significantly higher rates of absence, permanent and fixed-term exclusion than pupils from other ethnic groups"[19] (p34). Traveller parents are often faced with "stark choices" between "segregated

[17] Statistics regarding Travellers of Irish heritage in education are presented earlier in this chapter.
[18] In section 2.8, I explain Berryman & Eley's (2019) distinction that inclusion refers to external forces such as policies.
[19] Exclusion data is presented earlier in this chapter.

and inferior education" (p942) along with "practical considerations such as the availability of school places and the distance from school" (Bhopal & Myers 2009, p304).

A possible compromise could arise from the use of "distance learning programmes and the use of new technology" which Bhopal (2004) explains "can allow Gypsy Traveller children to maintain their nomadic lifestyle at the same time as enabling them to have an effective education" (p50). However, D'Arcy (2014) reports concerns raised by Ofsted surrounding the lack of necessity to "register all children with the local authority", particularly with regard to home-educated children such as many Travellers who "were attracted to elective home education because it presented a safer place to educate their children legally" (p822), "making it possible for children to disappear" (p821). I discuss the disparity between the way in which the choice of home schooling made by Traveller parents and 'middle-class' parents are perceived in section 7.3.

2.4.3 Cultural and Community Concerns around Education

There are two discrete considerations involving cultural and community concerns around education; (a) the value placed on formal education by the Traveller community (which relates to my subsidiary question, "What is the place of formal education for the Traveller young people at East Coast High school and their families?") and (b) the implications of formal education for 'Traveller ways' (relating to my other subsidiary question, "How is inclusion practiced in relation to the Traveller families at East Coast High School?") (see chapter 1). They will be discussed separately.

(a) The value placed on formal education by the Traveller community

A popular discourse is that Travellers do not value formal education, and consequently fail to engage effectively with it. Kiprianos et al. (2012) described the school performance of Roma and Gypsy children in their study in Greece to be inadequate, and relate this to "only a few" of the children completing their primary education (p687). This is unsurprising given that "Roma and Gypsy children were easily driven to isolation in class", which "subsequently led to their indifference towards school" (p694). It must be noted, however, that the study discovered "significant variations in the school performance among children who come from different Roma and Gypsy populations" (p688). While "most" of the parents and children in the study "acknowledge the importance of the knowledge acquired within formal education as well as the significance of schooling for their lives", the families fail to commit to "long-term investment" in formal education (p690). This analysis indicates a deficit discourse – the Roma

and Gypsy families may commit to alternative forms of education not apparent to non-Travellers.

Reluctance amongst Travellers to attend school is described by Bhopal (2011), who cites Travellers in England saying "we want them to go to school, they need to learn to read and write but we still want them to know who they are", namely "they are Travellers and only Travellers understand Travellers. We have our ways and we stick to them" (p323) (chapter 5 explores 'Traveller ways'). This could explain why a government allowance of €300 awarded to Roma and Gypsy parents in Greece resulted in registrations but "did not ensure their regular attendance and actual integration in school" (Kiprianos et al. 2012, p689). As Bhopal explains, "on the one hand they (Travellers) wanted their children to be educated, but on the other hand they did not want to lose their sense of identity"[20] (p323), which suggests inclusion is a threat in that respect. This conflict has further implications, Gottfried (2014) reports that chronic absenteeism not only detrimentally affects academic outcomes, but also "socioemotional outcomes […] being a chronic absentee was also associated with a decline in educational engagement" (p69). School attendance, particularly when it is sporadic or fragmented, and particularly for Traveller families, is a complexity of cultural, educational and socioemotional concepts linked to (enforced) social disengagement.

The value placed on accreditation from a non-Traveller perspective is not shared by Travellers. Hately-Broad (2004) confirms "accreditation alone does not demonstrate success", because for Travellers "the actual accreditation and the possession of a certificate confirming their achievement had no value" (p276). This is supported by Kiprianos et al.'s findings (2012), "the process of obtaining a certificate of further education is seen mainly as a demanding and time-consuming process with poor economic rewards […] those holding a school certificate are not necessarily admired for their accomplishment" by their community because the certificate "does not necessarily translate into well-paid jobs" (p697). Hately-Broad (2004) reports low completion rates for the courses. Initial interest in learning was task-driven, but "once this aim had been completed […] they left the course" (p275) despite further incentives and opportunities being offered to them. I suggest this arose because the intended outcomes of the provision were determined by the provider rather than the Travellers. "Speaking and Listening" skills taken from a "Skills for Life" course (p275) were embedded in courses such as "Nail Art". A "checklist" was used to "provide evidence of particular skills on the part of the

[20] I discuss the findings of my research relating to Traveller identity in sub-section 5.1.1.

learners" (p276). It is an example of integration, in the form of acquiring skills respected by the majority society, being 'done to' Travellers, rather than inclusion.

Bourdieu's 'cultural capital' describes the value assigned by the majority society to majority preferences; books and education, for example. Despite purporting to facilitate social mobility, acquiring cultural capital can cause disparity when it deviates from the minority 'norm': "it may look like just acquiring cultural capital to us, but can create isolation and cognitive dissonance for them with their home communities" (Lederman, 2013). So, when "Gypsies and Travellers attached little value to textual literacy, did not view literacy as important to economic success and did not perceive the ability to read and write as contributing to their status or self-esteem" (McCaffrey 2012, p1) they demonstrated their 'norm'. This may exemplify preference against mainstream literacy structures, such as formal qualifications. It exemplifies the dissonance between the majority society and Traveller values. Cilesez & Drotos (2016) describe how in the US "these communities' culture, valuing group cohesion over formal literacy, worked as a negative asset in their relationship to the government […] [they are] perceived as not behaving "regularly" or lacking "cultural capital"[21]; are dismissed as unhelpful and difficult" (p8). As the minority, not only are Travellers' cultural markers ignored, leading to loss of self and group esteem (see section 7.7), Travellers are 'othered' by the dominant structures in the majority society.

Nevertheless, there is a small but growing number of Traveller young adults who access higher education. Finnie (2012) seeks to explain cultural barriers to higher education, stating that those "at risk" of missing opportunities to go on to higher education in Canada are in that position due to "lack of exposure to 'the culture of higher education'" (p1163). This, Finnie claims, is linked to decisions made about the intention (or not) to access higher education which are "made early, when the child is young" (p1164), decisions made within a community which historically not only does not value formal education, but which also has real concerns about the care taken of its young people within the institutions providing that education, and particularly about its influence on the culture which the community is struggling to preserve.

(b) The implications of formal education for 'Traveller ways'

Engaging with formal education poses a threat to the 'Traveller ways'. Lloyd & McClusky (2008) explain that the removal of responsibilities from parents to the state in formal education "creates many a tension", as for Travellers in the UK "commitment to the family is

[21] I discuss cultural capital later in this chapter.

the prime source of education […] particularly in relation to morality and to work skills" (p342). Traveller parents "share a commitment to experiential, family-based learning" (p341) which involves the passing on of skills along with cultural expectations. The threat is seen from a Gadje perspective, Hershberg et al. (2014) discovered across a spectrum of US adolescents that "contributing to self, others and the community is important to society and predictive of positive youth and later adult development" (p950). Traveller communities in the UK expect such contribution from their young people. Education beyond the age of 14 is seen in some Traveller communities as "incongruent with economic lifestyles and with a distinctive cultural identity" (Levinson 2015, p1151), causing concern that "education will undermine Gypsy knowledge". The fear is that "children seeking to remain at school for longer than the group norm run the risk of jeopardizing their Gypsy identities", their extended education may lead to "work outside the spectrum of normal Gypsy jobs (which) is liable to be viewed as betrayal of heritage" (p1152). Concern of the erosion of traditional Traveller culture manifest in the assertion that school may be "good for the children but not, maybe, so good for their traditional way of life" (Myers et al. 2010, p536). This threatens Traveller identity and gives rise to the 'threat of the disappearing sense of self' discussed in section 7.7.

Traveller education within the home and family, about the norms of the family and wider community, is the cause of "high rates of early school dropouts[22] among Roma and Gypsy and Traveller children" (p691) in Greece. Their outcomes are different to those of the majority society, because as Levinson & Sparkes (2006) explain, "aspirations often related to being rather than doing". This may relate to being a wife and mother or being "an adornment", which "for some [British Traveller] girls was would seem to be important" (p87). Kiprianos et al. (2012) further explain Greek Roma and Gypsy communities' "non-conventional perceptions of becoming and belonging". This manifests as a life-cycle which differs from the majority society's. Boys and girls from the age of five or six are expected to contribute by helping older family members in "income-generating" activities, such as "street-vending or scrap recycling," or to help with "assembling, packing or decorating products to be sold" (p691), and consequently miss schooling. As with any absence, this impacts upon their performance at school, repeated absences made it "difficult" for the young people to "follow the pace of the rest of the students" (p694) in their respective classes. A hidden source of conflict for Traveller children is the dual pressure of schooling. Physically it is tough, they "find themselves unable to cope with the norms and regulations of school as well as its mandatory timetable"

[22] I note here that this is an ugly and misleading term.

(Kiprianos et al. 2012, p694) alongside working at home. Additionally, formal education is contrary to their cultural norms. It causes a "clash with the very function of the family, causing in effect a problem in their relationships with family members at home" (p695). As "mainstream ideas about the stages of a person's life cycle were also shaped by the development of the formal education system" (p693-694) Traveller families' concern about the role of education in the demise of their traditional cultural norms in this respect is well-founded.

Consequently, Levinson & Sparkes (2006) document the fear amongst British Travellers of "the fragmentation of traditional patterns" (p93), "you can't just go back to the old ways", a concern discussed in "The Inclusion Paradox" (section 7.8). This causes unrest amongst Traveller communities, where "criticism of parents whose children have remained at school have included charges of 'one-up-manship' and of 'selling out'", "the very act of staying on at school has become a manifestation of group disloyalty" (p93). This was illustrated by 'Hester', mentioned earlier in this chapter, whose "commitment to education beyond a certain level has left both her and her family potentially isolated within their community" (p94). The constraints imposed by the school calendar on the Travelling lifestyle compound this, "travelling and attending family events […] were related to their sense of identity and cultural norms of being a Traveller […] it was customary to attend, regardless of when the event took place […] this was seen as holding on to their own sense of identity" (Bhopal 2011, p322). Respecting practices such as this, as described in Modood's 'ethnicity paradox', is necessary to facilitate inclusion. I expand on this in section 8.8.

Travellers are aware of the threat that inclusion into formal education poses to both their group and individual identity. Their fear is justified, Levinson (2015) explains that "there occurs conscious hybridization […] in the process of constructing a discursive narrative of the self in which culture is made malleable as part of the act of social survival", a concept examined in my discussion of 'the threat of the disappearing sense of self' in section 7.7. Consequently "particularly in Roma communities" there may be a sense of "diffused and fragmented identities" and "dilemmas of marginality, inhabiting two worlds without fully belonging to either" (Levinson 2015, p1150). Black (2015) describes the way in which in Australia "the normative culture of the school requires many children to suppress their own identities and to act within a narrowly defined and institutionalised view of what it means to be a 'good' student" (p378). More than hybridization is the threat of education as "a socialising tool that furnishes individuals with appropriate norms and values, and that the education system exists as a means of inculcating all communities in a similar normative

framework" (Cudworth & Cudworth 2010, p30). Formal education is placed to socialise to the majority norm, in doing so it may erase Traveller identity.

2.4.4 Gender differences in Education

Mary-Ann, one of the young people who took part in this study, was removed from the school roll by her father during year eight, reflecting Kiprianos et al.'s (2012) observation that in Greece "the investment of Roma and Gypsy females in education is shorter than that of male Roma and Gypsy students" (p690). Traveller young people are "considered by their relatives as already being 'in the process' of getting married" (p692) from age 11, this was evident in Shona's comments about her experience at a Traveller fair (see sub-section 5.3.3). Additionally, "girls are given much closer supervision than boys for reasons of protecting their virginity". In other words, the decision to cease formal education for girls in particular is "associated with culturally constructed perceptions of gender and sexuality" (p692), this may have been the reason for Mary-Ann's removal from the school roll (see sub-section 4.3.4). It is not unusual for girls to disappear from school suddenly, Kiprianos et al. (2012) report the case of a "very good student", a twelve-year-old girl who left school "suddenly" because "'her father had decided to keep her home in order to avoid her elopement'" (p692).

I was told by a Traveller boy in my research that males are considered adults from the age of 15. Consequently, they "tend to find school particularly demeaning" (Levinson & Hooley, 2013) and so are "keener to leave the school milieu quickly so as to take their place in the adult world of their communities" (Levinson & Sparkes 2006, p89). They find formal education after their fifteenth birthday particularly difficult due to the distinct 'life-cycle' which is part of Traveller culture. While this was the case for the Traveller boys in this research, I explain in section 7.5 how the other two Traveller girls (aside from Mary-Ann) positioned themselves to complete their high school education.

Young Traveller women express "frustration" at the inequality of expectations placed on them with regard to the quantity of work they are expected to do around the home in comparison to the boys, and school may be held responsible by Traveller families for making their young women aware of the different expectations of them. Levinson & Sparkes (2006) explain they "started feeling angry about the respective expectations of males and females at home" due to "their discovery at school of the relatively few demands made of non-Gypsy girls in their classes" (p84). Expectations of females with regard to work is widely recognised, Themelis (2008) describes how in Greece "Roma women would inescapably assist in family activities outside the household but would be entirely responsible for the ones inside it, too" (p136). But the source of the frustrations reported by the girls may be seen at the school, because that

is where they became *aware* of the difference between the expectations placed on them and the other (non-Traveller) girls. Talking first of the "frustration that opportunities are likely to be impeded by family attitudes" (Levinson & Sparkes 2006, p79) they point to the "cultural dissonance" created by the "conflict between values encountered at home and at school" (p80) by girls in particular. There are reasons for "suspicion" of "a system that appears to promote alternative values" namely "that the widening of options for girls, a particular outcome from secondary schooling, in particular, might weaken their acceptance of traditional roles and responsibilities within the family" (Levinson & Sparkes 2006, p81). A dilemma is faced by girls in which their "role expectations and self-image" are "challenged at school" (Levinson & Sparkes 2006, p91).

Removing Traveller young women from school does not signal the end of their education. Traditionally, Roma girls in Bulgaria are educated at home from the age of 10-12 by their "mothers and elder sisters" (Kyuchukov 2011, p97). Levinson & Sparkes (2006) highlight the role of females "having responsibilities ultimately for the transmission of language, culture and ethnicity" (p80), "it is mainly through women, according to many [female] participants that the traditional Gypsy way of life has been maintained" (p88). The important job of perpetuating the customs and traditions of Traveller heritage – cornerstones of Traveller identity - is executed by Traveller women. Consequently "attitudes expressed by older women are often reflected by comments made by girls of school age" (Levinson & Sparkes 2006, p95). Tellingly, Levinson & Sparkes report that "there were some anxieties that too much education would cause daughters to move away from their families" (p95). Personal and cultural influences combine to encourage girls to accept and embrace their traditional expected norms; girls are needed to maintain and perpetuate their way of life. Expectations and concerns extend into adulthood, Levinson (2015) cites a Gypsy mother stating "'True Gypsy women shouldn't work; our way of life is dying'" (p1158).

Contradictions are seen in research, Levinson & Sparkes (2006) discuss Acton's (1974) observation that, at that time "faced with fewer opportunities, a number of young women would seem to be demonstrating a desire for something more than their traditional roles could offer" (p81). In 1996, Willoughby found that "the majority wanted to follow in the traditional Traveller mode; they wanted to marry young and have children" despite the changing level of opportunity open to them, reflecting the pattern of behaviour I report in sub-section 5.4.3. This does not appear to allay the fears of parents for whom "too much exposure to a system that appears to promote alternative values is still viewed with suspicion" (p81).

2.4.5 A Growing Pragmatism?

In this chapter I have discussed changes which restrict "Gypsy and Travellers' traditional lifestyles" (Bhopal 2004, p48). Consequently, they "were re-assessing the world their children would have to make a living in" (p48). I talk in chapter 1 of Bhopal's claim that, as a consequence, Gypsy and Traveller communities recognise the value of the education system for their children's aspirations, and explain how I used this observation in the formation of my research question. More than this, "Myers, McGhee & Bhopal (2010) have suggested a growing pragmatism among Gypsy parents, an acceptance that better futures for their children depend upon increased participation within the education system, facilitating access to new employment opportunities" (Levinson 2015, p1152). Some Traveller communities may see Tajfel's 'social competition', where "the aspirations of the minority group move closer to the majority while a separate identity is retained – that is, the achievement of parity alongside cultural difference" (Levinson 2015, p1151), as a way to adapt to a changing society. However, Levinson concedes 'pragmatism' would not lead to an easy assimilation, "commitment to separate (or oppositional) identities does not leave much freedom for manoeuver within mainstream educational environments for individuals from marginalised groups" (Levinson 2015, p1151). A means of beginning to assimilate into the mainstream, enough to allow access but without becoming absorbed, is described by Convery & O'Brien as adopting a "double-identity", "a personal 'internal' Gypsy identity and another public identity for which 'Gypsy-Traveller' may or may not be acknowledged" (p335). Perhaps unsurprisingly Kiprianos et al. (2012) report that "Roma and Gypsy children who live in permanent locations are integrated into school to a better degree" (p693). So, "with increasing sedentarisation, a dominant position has appeared to accept the need for rudimentary education […] and many parents are now reconciled to the notion that better futures for their children can only be achieved through greater engagement with formal schooling" (Levinson & Hooley 2013, p379).

An acceptance of change amongst Travellers, primarily because of the changing political and economic landscape, has "influenced the views held regarding the educational process" (Levinson & Sparkes 2006, p87). This has seemingly led to the loosening of boundaries for Traveller young people, for example in Bulgaria "there is a growing acceptance of more modern, liberal attitudes towards the freedom and the personal choice of the younger generation" (Kyuchukov 2011, p102). This seems to be the case in the UK, Rossiter (2010) explains "community attitudes are (in some cases) beginning to shift and there is greater recognition among parents and pupils of the need for secondary and post-16 education" (p34). The movement of traditional Traveller work to other sectors of society as the economic crash

has forced a 'step down' of many from the majority society into positions originally held by those 'lower' than them on a socioeconomic scale, ousting Travellers from those positions (see section 7.4). I wonder what effect this has on Traveller identity. A caveat is levied by Levinson & Sparkes (2006, p81): "while change in the face of socio-economic changes and the need to adapt are seen as inevitable, evolving lifestyles and roles are not necessarily embraced" - "apparent awareness of the inevitable should not be equated with acceptance" (p88).

Change is seemingly self-perpetuating, and I suspect the recognition of this must increase anxiety over the potential loss of Traveller identity for those who do not 'embrace' it. However, Hately-Broad (2004) reports examples of families who showed "great commitment to their children's attendance at school by altering their lifestyle" (p274). A parent stated "'we only goes away once a year now – up country to see our relatives, 'cos we wants them to learn to read and write'" (Hately-Broad 2004, p274). Acceptance of, and engagement with formal education apparently becomes a more positive experience for those involved as it extends through the Traveller community. Valls & Kyriakides (2013) explain that "parental involvement in their children's education has a positive impact on several aspects of children's development and academic performance". Ultimately, "promoting family involvement in children's schooling" has been a "particular practice of inclusion" (p23) across Europe. This is amplified when the wider community is included – "Increasing the participation of the community in the school also increases the resources and knowledge available to help all students and, in the end […] the educational success of these children becomes a community issue" (p30). While this implies a growing pragmatism, I suggest in chapter 6 that what I actually observed was strategic ignorance, Traveller families using prevarication or appeasement and conciliation in their relationship with East Coast High school to enable them to maintain their distance without inciting questions from the majority group.

2.5 Power Relations and Policies

This thesis explores power relationships. The concept of 'power' refers to two players, those who hold the power and those who do not. Grill (2012) asserts that "for those in middle- and upper-classes" who he defines as the "powerful people", "'strangers' can represent a source of pleasurable enrichment of diversity that one can consume but can equally easily leave to one's privileged spaces", while the "powerless" feel trapped, "'incarcerated in a territory from which there is no exit […] but which the others may enter at will' (Bauman 1995, 2001: 211)'" (p52). Succinctly, "power is the ability to guide others to the needed behaviours" (Altinkurt & Yilmaz 2012, p1844). Power may be overt or it may be passive, where "the strategic control and

manipulation of conduct, the 'pastoral' management of a population, comes to replace brute force in maintaining its domain" (Leask 2012, p61).

The education system exerts power, it is "central within the 'great carceral continuum' (Foucault 1979, p297) that constitutes contemporary, disciplined society" (Leask 2012, p58). I am acutely aware of the influence I have as a teacher and in particular in my responsibility to ensure the ethical treatment of the Traveller young people and their families throughout my research (see section 3.4), as "teachers are, in essence, 'technicians of behaviour' (Foucault 1979, p294) who have absorbed (or, rather, are formed by) a set of disciplinary norms which they, in turn, impose upon their charges" (Leask 2012, p59). A dichotomy of expectations arises where, across Europe, "power differentials" which "can lead to situations where the transformations sought by the victimised are perceived as a loss by the privileged" (Puigvert et al. 2012, p516). Education could provide an antidote to this, Bhopal (2011) explains, "if the school curriculum is inclusive of Gypsy and Traveller groups, this will foster an ethos in which pupils and teachers will understand and respect the culture of these groups"[23] (p317). This implies that without an inclusive curriculum, understanding and respect (and the scope for redressing the imbalance of power) will be lacking. A Traveller parent in this research highlighted the lack of reference to Traveller history and culture in the curriculum (see section 7.5). It is not only schools which have overlooked Traveller history, Convery and O'Brien (2012) point out "this 500 year history and culture is rarely glimpsed within public museums, libraries and archives" (p334), also indicating a lack of understanding and respect (and a failure to address the resulting 'power differentials') by local government.

Due to the changing economic and political landscape there has been a loss of trades - "craftspeople such as metal workers [and] musicians that sustained a pre-industrial economy" (Convery and O'Brien 2012, p336). For Travellers the loss is great, "economic circumstances over a period of time have resulted in a seemingly inexorable decrease in opportunity for such activities as selling traditional artefacts and fortune-telling" (Levinson & Sparkes, 2006 p88), this is discussed in section 7.4. The stark reality is that for Gypsies and Travellers "changing circumstances have led to the choice between adaptation and extinction", necessitating "re-evaluation and relocation with respect to role" due to "the decline in agricultural work, a drift towards urban centres, as well as an increase in numbers living in settled homes" (p88). Significantly, "occupation and family ties tend to be at the centre of self-declared cultural identity […] distinctive occupational practices […] emphasize the importance of kinship

[23] East Coast High school's Equalities Policy, discussed in section 4.1, refers to the curriculum.

networks" (p336). As Travellers are historically "placeless" (Convery & O'Brien 2012, p332) their cultural identity is strongly bound by their ancestry (rather than geographical ties). Consequently, enforced adaptation further erodes both their identity (see section 7.7) and their power (see section 7.4).

In a practical sense, policies (dictated by those who wield power) have altered the way in which Travellers can exist. The 1994 Criminal Justice and Public Order Act revoked the 1968 Caravans Act which required local authorities to provide official sites for Gypsies and Travellers who maintain a travelling lifestyle. Local authorities have tended to relinquish responsibility for the sites once legally able to. This in turn has resulted in Travellers setting up sites in different, unrecognised areas. To compound the issue, local authorities have been given powers to evict those living in illegal roadside encampments, resulting in, amongst other problems, educational disruption for the Traveller children. Ofsted has voiced concern, "'attending many different schools for short periods can undermine educational progress […] the situation has been exacerbated by involuntary movement in consequence of evictions from unauthorised land'" (Ofsted 1999, p16 in Bhopal 2004, p49-50). This picture is discordant with the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights "which states, 'all peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development'" (cited in Moore 2004, p180). Further, Moore (2004) cites article 15 of the Framework Convention on the Protection of National Minorities, which "states 'The parties shall create the conditions necessary for the effective participation of persons belonging to national minorities in cultural, social and economic life and in public affairs, in particular those affecting them'" (p188). A treaty signed on behalf of the British government in 1995 and ratified in 1998 states, "the convention is a legally binding instrument under international law, the word "Framework" highlights the scope for member states to translate the Convention's provisions to their specific country situation through national legislation and appropriate governmental policies" (Anon., 2019).

Cudworth (2008) asserts that in the current neoliberal education model, "despite a discourse of inclusive education where 'Every Child Matters' (DfE, 2003b; DfEE/QCA, 1999) policy decisions are arguably based on, and dictated by, performance data and initiatives in order for schools to survive in the local educational marketplace" (p362). Cudworth & Cudworth (2010) refer to "an education system strongly influenced by league tables and parental choice" (p27), where not only is the curriculum fixed and inflexible, but it "prescribes what should be achieved […] by a certain age" (p41). This allows the perpetuation of a social and economic

discourse purporting to preserve competitive and efficient governance of schools, with 'success' measured by market-driven financial management and league-tables. Levinson & Hooley's (2013) explanation of how "difficulties of engagement and low attainment are seen as deriving from the culture and lifestyle […] rather than through any fault in the mainstream education systems […] policies towards communities […] view each community as being deviant, and resistant to processes of education and integration" (p376) exemplifies this ideology.

Bhopal (2004) states "the current lack of success of Gypsy Travellers within mainstream education systems reflects a history of governments failing to adopt appropriate and effective policies" (p61). Rossiter (2010) explains that in Britain "it is clear that the concentration of Gypsy and Traveller pupils at schools with disappointing levels of achievement needs to be addressed at strategic and policy levels" (p34). So can policy be drawn for inclusion of the Traveller community in formal education, taking into account the community's norms and values? It seems not yet, Levinson (2015) cites a warning given by Liegeois and Gheorghe (1995, p12), "assimilationist policies have not led to integration, nor to adaptation and harmonious co-existence, but to marginalisation of Roma/Gypsies" (p1151), not least because "often educational policies are derived without consultation from the Gypsy Traveller community" (Bhopal 2004, p62). I suggest how this may be achieved, taking into account Levinson's warning to "acknowledge the heterogeneity of minority groups in forming policy" (p1149) in section 8.8.

To sum up, "Traveller initiatives in education need to be brought forward in a context of a multi-dimensional policy framework that represents the multi-dimensional exclusion of Travellers" (Hamilton et al. 2012, p521). Kiprianos et al. (2012) demonstrated that "policies implemented at the local level […] play a crucial role for the degree of integration of Roma and Gypsy children in formal school education" (p688). I discuss East Coast High school's policies in section 4.1, and in chapter 6 I explore the reality of the planning for provision for Traveller young people at East Coast High school.

2.6 Changing Provision and Changing Expectations - The Loss of Services

The Traveller Education Service (TES) evolved slowly as a result of the Plowden Report "All Our Futures" published in 1967, which highlighted Travellers as the most educationally deprived group in society. Following periods of relative growth and decline depending largely upon its perceived importance by the incumbent government, it was rapidly disbanded following the current Conservative government's rise to power in 2010.

Gaining access to the Traveller families was crucial to my research. The retired Traveller Education Service teacher and Team Leader gave me historical background of the development of the site, some histories of the families concerned and advice on who to approach and how to approach them. Most importantly I was able to describe my link with them (the TES) to the Traveller families. The trust ascribed to their names opened the door to my working with the Traveller families. My experience was repeated elsewhere in research, Deuchar and Bhopal (2013) term the TES "the gatekeepers to the families" (p741), and Levinson & Sparkes (2006) talk of the "officer of the relevant Traveller Education Service" enabling them "access" to schools in order to interview and observe "47 Gypsy youngsters" (p82) in the classroom and in the playground. Bhopal (2011) concurs "given the positive relationship most of the TESs have with Gypsy and Traveller families this proved to be the best possible means of access", explaining that "when the research was introduced by the TES, the Gypsy and Traveller families were able to see the value of the research in providing inclusive education" (p316), securing their participation. Similarly, Hately-Broad (2004) talks of "the Traveller Liaison Officer" being "invaluable […] both her knowledge and the goodwill with which she is regarded by the community" (p269).

The service itself was invaluable both to Travellers and to schools. Bhopal (2004) reports that "all of the parents […] said their relationships with the Traveller Education Service were fundamental to how they viewed the school. The TES was their link to the school" (p55), it was trusted to explain letters to Traveller parents or to "make telephone calls for them" (Bhopal 2011, p323). "Many of the learners signed forms as an act of faith" in the Traveller Liaison Officer (Hately-Broad 2004, p270). Bhopal (2004) describes the many ways in which the Traveller Education Service were needed - they would "ensure Traveller families feel able to engage with the education system […] [enable] education institutions to understand the needs of Gypsy Traveller families […] provide a means to resolve specific problems that may arise [related to schooling], [and] provide a means of reconciling divergent expectations and perceptions of both Gypsy Travellers and the teaching profession" (p57). In this light the question must be asked whether the decision to disband the Traveller Education Service was simply economic or a politically driven deliberate act of alienating, further 'othering', the Travelling community, a concept discussed in section 7.8.

The loss of the Traveller Education Service may be even more keenly felt now that the participation age (for education) has been raised to 18. This represents a further step away from traditional Traveller cultural 'life-cycle' expectations, presenting another challenge for the community which will be faced without the support of the Traveller Education Service.

2.7 British Values, Citizenship and Inclusiveness in secondary schools

Schools have been handed responsibilities to manage teaching for personal and social relationships in three ways. First, underpinning all three, the promotion of British Values. DfE guidance for promoting British values (2014) states that "schools should promote the fundamental British values of democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, and mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs" (p4). Second, schools are obliged to embrace 'Prevent Duty', which refers to section 26 of the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 2015, which in turn "places a duty on certain bodies ["specified authorities" listed in Schedule 6 to the Act], in the exercise of their functions, to have due regard to the need to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism" (DfE 2015, p2). Third, there is "a new expectation for schools to celebrate cultural diversity and to facilitate equality of opportunity and tolerance [and to ensure] inclusivity [is] promoted at all levels of the school" (Deuchar & Bhopal 2013, p738). This refers to specific Citizenship education, teaching the "'knowledge, skills and understanding' to 'play a full and active part in society'" (Doingsmsc.org.uk, 2015). It requires education about the "diverse regional, national, religious and ethnic identities in the United Kingdom and the need for mutual respect and understanding" (DfE, 2013).

Dijkstra et al (2015) define citizenship competencies as "the knowledge, skills, attitudes and reflection needed by children in a democratic and multicultural society to adequately fulfil social tasks that are part of their daily lives" (p526). They highlight the importance of citizenship education at school, stating that "political socialization research shows that early adolescents […] start to develop a sensitivity to tensions and dilemmas in society and democracy" (p526). I note here that East Coast High school does not have a specific Citizenship Policy, and schools must scrutinize their practices. Black (2015) cautions that in Australia "citizenship has always been as much about exclusion as inclusion" (p371) warning that "if the critical agenda of active citizenship is excluded from schooling, then a socially just and equitable society may well be unattainable" (p385). Schools are uneasy, Maylor (2010) describes "school nervousness regarding educating pupils about shared 'British' citizenship values" which stems from "fears that any such discussions might be 'used as a stick to beat' some minority ethnic groups over the head with as a means of imposing acceptance of 'British' values" (p247) … "having lessons on British diversity will not necessarily challenge racist attitudes or encourage pupils to develop antiracist practice as part of an acceptance of an ethnically diverse Britain" (p250).

Assumptions around diversity of heritage have "implications for how particular groups are perceived or portrayed and the judgements that are made about them" (Maylor 2010, p239).

In common with East Coast High school, “the ways in which children’s cultural and religious heritages were drawn upon […] would seem to suggest that schools interpreted ‘diversity’ as being analogous with minority ethnic communities, but within this there did not appear to be any association of ‘diversity’ with White or mixed-heritage groups” (p238) (see sub-section 6.7.1). I suggest the effect of this is the lack of recognition of ‘white racism’ discussed earlier in this chapter. Indeed, “the labelling of ethnic groups in particular ways can lead to some groups becoming ‘invisible’ in the classroom and their diversity not being reflected in the curriculum” (p240). Consequently, the curriculum around ‘diversity’ in subjects including English, History, Geography and Religious Education focusses on global, rather than domestic diversity. Cudworth (2008) asserts “with the National Curriculum of most schools often failing to recognise the particular cultures of Gypsy/Traveller children, there does seem to be a mismatch between policy and practice wherein some children matter more than others” (p361). Most schools fail to “deliver positive images of these communities in terms of what is being delivered in classroom teaching and the representations in children’s work on display” (p365).

An ethos encouraging interest in different experiences could enable both the majority society and Travellers to benefit from inclusion, I discuss this in section 8.8. Deuchar & Bhopal (2013) explain “although the pupils clearly experienced many opportunities for gaining new knowledge and skills in the fairgrounds, most felt that there was a lack of opportunity to share this expertise in the classroom or the wider school” (p744) … “by not acknowledging their culture […] Traveller children are denied the same citizenship rights as other children in the school community” (p747). I suggest that the effect of this is more fundamental - ‘the threat of the disappearing sense of self’ I discuss in section 7.7. Lloyd & McCluskey (2008) caution that “denial of difference may sustain the continual ignorance of individual teachers and of official bodies” (p340). I tried to address this with the Traveller young people at East Coast High school; my idea of celebrating Traveller History month and the response of the young people is discussed in sub-section 6.6.1 and section 8.4.

While there may be a desire to be fully inclusive the reality stated earlier in this chapter is that schools run along prescriptive paths determined largely by central government. There persist “contradictions in public policy between an emphasis on equality and inclusion alongside market-orientated reforms that encourage discrimination and exclusionary practices” (Cemlyn et al. 2009, p101). Cudworth (2008) explains that “in the current climate of league tables, test results and standards, a paradoxical situation has been created, whereby a contradiction exists between the rhetoric of ‘standards’ and that of ‘inclusion’” (p366). And the validity of

'inclusion' as it is practised is questionable, while central and local government practice 'paper inclusion' in the form of attendance and attainment data Cudworth (2008) points to "an 'invisible culture of exclusion' whereby Gypsy/Traveller pupils find that they are not genuinely accepted by schools" (p365). Because of the lack of strategy in schools for Traveller inclusion, "many schools finding it difficult to adequately include children from communities that move around" (Cudworth 2008, p364). But providing "flexible and supportive arrangements to encourage Gypsy and Traveller children to attend school" (Bhopal 2011, p317) helps to develop working relationships with Traveller communities. And working proactively for inclusion can have positive results for both minority and majority communities - "an inclusive curriculum that makes Travellers and their culture feel valued has been shown to be significant in increasing positive attitudes towards such minority groups" (Deuchar & Bhopal 2013, p739). I suggest in section 8.5 that by building relationships with Traveller young people and rejecting 'folk-assumptions', it may be possible to become inclusive. By respecting and facilitating their cultural norms and needs, the fear that they and their parents hold that formal education will erode their traditions and way of life may be assuaged.

2.8 Theoretical Framework

I use key terms throughout this thesis which allude to multiple interpretations. There is difficulty paying justice to these complex terms. Some are used in their most basic form. I talk of 'gender' referring to assigned biological sex, and discuss in section 5.4 the (apparently rigid) Traveller attitude to it, drawing from Levinson & Sparkes' (2006) research on Traveller women (see sub-section 2.4.4). Similarly, I use 'representation' to simply mean portrayal or likeness (in section 7.2), taking the use of the word from Skey (2011) who talks of "their representation" (p25) (sub-section 2.3.2) and Cudworth (2008) who discusses (lack of) representation of Travellers in children's "work on display" (p365) (section 2.7). I expand from there to discuss in section 7.3 how representations of Travellers are skewed, using Baker's description linking representation to "axis of meaning" (2017, p748) to support my evaluation. I intend my explanation of my use of key terms to clarify my perspective, and in doing so, to make clear the rationale for my choice of research methodology and subsequent discussion and conclusions.

Inclusion is linked to, and the word is used interchangeably with, other similar words in published literature, such as integration and belonging. However, I consider this to be erroneous - words carry distinct, albeit subtle differences and choice of words can have a profound impact on the interpretation of the message being delivered. I discussed in section 2.3 my aversion to using the terms 'inclusion' and 'integration' interchangeably - to integrate

rather than to include reinforces the power relations at play by inviting the minority to 'fit in' rather than making space for, and embracing, their diversity. The (mis)use of the term 'integrate' in particular dilutes otherwise compelling intents, such as where Modood (2010) uses the term 'integration' in discussing "an inclusive national (UK) identity" which is "respectful of and builds on the identities that people value" (p6).

My research offers theoretical innovation in the recognition of different inclusions, which can also signify levels of inclusion, previously unreported phenomena. I use 'levels' to infer an extent or arbitrary measure of inclusion. Levinson & Sparkes (2006) explored female role expectations in different contexts against a backdrop of economic and social change, and report on both individuals and groups. They describe "fairly common consent" [amongst UK Gypsy women] of having "a choice between adaptation and extinction" (p88), pointing also to different types of roles rather than different inclusions. Levinson & Hooley (2013) talk of "amended conceptions of nomadism" (p373) and "cultural obstacles to school-based learning" (p374) of both Indigenous Australian and UK Gypsy communities. They describe the need for teachers to learn about their students and "flexibility on the part of educational institutions and compromises with minority/marginalised groups" (p375), but again do not suggest different inclusions. From a Gypsy perspective, in a discussion of the effect of internalising misrepresentations and negative tropes of Gypsies by the media in England, Baker (2017) describes "being influenced by a perceived hierarchy of 'Gypsiness'" (p743). But as I explain in sub-section 5.2.1, Baker considers this a threat to his sense of self as a Gypsy, which he extends to the Gypsy community, and not a descriptor of inclusion to the majority society. And despite Larsen et al.'s (2019) more recent publication exploring "notions of inclusion" (p1049) examining the discrepancies between the political policy and educational practice, it focusses on the task of inclusion, barriers to inclusion, tensions of inclusion and political inclusion initiatives – all of which imply a single-dimension approach. I explain aspects of different inclusions emanating from my research in sub-section 7.6.1, and suggest in section 8.6 how my observations may transfer to a national strategy.

So, what of 'inclusive education'? Inclusion is confounded by a "deficit approach to education provision" (Larsen et al. 2019, p1050). What I observed appears to echo Larsen et al.'s (2019) conclusion, that (in Denmark) "as schools target their resources towards identifying and 'fixing' students to improve performance scores, they undermine efforts to create schools that embrace and *work with*[24] difference" (p1050), although, in the case of my research, this was a

[24] Emphasis in original.

secondary finding which I did not explore further. Perhaps this misalignment between the ideal and the reality stems from "inclusion political agendas promising too much" (Armstrong, Armstrong & Spandagou, 2011 in Larsen et al. 2019, p1049-1050), so "measurement and optimisation discourses" (Larsen et al. 2019, p1050) are adopted. I recognise discourses as "large forces of language and social practice that help shape the reality we take to be 'normal' (Corcoran et al. 2019, p1008), as such they are a powerful political and societal tool. This is particularly pertinent considering Travellers, a community historically subject to antipathy.

In addition to these discourses creating tension within schools, Larsen et al. (2019) argue that "the political inclusion interventions operate as a societal security system – which seeks to address the risk that excluded individuals in modern society represent – and, thereby, neutralise future unwanted problems for [Danish] society" (p1057). I suggest this again relates to integration rather than inclusion in practice, because "inclusion interventions" assume "a basic willingness and commitment amongst the included individuals to develop (or self-optimise) themselves" (Hamre et al. 2015 in Larsen et al. 2019, p1058), which implies willingness to develop themselves to fit into the majority society. Integration exacerbates the loss of the sense of self (see section 7.7) by persistently requiring the minority to change enough to 'fit in', and so to lose something of themselves to do so.

Slee (2019) puts belonging "at the heart of inclusion" (p917). I explained earlier in this section the care needed to distinguish between words with similar meanings, and 'belonging' and 'inclusion' are further examples of words to describe similar, yet discrete concepts. Belonging is a concept which also offers scope for different interpretation dependent on perspective, it is complex. Belonging to the majority, the more powerful group, entails utilising commonly-held beliefs, described by Skey (2011) as "common sense assumptions" to give group cohesion, increasing the sense of belonging to the majority. These invariably perpetuate the power imbalance between the majority and the minority, so belonging becomes divisive.

While belonging hails from the perspective of the protagonist (not necessarily individual), termed "the internalized concept" by Berryman & Eley (2019, p989), inclusion encompasses external factors, including "policies, actions and decisions" (Berryman & Eley 2019, p989). I question this definition in my discussion of the enforced sedentarisation of Travellers in section 5.2. I acknowledge here that these definitions are not definitive, individuals and groups may describe themselves as 'included' (or not). I consider belonging to have levels in the same way as I do inclusion, both as personal and social constructs. Questions arise, such as the extent to which it is possible for an individual to belong to more than one group. Can

Traveller young people truly belong in a mainstream high school community for seven hours each day and to their Traveller community for the remaining 17? Can belonging be time-constrained? Does belonging to one group affect the level or type of belonging to another? Is this a permanent or temporary situation, can belonging be transient? And can the extent of belonging be negotiated and managed? These questions remain unanswered (I explain in section 3.8 how unanswered questions add to this thesis), but I explain in sub-section 5.3.5 the way in which this theme is elaborated by my observations from the Traveller young people. Arguably many questions are unanswerable because they are affected by the constantly evolving relationships at play - this is the phenomenon, when specifically related to inclusion, I term "The Inclusion Paradox".

"The commonality" is the 'Gadje'[25] phrase I use to describe what the Traveller families term the "Traveller Ways". 'Gadje' is the 'majority population' or 'majority society', consisting of communities ranging from the nation to the townsfolk, and the school community. The Traveller community is, in this case, the 'minority population'. I do not address other minorities or groupings within the 'majority'. To do so would add layers of complexity which I am unable to navigate within the constraints of a doctoral thesis. However, my research offers scope for further investigation to this end.

I draw from Tajfel and Turner's (1979) Social Identity theory (see section 7.7) which refers to a person's sense of who they are. O'Nions (2010) and Padilla et. al (2017) use the term 'identity' to infer ethnic and cultural background and both authors describe the caution with which identity is guarded and shared by Travellers, I explore issues of identity seen in my data in sub-section 5.1.1. This is in part due to the lack of recognition, by the majority society and in smaller communities such as schools, of Traveller cultural capital, which I discussed in this chapter (sub-sections 2.3.2 and 2.4.3.a). I follow Marzi's (2016) definition of cultural capital as "non-economic capitals" including "verbal facility" and "aesthetic preferences" (p11); I assume this to encompass art, literature, other media such as theatre, and other preferences such as dress. These are historically-rooted factors of identity (see section 5.2). I suggest that recognising this linear connection to the past begins to expose the impact on Travellers of the lack of recognition of their cultural capital in majority society (see chapter 7). All of the key terms discussed here relate to an entrenched imbalance of power, which I suggest is confounded by the (mis)use of vocabulary.

[25] See chapter 1.

2.9 Summary

This chapter offered a critical analysis of the literature central to the research questions. I started by examining literature about aspirations and moved on to explore the overarching theme of inclusion. The concept of inclusion became pivotal to my research following the initial analysis of the data. I discussed how the abstract and concrete aspects of inclusion are linked, and how litigation aims to facilitate inclusion. I explain in section 7.8 that this remains ineffective in achieving inclusion and suggest the inclusion paradox as a reason for this. I suggest in section 8.8 how inclusion may be achieved.

I then critically discussed literature focussing on key concerns for Travellers, particularly in their engagement with formal education. This included racism, geographical barriers to education, and also concerns over cultural differences and the loss of Traveller culture because of accessing formal education. Traveller parents are purported to view the education of females differently to that of males, and for both sexes learning is valued most when it is considered to be immediately relevant. There is a suggestion that Traveller families are becoming increasingly pragmatic in their attitude toward formal education, I explored this. Literature relating to power relationships, key to this research, was discussed along with the requirements of education establishments to include British values, citizenship and inclusiveness in the curriculum.

Examining the factors which affect the relationship between Travellers and formal education positioned me to plan methods of data collection which I hoped would be acceptable and accessible to them. In my next chapter I explain the methodology and methods I used with my rationale for using them.

Chapter 3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodological approach of the thesis and its methods for data collection and analysis. It is a case study of a small group of Traveller young people at a high school in an east coast town with limited ethnic diversity. It comprises five mini case studies, one for each young person. This chapter discusses the appropriateness of the methodological design in relation to my research questions. Specifically, the Mosaic approach (see sub-section 3.6.1) helped me address my research questions because it allows a theme to be explored in different ways by the participant. Using different activities made the underlying questions accessible. Multi-faceted data emerges, giving 'thick description' (see section 3.3). The chapter first offers my research philosophy. It moves on to discuss case study, and follows with a discussion of ethics. An explanation of how I gained access to the participants is followed by a discussion of data collection methods used. Many questions arise throughout this thesis, an explanation of how they are intended to be used is offered. I reflect on the impact of the duality of my roles as a teacher at East Coast High school and researcher in section 8.3.

3.2 Research Philosophy

I adopted what Yin (1981) terms an "exploratory" focus, considering this to be least threatening to the relationships between members of the Traveller community and East Coast High school. While one family eschews formal education at the age of eleven, a practice the mother describes as a "Traveller way"[26], another is at the opposite end of the spectrum, with the mother of the family working as a teaching assistant at the local primary school. Wherever the families position themselves in this regard it was vital that I did not judge the families or try to influence their choices with regard to the education of their young people. I was mindful that "the research participant is the expert on their own life" (Harwood 2010, p5) and I particularly wanted to avoid the "adult/child dominant discourse" (Moore 2014, p4). To this end my methods both of gaining access to participants and of data collection are discussed later.

I operated from the Interpretivist framework. Dharamsi & Scott (2009) describe the interpretivist view where "knowledge is socially constructed and ephemeral. In other words, it is influenced by history, culture, power differences in society, and politics" (p843). It rejects objectivism and tries to understand social interactions or phenomena through methods such

[26] "Traveller ways" are discussed in chapter 5.

as observations, interviews and other participant-observer interactions. I explored the scope of this in my use of the Mosaic method with the Traveller young people. The varied activities presented opportunities for deep discussion, they became a foundation for building relationships. Consequently, rich data emerged. I examined provision for the Traveller young people at East Coast High school from the perspectives of those holding different roles. Inevitably they have different needs and intended outcomes from their part in the relationship. The impact of the role held on the perspective offered is discussed in sub-section 6.4.1. Hansen (2006) explains "truth is local and utilitarian" (p294). The potential effect of the perceived 'truth' is dependent of the relative power held (see section 2.5).

I was interested in Biesta's (2010) "transactional epistemology" (p496), where assumptions based on previous experience are not made for current or future research. Biesta asserts "there is always—structurally, not pragmatically—a gap between the knowledge we have and the situations in which we have to act. In this regard the so-called 'knowledge-base' for practice is never sufficient and never will be sufficient" (p496). The respect afforded by this attitude appealed to me, I intended to be open-minded in my research. My questionnaires (appendices vi, vii, xix, xx) and survey (appendix xxi) were designed to gauge the current perspective of the participant, giving scope for *any* response. The activities for deeper understanding of the young people's perspectives were similarly designed as 'hooks' to a theme enabling *any* outcome. Thematic analysis uncovered themes arising from the data rather than looking for evidence to support preconceptions. My willingness to adapt the direction of the research became the reality of my thesis as the focus of my discussion shifted to engage with the dominant theme arising from the data, the concept of inclusion. My exploratory design presents a snapshot of the inclusion of a Traveller group in an East Coast High school.

My role as an 'insider' at East Coast High school posed a potential conflict with my role as a researcher. My original focus was on the aspirations of the Traveller young people, and I was conscious of the impact of my role relative to each party, both in my approach to the data collection and in my evaluation of the resulting data. I was aware of the influence of my own interpretations based on my prior experience on the meaning I gave to my observations and overall research, and discuss this further in section 8.3. As Hansen (2006) states, "observers always infuse phenomena with meaning" (p292). This was true also of all of the participants in my research and must be acknowledged in any conclusions or discussion based on the findings of my research. A pragmatist may argue that "there are many competing ideas and systems of thought in philosophy that are persuasive, internally consistent and compelling" (Hansen 2006,

p294), which, according to Taubner (2012), is "where local knowledge and practical modes of action replace meta-strategies" (p61). I investigated the perspectives of key players in a small, dynamic, evolving (school) community and attempted to uncover the root of these perspectives. I did not anticipate my research to highlight the inconsistencies between actions and words, particularly of the senior leaders and governors of the school. The themes which emerged from the data changed my research focus to the concept of inclusion. They caused me to question the school's commitment to inclusion, along with my own lack of awareness around the issue (see section 8.3).

I describe myself as 'tentatively at odds' with the essentialist notion that traditional concepts, ideals and skills are imperative to society and should be taught methodically to all students regardless of individual ability and need. My aversion is contradictory to my professional responsibility as a teacher in a high school run by the Local Authority, where power relationships are seemingly unambiguous and a degree of conformity is expected by both staff and students. I am mindful of anti-essentialist ideology in my professional relationships but have to operate within the expectations of the institution, which itself operates within the parameters defined by government educational policies such as "marketisation and differentiation of schooling" (Hill 2001, p139). I recognise the need for organisation within an educational establishment - I cannot be unquestioningly accepting of the anti-essentialist ideal of 'ephemerality, fragmentation, discontinuity and the chaotic' in my working environment, but I can and do recognise the value of lived experiences and a variety of perspectives, opinions and priorities. I do "not need an idea of essence in order to believe that some ways of thinking and acting (have) coherence" (Modood 1998, p382).

Dislocation is discussed by Schmidt (2008) as a means of driving institutional change, and through the course of this research I reflected upon my aims in this respect. I initially thought that I simply wanted to understand the relationship between the school and the Traveller community, but found relatively early in the process that I felt a moral obligation to put myself forward as liaison between the two. Traveller liaison for East Coast High school was a role I was prepared to adopt having started to build relationships with the Traveller families and it is a role I have developed in the time since my introduction to them. My findings are located in the context of "knowledge about the world *in function of*[27] our interventions" (Biesta 2010, p495). I acknowledge they are limited to the particular research both in place and time, therefore not generalizable. Nor can they be used to make predictions, even within the same

[27] Emphasis in original.

community. However, my data analysis altered my position with regard to what to do with my findings, I discuss in section 8.6 why I consider institutional change is necessary, and suggest in section 8.8 how to move forward.

3.3 Case Study

Case study is an umbrella term which covers many variations of a theme. At its simplest it can be described as the study of "a particular" (Stake, 1995). Stenhouse (1978) explains the usefulness of case study in "telling it as it feels to be in it […] telling it as it phenomenologically is" (p34). Ridder et al. (2014) expand that "case studies stretch from interpretivist and critical realist alternatives with the study of the particular and situational knowledge, respectively, to positivist approaches to the case study" (p373). However, Yin (1984) provides the description closest to the aim of my research and the type of case study used, case study "allows an investigation to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events" (p14), using multiple and various sources of data to investigate a particular phenomenon.

A case study is unlikely to be suitable for generalisation, as Yusuke (2013) points out, "individual case studies are not linked to systematic theory construction" (p81). Kiprianos et al. (2012) pre-empt the criticism of generalising from non-generalizable findings by discussing "assumptions" made as a result of the research, which are discussed as generalisations rather than the case study itself. Others, such as Stake (1994) counter the argument over generalizability by proposing that collective case studies, groups of case studies, can be used to gain a fuller picture, and cite examples where case studies have been a platform upon which positive outcomes with wider-ranging effect have been built. An example is given by Aubert (2011) who reports a case study in Spain in which the implementation of Dialogic Inclusion Contract, "a dialogic procedure in which researchers, end-users and policymakers recreate successful educational actions through egalitarian dialogue" (p66) resulted in "improved students' academic achievement and school attendance" (p63), along with improved relationships "between students and between the school and the community" (p63). Impressively, the implications of this particular study were wider-reaching, "given the very positive results of DIC in the school, the community around it has decided to transform the entire neighbourhood following the same approach" (p63). Provided the researcher acknowledges that case study is a "specific instance that is frequently designed to illustrate a more general principle" (Nisbett and Watt, 1984: 72 in Cohen (2011: 289) it can be appropriately employed, its specific format directed by the desired outcomes of the research.

Critics of case study method cite observer bias, subjectivity, and the difficulty in cross-checking resulting in a lack of validity and reliability as its downfalls, "CSR[28] is held in low regard or simply ignored" (Cronin, 2014 p20). To counter this Cohen (2011) cites Geertz (1973) using the term "thick description" to indicate the depth of understanding which can be achieved with case study, indicating that this in itself is the value of case study research. To further rebuff criticism the case study must be able to withstand a "hierarchy of credibility" (Sanders 2013, p221). The researcher must be able to demonstrate the rigour and reflexivity they have employed to ensure they have designed their research methodology with impartiality and accounted for their positioning in the analysis of their research findings. To satisfy the demand for evidence of the reliability of data derived from research Robson (2002) describes case studies with "clear, unambiguous" outcomes which "demonstrate what has been predicted (and) give a powerful boost to knowledge and understanding" (p182).

As case study is a tool for gaining deep understanding of the subject at hand it appears to naturally lend itself to qualitative enquiry. Yusuke explains "it seems to be qualitative […] however, comparative research whose purpose is to clarify a causal relationship is classified into quantitative research" (p82) suggesting that case study can be a source of quantitative data if it is designed to do so, and Merriam & Simpson (2000) confirm "it cannot be clearly distinguished" (p12). A case study may be constructed with quantitative data as the foundation upon which further research is built, an example is Flecha & Soler's (2013) work on engaging Roma families and students in school in Spain. Each year between 2006 and 2010 the results of standardised national tests were analysed, and a questionnaire into students' perceptions of their learning achievements was conducted. Adding qualitatively to the resulting data, observations, interviews with families and a focus group with professionals were carried out. Findings analysed "systematically and rigorously" enable case study research to be used to its "full potential" by "embracing qualitative research methods" (Cronin, 2014 p19). When rigour is applied as described, "one of the most powerful uses of the method is to explain real-life, causal links, with the researcher able to appreciate the subjective richness of individuals recounting their experience in a particular context" (p20).

Case studies constructed around observation tend to be ethnographic, where the researcher becomes immersed in the culture or 'case' being studied. Magyar (1996) describes ethnography as "the systematic study of people and cultures […] designed to explore cultural phenomena where the researcher observes society from the point of view of the subject of the

[28] Case study research.

study" (p72). Cohen (2011) claims that by the case being "studied in total rather than in fragments […] true understanding can be reached" (p219). I counter that 'true' understanding cannot be reached, 'deeper' understanding is a more accurate description.

Themelis (2008) uses the term "Critical Ethnography" which he explains "implies that the researcher will use all available means 'to make accessible - to penetrate the borders and break through the confines in the defence of – the voices and experiences of the subjects whose stories are otherwise restrained and out of reach' Madison (2005: 5)" (p127). This depth of understanding - to understand perceptions around, and attitudes towards, formal education amongst Traveller students and their families – appealed to me. I could gauge their perception of their place in formal education, particularly their perception of their inclusion at East Coast High school, and the place of the school and of formal education *per se* in their lives. However, as traditional ethnography relies on the immersion of the researcher into the community in question over a prolonged period of time, it was not feasible for me to conduct a truly ethnographic study. Immersion into the Traveller community was prohibited by time constraints, not only for the study itself but also for the time needed to build the relationships necessary for such a study, along with my other (teaching) commitments.

What was feasible was to use a case study method with some reference to ethnographic tendencies, more akin to what Levinson and Sparkes (2006) describe as an "ethnographically informed study" (p754). They spent eight days at each of five primary schools in England "to investigate the experiences of Gypsy children in schools" (p754), a revision of the total immersion required for a study to be labelled 'an ethnography'. Yin (2009) describes a mixed-method approach resulting in case study enabling readers to understand how ideas and abstract principles can fit together (p72-3), and which "can blend numerical and qualitative data" (Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2011, p289). This mixed-method approach fitted with the various sources of data I tapped, quantitative from the survey and qualitative from the interviews and particularly from the activities I shared with the Traveller young people, and the observations arising from them.

My case study was designed to inquire with the intention of it being used to inform, it was an attempt at gaining thick description by using various sources and approaches, including my adaptation of the Mosaic method (described in section 3.6), which provided triangulation. Convery & O'Brien (2012) focussed on the "unequal power relationships inherent with 'traditional ethnography'" (p336), they termed their method used for studying Gypsy-Traveller

sense of place 'co-ethnography', an "ongoing interpersonal dialogue" (p336) in an attempt to overcome these. My method was co-ethnographically informed in that the 'official' data-collection was only a part of the data-gathering process, much was obtained through informal and unrelated communication.

My reflective discussion illustrates various standpoints, perspectives and experiences. Mason (2010) describes "seeking to show a sensitivity to a range of interpretations and voices […] and a willingness to critique and question your own as well as those of others" (p177). My position as a teacher is likely to have impacted on the relationship between myself and the Traveller families, I consider the imbalance of power further in my discussion of research ethics. While I could not immediately overcome the imbalance of power in my approach, I discuss in section 8.1 how the Traveller families claimed power in steering the research. My methods were designed to give voice to a group who have been otherwise almost invisible, albeit that this may be intentional on their part, particularly in the school environment. In doing so I highlighted the inconsistencies around 'inclusion' at East Coast High school.

3.4 Ethics

My research had the five Traveller young people at the school at its heart. By chance the group comprised one young person from each academic year group, three girls, one from Year seven, one from Year ten and one from Year eleven, and two boys from Years eight and nine. The other 'strand' of my research focussed on significant figures of authority and school leaders, particularly the founding governors and senior leaders of the school, along with the Special Educational Needs and Disabilities Coordinator (SENDCO), Special Educational Needs and Disabilities Manager (SENDM) and Enrichment Coordinator (EC). I wanted to find out how aware they were of the Traveller cohort when setting up the school and how carefully provision for the Traveller cohort in particular was considered. This would portray 'how inclusion [is] practiced in relation to the Traveller families in East Coast High school' in line with my subsidiary question; it would begin to paint a picture of 'what the role [is] of inclusion in the educational progress of Traveller students at East Coast High school', addressing my research question.

Mason (2010) urges the researcher to consider carefully "the interests of those directly involved" (p202) continuing "you will have to make decisions […] [which] come from a considered ethical position" (p203), termed "Justice" by Cugini (2015), "the ethical obligation to treat each person (population) equitably and equally" (p49). I was acutely aware that *all* of the participants could potentially be affected by the process of, or outcome from my research.

Educational and other (governor) professionals are vulnerable to the publication of what might be construed as controversial views. Along with the use of titles for positions held and pseudonyms, refraining from direct geographical references provided anonymity for the professionals attached to the school, the school itself and the Traveller families.

I was mindful of Adams et al.'s assertion (2013) to "ensure no exploitation, coercion, or pressure to participate among the minority, which is regarded as a vulnerable population" (p6), and to ensure that the research methodology did not affect the legal state of the minority. Traveller families have not historically had positive relationships with traditional formal education services in the UK due to "white racism" (Bhopal 2011, p315) and "a history of bullying 'generation after generation' in schools" (Myers et al. 2010, p538) (see sub-section 2.4.1). In Spain, "parents no longer trusted teachers" (Fletcha & Soler 2013, p452). I carefully considered 'power relationships', particularly as "recent research indicates that Traveller pupils can be treated less fairly and less equitably than other pupils because of policies and practices in place in some schools" (Bhopal & Myers 2009, p302). My positions as a teacher at East Coast High school and as a researcher accorded different power differentials. As a teacher I realised I would be perceived as holding the balance of power but I considered that my need for the cooperation of the Traveller families as a researcher shifted the power to them. The Traveller families' perceptions are unknown, however Nyce et al. (2012) state "the school researcher often retains a dimension of power" (p7).

It was important that I ensure the Traveller families knew what they were agreeing to and to minimise the risks to them. Adams et al. (2013) explain "recruiting minorities into research requires special attention, particularly when studies involve "extra-vulnerable" participants" (p1) cautioning that is it necessary to consider the "risk-benefits for individuals and their communities". This exemplifies what Gerrish et al. (2009, p129) call the "Risk-benefit assessment" and is the principle termed "Beneficience" by Cugini (2015), which describes the "obligation to maximise benefit and minimise harm" (p49). It entails protecting the subjects' autonomy, the "ability to make sound decisions" (p49), akin to Gerrish et al.'s (2009) "rights and responsibilities of participants, including issues of consent" (p129).

Adams et al. (2013) caution the researcher to "consider the necessary educational level and competency of the minority research subjects to participate in the study", and to "ensure that the research methodology and instruments are accepted and understood by the minority ethnic participants" (p6). This leads to what Emanuel et al. (2004) term "spheres of consent" which must be navigated within the community being studied in order to get to the target

participants. In the case of this Traveller community this was achieved by first approaching a mother within the community who works in the local primary school and so was confident in her interactions with me, and then, on her suggestion, discussing my intent with the young people. When they confirmed their interest I sought the consent of the male head of each household concerned - I describe in sub-section 5.4.1 the role of the male as "gatekeeper". Once this was obtained, the women and young people were essentially given permission to take part in my research and reassured that they may do so safely, and the necessary written consent was obtained. This navigation of "layers of consent" was my attempt to best understand and consider the ethnicity and cultural issues of the minority communities being studied around the issue.

Following initial telephone conversations to make contact I met with the Traveller parents at the Traveller site office. I explained fully and clearly what I wanted from each participant, the purpose of my research, what they may gain from participating in the research and how I intended to ensure their anonymity. I also explained how to contact the university should they have any concerns surrounding any aspect of the research, and how and when they could withdraw if they wanted to. Once I was satisfied that they understood the detail of the research and their rights as participants, I requested signatures both giving their permission for their young people to participate (appendix ii), and to agree to my use of information gathered from their own participation (appendix iii).

In addition to the Traveller community being considered to be vulnerable in the research setting, the young people themselves were considered vulnerable because of their status as minors. Hunt & Swallow (2014) encourage gaining 'assent' from children in research to complement the 'consent' for their participation which is granted by the adults responsible for them. Gaining 'assent' allows child participants to "know they have a choice to participate in research" while it is the consent of their parent or guardian "that is required by law" (p158). I sought 'assent' from the young participants central to my research in the form of a 'consent' form similar in design to that required to be completed and signed by the responsible adult in each case (appendix i). This formed a contract between myself and the (young) participant giving both parties the opportunity to make clear our commitment. It ensured the participant was fully aware of the purpose of the research, the confidentiality offered to them as a participant, and the option to retract at any time, with the feasibility to remove data from the research at different stages should the participant choose to withdraw. I read through all of the relevant information with each of the young participants individually, and discussed it with them. Once I was satisfied that they also understood the purpose and proposed format of the

research, along with their right to withdraw, I asked them to sign their (assent) consent forms (appendix i).

Positive contact with parents was crucial, Derrington (2005) points out that in England "the majority of parents had not attended secondary school themselves and felt daunted by the prospect of involvement" (p59). This was highlighted by Shona who described in detail her history of attending classes arranged by the Traveller Education Service and run by the Prince's Trust instead of attending her local mainstream high school (see sub-section 6.6.2). Boot (2013) reports that "focused staff support […] had the most significant influence on the promotion of both social inclusion and academic progress" (p3), but this is confounded by the fact that "schools tended to rely heavily on the Traveller Education Service staff" (Derrington 2005, p59), a service which no longer exists in East Coast Town. A colleague who previously worked as a Traveller Liaison Officer was on hand to advise me through the delicate process of initial contact. Derrington states, "parents recognised the benefits of, and maintained positive attitudes […] until their trust was put to the test" (p60), my research echoed this to an extent. All of the families aside from one maintained contact with the school throughout the research period, the exception is that of Mary-Ann, who was removed from the school roll at the end of year eight (see sub-section 4.3.4). It must be noted that this removal was not as a consequence of a breakdown in the relationship between the family and the school, it was the outcome her mother had described as the intention of her father throughout. I made building and maintaining positive relationships of paramount importance, indeed I continue to work to this end in my role as Traveller liaison for East Coast High school (see section 8.3).

To preserve the integrity of the Traveller young people's education I reassured them and their parents that no formal lesson time will be used for my research - I worked with the Traveller young people at other times of their choosing, either before school, during break or lunch. It would have been contradictory for me to take students away from their learning in order to complete research about their attitudes to formal education. By continuing to meet with me throughout the data-collection period the Traveller young people behaved in a way which suggested they were happy to take part - I reiterated on every occasion that it was their choice and thanked them for their participation. One Gadje child, Jessie's friend asked if she could take part, Jessie quickly intercepted that it was for Travellers only. Aside from this one incident there are no comments made directly to me or reported by the Traveller young people around the fact that others were not included in my research.

All meetings with parents were held at the site, at first in the office and then, on occasion, in trailers at the families' invitation. I kept a log of all contact concerning my research including telephone conversations, meetings and written communication, similarly all notes and paperwork relating to the research were kept separately from school correspondence. I transcribed conversations and notes pertaining to meetings in my own time and in my own space as soon as I conceivably could after the communication.

I wrote to the founding governors, senior leaders and other key staff explaining my research to them, enclosing both the necessary consent forms (appendix iv) and the questionnaire I was asking them to complete (appendix xix). With this group I invited returns by email, post or by telephone call, a school environment in particular is one where time is a precious commodity. I was conscious that each of the participants, whether working in a school or not, would be giving their time freely and generously and I wanted to make their participation as easy for them as possible.

Stellefson et al. (2015) report that in research in US health services there is an "overemphasis on protecting and respecting the rights of autonomous individuals, with comparatively little attention paid to the ethical rights of entire communities" (p61). I had a responsibility to ensure no harm, further stigma or stereotype would accrue to the Traveller community as a whole, and not just to those individuals and families who took part in my research. While I was transparent with the families in all issues surrounding my research I was also discreet in my dealings with the young people and their families, both at school and at the Traveller site. My exploratory focus enabled me to secure rich data, my equitable approach to analysis revealing previously hidden meaning. I have used the knowledge gained immediately at East Coast High school, challenging the inconsistencies of provision exposed. I delivered staff training focussed on the implications of schooling for Traveller young people and their families and consequently their reputation amongst the school and other Travellers. I have built relationships with the Traveller families which have evolved as the young people move through the school. Some of the original families no longer have ties to the school and have been replaced by others, who I currently work with. It is in the style of reporting through my thesis that I attempt to minimise harm by ensuring no judgemental or derogatory language or statements are made, and that the findings of the research are clear.

It was similarly important to ensure no harm come to the wider community of the other participants, that the participation of governors, senior leaders and members of East Coast High school did not damage the school's or their own reputation. This again was achieved

both by the anonymity ensured and in the reporting of the findings of the research. My research ethics protocol was designed to protect the reputation of all participants, including my own role as a researcher, and the University of East Anglia (UEA) as the academic organisation facilitating my research. Emanuel et al. (2004) talk of "independent ethical review of all research […] protocols" (p934), this was achieved in the submission of my proposal to the university Research Ethics Committee for ethical approval before data collection began.

3.5 Gaining Access to Participants

Holihan & Coghlan (2012) advise to "be attentive (to the data), be intelligent (in inquiry), be reasonable (in making judgements) [and] be responsible (in making decisions and taking action)" (p414), this was my starting point. Prior to any formal data collection, I spent hours talking independently and in depth to two retired Traveller Education Service employees, a teacher and the area Team Leader who gave me a detailed historical background of the Traveller Education Service, how it was formed, evolved and dissolved, the service it had offered and how it was received by the Traveller community. Their unique knowledge of the education system, the Traveller community in general, and the families at the site in particular provided a valuable guide at the start of my research into some of the concerns facing both the Traveller families and the school regarding the education of the Traveller young people. I also sought their guidance on how to approach the families at the start of my research. The retired Traveller Education teacher in particular was able to give a detailed background of Travellers in the area and from the site, how they come to be there, and some information on the families she worked with previously and who would be part of my research.

I contacted the site managers, a family who are not Travellers and who do not live on the site, but who have managed and maintained the site and supported its families for 15 of its 20-year existence. They provide assistance to the Traveller families accessing services such as schools and doctors, help with reading when required to and report 'stepping in' when the delivery of goods has been refused when the provider realises the address is that of a Traveller site - they recounted instances when they have given their own address for deliveries. Along with providing information on the way in which the site evolved, some historical background of the families concerned, and detail of the current running of and provision for the site, the management family served as a gateway for me to the families at the site. I was granted the use of the office when necessary, and the family enabled me to comply with the personal safety requirements for research stipulated by the UEA, either by having someone in the

building when I met with families or by having someone on the site be aware when I visited a family in one of their trailers.

My first consideration was how to ensure all participants could access and understand information concerning informed consent for participation, and how best to enable them to respond to questions asked of them. Research suggests that the level of literacy amongst the Traveller population as a whole is limited in comparison to other ethnic groups. Hately-Broad reports that in England in 1997 "somewhere in the region of 75,000 adult Travellers have lower than functional literacy skills" (p2), a situation compounded by the fact that Traveller children have been "identified as 'the most at risk' in the education system" (Ofsted (1999) in Levinson and Sparkes: 2005 (p752)). Taylor (2004) points to "the difficulty of using written sources when investigating a non-literate group" (p578), choice of research methods is key particularly when levels of literacy may be low. McCafferey (2012) reports that Gypsies and Travellers in England "attached little value to textual literacy, did not view literacy as important to economic success and did not perceive the ability to read and write as contributing to their self-esteem" (p1).

For most of the Traveller families at East Coast High school literacy is poor to the extent that written questionnaires, for example, were not a feasible option in terms of data collection. I needed to ensure that the potential problem of limited literacy was alleviated without assuming the need to reduce the level of comprehension required to answer the questions I wanted to ask. I overcame this by first telephoning, explaining my interest in the Traveller community and in their family in particular, and arranging a meeting at the site office - a space which I considered the families would associate with 'business' but within their own environment, and therefore a 'safe' space for them. Every one of the meetings arranged in this way took place.

I wrote questionnaires assuming functional literacy[29] (appendix vii) but met with Traveller parents and young people at every occasion when either a consent form was to be completed or a questionnaire was to be answered. I engaged in 'chat' and offered to either pass the form or questionnaire to them for completion or explained that I was happy to read through it for them to dictate the answers. Two of the families accepted my offer to read for them and two read and wrote for themselves, the issue of literacy relating to particular individuals is discussed in sub-section 5.3.1. Of those which I read and scribed, I consistently read their responses back to them. This approach enabled me to gain both the informed consent of the

[29] The definition used is given in chapter 5.

families and their responses to my questions, apparently without causing offence - all of the families met with me more than once indicating their continued goodwill throughout the data collection period and two of the families subsequently invited me into their trailers, invitations I accepted.

3.6 Methods of Data Collection

3.6.1 Traveller Families[30]

I wanted to be led by the Traveller young people in terms of what they wanted to convey about their views, for the research to focus on "locally defined priorities" (Cornwall & Jewkes 1995, p1667). To achieve this, I planned a variety of activities around the theme of "the place of formal education for the Traveller young people at East Coast High school and their families", my subsidiary research question (see chapter 1). I designed each activity to be open to interpretation and unrestricted, emulating Moore (2014) and Marzi (2016) who found they gained more insight by allowing the direction of the research to be led by the children and students they studied. I first gave the young people disposable cameras to record anything they considered important to them. It appeared this was too open-ended a task, only one used camera was returned (see sub-section 4.6.3). Consequently, despite my original intention to be led by the young people, I guided the direction of the research. To try to give the young people autonomy in the tasks I reiterated the scope for interpretation and extension of each task, and I built relationships with them in which I hoped they were secure enough to share their thoughts and feelings with me.

I wanted to ensure the young people were heard, and my position as a Gadje researcher offered an opportunity to enable this. That my intervention was necessary for this to happen demonstrates the limitations dictated by power relationships. I first had to ensure the young people could express their views, so that they could develop "relational dialogic spaces" (Berryman and Eley 2019, p998). To do this I used an adaptation of the Mosaic approach. The Mosaic approach gives children a stronger voice, a value required by the government in its 'Core Principles' published in 2001. Messiou's (2019) use of "'voice' refers to students' thoughts and emotions, as well as their actions for bringing about change" (p769). In this research I adopted the same interpretation. The Mosaic approach stems from the Reggio Emilia approach to early years' education, established first in the town of Reggio Emilia in Italy. It is a socio-constructivist[31] approach developed by Loris Malaguzzi, and is recognised as the "Reggio approach", started in the 1960's and shared with interested countries from the 1970's.

[30] See appendix v for discussion of data collection.
[31] I do not claim this approach, I used the concept in my adapted form.

"Starting from the viewpoint of young children as competent meaning makers and explorers of their environment, the Mosaic approach brings together a range of methods for listening to young children about their lives" (Clarke 2011, p11). The approach continues to evolve, but central to it is the 'Pedagogy of Listening', "listening being a metaphor for the educator's attempt to gain as real an understanding as possible" (Learning and Teaching Scotland 2006, p8).

This understanding is achieved by "bringing together […] different pieces of information or material to make a picture" (Clarke & Statham 2005, p47), a strategy I used in data collection with the Traveller young people. While it can give a stronger voice to those who may struggle to be heard, it also allows for a subject-led discussion. Particularly important for my research is the attitude that "these participatory appraisal methods also take as their starting point an assumption of competence and a belief that local people are the ones best equipped to know about and explain their lives" (Clarke & Statham 2005, p47). More than this, the Mosaic approach "provides an opportunity to triangulate findings across the different methodologies" (Clarke & Statham 2005, p47). Table 1 demonstrates how my adaptation of the Mosaic approach brings together different pieces of information in different formats to "make a picture", which is at the heart of making a mosaic.

Table 1 - Methods used with Traveller families[32]

Method	Aim	Observations
Disposable camera given to Traveller young people[33]	Enable young people to capture what is important to them	Only one camera was returned. My briefing may not have been clear, they may have worried about 'getting it wrong'
Young people's questionnaire as part of semi-structured interviews (appendix vi)	Enable young people to express their aspirations, the influences on them and their perception of their family and school attitude to them	Young people were apparently happy to share their aspirations and their perceived influences on them. Their responses regarding family and school attitudes towards their aspirations were scant, indicating either they didn't know them or didn't want to share them. The question added little to the research
Parent questionnaire as part of semi-structured interviews (appendix vii)	Examine parents' perception of their young people's aspirations	Parents were happy to discuss their young people's aspirations and the influences on them

[32] The methods are presented in the chronological order in which they took place. They were intended to add depth into the Traveller young people's views as our relationships developed.
[33] I intended this starting point to be used to signal the direction for the next steps.

Careers Information Questionnaire[34] (appendix viii)	This questionnaire was part of semi-structured interviews, it facilitated discussion around young people's interest in different careers	A useful vehicle for discussion, gave suggestions but also offered the opportunity for wider discussion so young people could express their own career interests
Family Tree[35] (appendix ix)	Discover influence of family members on aspirations	A useful vehicle for discussion eliciting historical family information
Venn diagram of jobs by gender (Male-Both-Female jobs)[36] (appendix xi)	Facilitate discussion on perception of jobs and gender	A useful vehicle for discussion, young people gave their own perceptions of traditional Traveller views
'Time Machine'[37] (appendix xii)	Ascertain the likelihood the young people ascribed to their achieving their aspirations	A useful vehicle for discussion around their own and Traveller expectations
Three Traveller vignettes; an artist, a boxer and a journalist[38] (appendix xiii, xiv, xv)	Facilitate discussion around young people's perceptions of Travellers with different careers	Using a snakes and ladders board game (appendix xvi) enabled young people to discuss perceived career threats and opportunities. A useful vehicle for discussion around Traveller expectations

Five Traveller young people participated in my adaptation of the Mosaic method to explore my research question, "what is the role of inclusion in the educational progress of Traveller students at East Coast High school?" (see chapter 1), undertaking numerous activities to examine "what is the place of formal education for the Traveller young people at East Coast High school and their families?", a subsidiary question (see chapter 1). Six parents representing four families answered questionnaires written to attempt to identify "how is inclusion practiced in relation to the Traveller families in East Coast High school?" addressing the other subsidiary question (see chapter 1).

Having used an adaptation of the Mosiac approach to enable the Traveller young people to express their views I wanted to give those views due precedence in the context of the data as a whole. I referred to Hart's (1992) "Ladder of Participation", an incremental guide to the

[34] The Careers Information Questionnaire lists the foci of a series of Careers Roadshows provided at East Coast High school. The Roadshows were open to all, but took place during various lunchtimes throughout an academic year. None of the Traveller young people attended any of the Roadshows.
[35] Drawing family trees represented my introduction to the Traveller young people's place in their extended families and the influence they drew from family members - it symbolised a step forward in the trust they placed in me.
[36] I discussed Traveller gender differences in education in sub-section 2.5.4.
[37] I hoped that the 'Time Machine' activity would enable the Traveller young people to move away from the responses they may perceive to be appropriate for school and give an appraisal of their expectations for themselves.
[38] The vignettes were chosen specifically for their differences from each other to prompt both wider and deeper discussion – wider encompassing the different paths followed, and deeper around the perceived implications for the individuals, their families and the Traveller community.

capacity of children to lead the direction of change by taking steps toward decision-making. Wyness (2012) explains "children's authentic voices are situated near the top of Hart's hierarchy of participation and greater adult involvement near the bottom. It may be more useful to classify children's participation and that of adults horizontally rather than vertically" (p 433). I again modified the model, I attempted to emulate the horizontal evaluation of participation by using adult input to give background to the views of the young people concerned. Wyness questions whether "we can talk about a unitary child's voice […] a singular voice that represents the views of all children" (p433). I found themes common to the Traveller young people which emanate from the data, they are explored in my discussion chapters and are highlighted in subsections 5.1.1, 5.3.5 and 7.6.1.

3.6.2 The School[39]

Representative of the school were six of the seven founding governors, all of the four founding members of the Senior Leadership Team (SLT), three other founding 'key players' and 42 from 123 (then) current members of staff. Questions to address the subsidiary question "how is inclusion practiced in relation to the Traveller families in East Coast High school?" (see chapter 1) contributed the school perspective to the emerging picture relating to the research question "what is the role of inclusion in the educational progress of Traveller students at East Coast High school?" (see chapter 1).

Table 2 – Methods used with governors and staff at East Coast High school[40]

Method	Aim	Observations
Analysis of school website[41] (appendix xviii)	Ascertain school ethos, inform construction of questionnaires	Important media as the 'window' to the school
Questionnaires for founding governors, senior leaders and other key personnel as part of survey[42] (appendix xix, xx)	Examine awareness of Traveller young people in the cohort. Ascertain planning of provision for them	Questionnaires were altered where appropriate to accommodate role. Two responses were by telephone conversation, all others were written
Staff survey[43] (appendix xxi)	Ascertain awareness of the Traveller young people and provision for them	Founding and new members of staff participated illustrating

[39] See appendix xvii for discussion of data collection.
[40] The methods are presented in the chronological order in which they took place.
[41] I was aware that my perception as an 'insider' was likely to be different to that of those outside the school community. Analysing the school website enabled me to view the school from a distance.
[42] Conducting questionnaires first with founding governors and senior leaders provided insight into the strategic planning for the Traveller young people before the school opened and in its first year.
[43] The staff survey demonstrated awareness of and provision for Travellers at East Coast High school in subsequent years, and staff perception of the school ethos around diversity and inclusion.

		awareness of and provision for Traveller families over time
Scrutiny of minutes of governor meetings in the planning for and first year of the new school[44]	Ascertain awareness of the Traveller young people and provision for them in the planning and opening of the new school	Independently recorded, useful for reference where contradictions in responses occur

3.7 Data Analysis

In preparation for analysing the data I arranged it in a standard format. One Traveller parent had completed her questionnaire independently; the remaining four questionnaires were scribed by me during face-to-face conversations. Most of the founding governors and senior leaders of the school had completed their questionnaire independently. However, two took the form of semi-structured interviews comprising telephone conversations in which I read the questions and scribed the responses. I transcribed the questionnaires as necessary and grouped them according to their source – Traveller families or East Coast High school.

First, I analysed the interviews and questionnaires, starting with those with the Traveller young people. In doing this I adopted thematic analysis, because the purpose of my study was exploratory and therefore open to findings emanating from the data. I worked through each transcript three times, each time reducing the 'auxiliary' information which was mainly in the form of repetition, to bring to the fore unanswered questions and contradictions. I cross-referenced my analysis from the Traveller young people's interviews with that obtained from their parents' interviews, which I treated in the same way, to add clarity to responses from both sources. I then aligned this data with the outcomes of the various activities undertaken with the young people to add depth to their responses, giving them context and enhancing meaning (appendix v). Collating all data surrounding each young person, I wrote a summary of points such as "mum is aware of the lack of understanding of Traveller history and culture and would like this to be part of the mainstream curriculum – but was herself taught much of this via an outsider – she has 'lived' the 'Traveller way' without awareness of its history and culture until later" (referring to Shona - see sub-section 4.3.2). These summaries, when seen in common between the families, led to themes, in this instance 'culture and tradition'. Other

[44] Minutes of governor meetings prior to the opening of the new school and in its first year enabled me to verify statements made in the questionnaires completed by founding governors and senior leaders at East Coast High school.

themes were 'male and female roles'[45], 'aspirations'[46], 'race and racism'[47], and 'the loss of the Traveller Education Service'[48]. Data from founding governors and senior leaders at East Coast High school was cross-referenced with each other and the minutes from the governor meetings, this enabled me to verify statements made about consideration of the Traveller families in planning for the new school (appendix xvii). The concept of inclusion underpinned the emerging findings from the data. I wrote questions arising from the responses given, such as "why was (AHTD) unaware of the demography?" and highlighted "incorrect answer (stated no Traveller children) – enrichment". These reflections were considered in conjunction with the comments arising from the data around the Traveller young people in the next stage of analysis.

My analysis of the staff survey was predominantly statistical. I calculated the number of staff on roll and divided them into the categories SLT, Middle Leaders, Teachers and Support Staff. I calculated various breakdowns of respondents: by role and by actual respondents out of the total in that category (appendix xxii), and by year of joining, and year of joining and role (appendix xxiii). I calculated those who listed "Traveller" as an ethnic minority[49] at East Coast High school by role, those who listed "Traveller" as an ethnic minority group at East Coast High school by year of joining, and those who listed "Traveller" as an ethnic minority group at East Coast High school by role and year. I subsequently calculated the respondents who listed "Traveller" as an ethnic minority group at East Coast High school against the total of that group who joined in that year, actual/total respondents in that category and percent of that category of respondents (appendix xxiv). I did this to obtain quantitative analysis of the awareness and perception of the Traveller young people at East Coast High school as a minority group by staff with different roles and length of service at the school.

I analysed responses to the final question of the survey, "how are we emboldened and strengthened by our diversity as a school?" (appendix xxv) by first categorising the type of response with staff category and year of joining, providing auxiliary information. The only open-ended question of the survey, this was designed to provoke response to a proclaimed

[45] "There are some 'Traveller' attitudes which prevail, such as gender roles … and gender expectations".
[46] "He (Alfie) doesn't state that he will be boxing in x years – why doesn't he see himself achieving his dream when he feels surrounded by help and support?".
[47] "He (Alfie) expresses pride in his Traveller heritage but is aware of racism and sees it as a 'snake' to progression".
[48] "All families agreed they 'have missed' it (Christie)".

[49] The definition of "ethnic minority" I used for the purpose of this study is "a group within a community which has different national or cultural traditions from the main population". This was not shared with staff in the survey, I wanted their perceptions without my influence.

ethos based on a declaration which I perceived to be inaccurate, a statement made on the school website - the 'window' to the school. It spoke directly to my research question, "what is inclusion at East Coast High school?" (see chapter 1). I calculated various categories of response (appendix xxv): those which appeared to answer the question "are we …" rather than "how are we …", those which answered by giving examples of evidence of "how we are …" rather than answering the question as stated, those which responded to why being "emboldened and strengthened by our diversity as a school" is desirable, and those which did not agree that we are "emboldened and strengthened by our diversity as a school". Finally, null responses were listed. I found variation in the awareness of the Traveller young people amongst staff at East Coast High school (see appendix xxiv) and contradictions and confusion around the question "how are we emboldened and strengthened by our diversity as a school?" (appendix xxv).

To more closely analyse the data, I wrote key information on post-it notes. These notes were colour-coded to show whether they referred to the Traveller young people and their families (yellow), any of the representatives of East Coast High school (green and pink) or whether they were my perceptions (pink regarding Traveller families, orange regarding school). I arranged all of these on a large piece of card to produce a visual representation of the data (appendix xxvi) with the Traveller young people on one side, arranged with all of the information pertinent to them placed around their names. On the other side I arranged information pertinent to the school, separated into responses from governors and SLT aware of the Traveller cohort, governors and SLT unaware of the Traveller cohort and the responses to the staff survey as categorised above. It became clear that there was a limit to the information derived around each of the Traveller young people, visually represented by displaying the data in this format. The arrangement of information in this way enabled me to reflect upon my own location at the start, during and at the end of the research period. My position had moved. I started my research located in more superficial 'facts', such as the school's mission statement ("we seek to instil in our students a love of life-long learning") and with an awareness of the Traveller young people. By the time I analysed the data I had moved both toward the Traveller young people, a direct result of building relationships with them, and to deeper consideration of issues such as the origins of the school values (a combination of government rhetoric and the new Head Teacher's vision).

Seeing the data arranged in this way exposed themes arising from it. The first was the common reference to 'the Traveller ways'. Discussion with my supervisors around these in terms of 'commonalities' between a seemingly disparate group led to questions about 'what

sustains the commonality?', this became the first theme and my first discussion chapter (chapter 5). Considering the Traveller ways led to a realisation that the Traveller families were faced with change, and had to decide 'what to keep and what to let go of'. Some changes were imposed upon them; there was "not really any door-to-door any more". And the families made decisions, such as to remove a young person from school, which enabled them to limit the effect on their family of the changing world around them within the parameters of maintaining the Traveller ways. These decisions – the acceptance or rejection of practices and behaviours – were practical manifestations of '*how* to keep/let go of' Traveller ways, this became another theme I explored. Together they became my discussion of "Push and Pull: Navigating Boundaries and The Inclusion Trade-off" (section 7.5), part of a wider discussion of "The Inclusion Paradox" (chapter 7). Having formed relationships with the families and learned about their histories and some of their views, and considering the reactive position they were placed in, I realised that the power relationships at play underlie all of the themes.

Initial analysis showed that different members of staff (and governors) declared different knowledge of the Traveller young people in the school community. Triangulating the data with the minutes of governor meetings, the website and school policies, and using my knowledge of the school procedures, I recognised that words and actions were not aligned – what was said was not followed through. For example, school transport was discussed at governor meetings, but some governors and senior leaders claimed not to know there were Traveller young people at the school (see sub-section 6.4.1). And despite having an Equalities Policy (see section 4.1) which was ratified by the governing body, transport provision was different for Traveller young people to the rest of the school community (see sub-section 5.3.2). This difference became central to the development of my discussion. I considered its implications in terms of the nature and promotion of inclusion at the school, addressing my research question "how is inclusion practiced in relation to the Traveller families in East Coast High school?" (see chapter 1), and more widely in the effects of such differences on the Travelling community (see chapter 7).

I read the raw data many times and discussed it with my supervisors, noticing particularly that, while there were inconsistencies, conversations and written responses were, without exception, polite. This display of etiquette belied unspoken control over the information I was given from Traveller families and representatives of the school. I became particularly interested in the difference between 'not saying what they mean' and 'not meaning what they say' as I considered the data to fall into the two categories. I spent much time deliberating my understanding of these (see sections 6.2, 6.5 and 6.8). As I constructed the first visual

representation of the data (appendix xxvi) I stuck key words which emanated from my interpretation of the data around the edge of the poster. Some, such as 'isolated' and 'marginalised', referred to the Traveller families. Not all words had negative connotations; I also wrote 'inclusive' and 'integrated', the nuance between them later became central to my contribution (see sections 2.3, 2.8, 7.3, 7.5 and 7.8). Other words, such as 'sceptical' and 'suspicious' could refer to either the Traveller families or representatives of the school. These related to keeping me (or others) 'at arm's length', which in turn led me to question why the Traveller families maintain their children's attendance at the school. It caused me to ask the question 'what are … getting out of …?', and I realised this could refer both to the Traveller families and the school. I devoted the entirety of my discussion in chapter 6 to this theme.

I again used colour-coded post-it notes and arranged them into a visual representation of the themes arising from the data (appendix xxvii), a visual quantitative analysis. At first I tried to arrange the data in a linear way with the intention that the themes would be positioned along the bottom, equivalent to an x-axis and the height of the data would represent its volume, denoting how much importance it may be given in the context of the data as a whole[50]. I intended that this would negate my assertion of importance and show a truer picture of the data. However, I found that I could only visualise the data in a web-like fashion, such was the inter-linking of themes throughout, so I arranged this representation in a circular way, still using the volume of contributions to each theme to denote its importance. It had been clear to me from the beginning of the data analysis that one of my discussion chapters would tell the story of the Traveller families, and connecting all of the links between them, with the overarching theme of 'the Traveller ways', became my first discussion chapter; "What Sustains the Commonality?". Having become intrigued with ideas around the type and extent of disclosure and the control exercised by all respondents, I settled on the term "Strategic Ignorance", which I considered to suitably describe the behaviour shown for my second discussion chapter (chapter 6). My third and final discussion chapter, chapter 7, which examines the concept of inclusion is titled "The Inclusion Paradox". To make clear to myself the conclusions I drew from my research, I subsequently wrote all of the statements I made in my discussion chapters onto post-it notes and arranged them under the subheadings I had used in the chapters. As I reconsidered my own thoughts and analysis, I repeatedly made note of the word 'separation', which I wrote on post-it notes and stuck to my display in numerous

[50] Repetition by individual respondents had been removed during the first stage of analysis, repetition amongst different respondents and level of detail denote volume in this analysis.

places. Together, this consolidated into the statement "a portrait of separateness throughout". I could conclude with confidence that inclusion was not being achieved.

A theme throughout this thesis is the 'gaps', that which is missing. My positioning as a researcher at the school enabled me to identify the gaps and to spot where there is a mismatch between words and actions. An example is the discrepancy in awareness of Traveller young people at the school. I taught one Traveller young person who I knew had joined the school on the day it opened. Reference was recorded in the minutes of governor meetings to planning for transport for Traveller young people from the Traveller site to East Coast High school (see sub-section 5.3.2). In response to my questionnaire founding governors and senior leaders refer both to the discussion around transport for Traveller young people at their early meetings and to their knowledge of Traveller young people at the school. Yet some founding governors claim not to have known whether there were Traveller young people in the school cohort (see sub-section 6.4.1). My position at East Coast High school has also enabled me to facilitate solutions to some of the identified difficulties (see section 8.3), I call and remind one parent the day before school trips, for example, as he does not record such information. From a research perspective doing so changes that which is being observed, yet it is morally incomprehensible to withhold such support where it is necessary.

3.8 Questions

Throughout the discussion chapters I pose many questions that arise out of my reflections on the data. As there are no clear or easy answers to many of these, they are presented to provoke the readers to consider them, from their different perspectives. Some educational, organisational and social issues arising are intractable. Examining their complexity in turn leads to questions about the organisation, community or about the research. Particularly in chapter 6, where relations involve negotiating in a field of unequal power relations and even of culpability of some actors, the questions arise as an ethical and inevitable response to apparently puzzling situations. Where researchers do not have the means to unmask motivations or determine drivers behind apparent obfuscation, questions are raised to register both the critical nature of the inquiry and to highlight the limitations to the power of the researcher. These questions indicate new challenges which deserve to be addressed. Writing to include these new challenges in the discussion is a deliberate choice, it illustrates the need for further explorations. It is not intended to avoid taking a position, but to expose my critical analytical thinking as I engaged with the data; a way of de-mystifying the research.

3.9 Summary

My personal positioning is interpretivist, this is reflected in the ethnographically-informed study I conducted. I sourced data from two groups; the Traveller young people and their families, and East Coast High school's governors, leaders, teachers and support staff. I used semi-structured interviews and a survey in order to elicit the perceptions of the research participants. I triangulated the data with minutes of Governor meetings and the school website. Any inconsistencies that arose are discussed in chapters 6 and 7.

I hoped that building relationships with the Traveller young people and their families would give me access to their views. It led me to develop the liaison role in their relationship with the school. I started with a semi-structured interview approach to questionnaires. I developed my version of the Mosaic method, used with the young people to obtain rich data. Following Convery & O'Brien's method of 'co-ethnography' I strove to "critically analyse [my] own cultural assumptions, understandings and interpretations of the observed, overheard and implied meanings, narratives and life performances that contribute to the lived and constructed public versions of the ethnography that we work on together" (p344). Despite this, there were 'gaps' which became integral to my analysis and the subsequent story which emerged (see chapters 6 and 7). I reflect upon the effect of my interpretation as I analysed the data in section 8.3, and I acknowledge that the differences in my and the research participants' positions, both in terms of culture and power, affected the responses given and my evaluation of them. Perspective infects behaviour and both expressive and receptive meaning (see section 7.8).

In this chapter I explained how my research philosophy shaped the research. I was mindful in constructing the research design to preserve the integrity of the participants, particularly the Traveller families who represent a minority group. The methods I used were intended to enable me to obtain rich data to provide 'thick description'. In the next chapter I contextualise the research starting with an overview of the school. This is followed by an introduction to the Traveller families, and five mini case studies, one for each of the Traveller young people.

Chapter 4. The Cases

Having explained my research philosophy and rationalised my methodology and methods I move on to contextualise the research. I describe the school community and the Traveller site. Five case studies follow, one for each of the Traveller young people.

4.1 Setting the Scene

The school within which my research is based, which I will call East Coast High school, was newly established as part of the school reorganisation in the area which changed from a three-tier to a two-tier education system. A school providing to 11-16 year-old students, it opened in 2011 to Years seven and eight only, gaining a year group at the start of each subsequent academic year until it reached capacity at the start of 2014. I examined the relationship between the school and the Traveller community as the school evolved from being nothing more than a proposal to a fully functioning, full to capacity (900 pupils), over-subscribed high school. The new school building was physically accessible, with wide corridors, a lift, tables in laboratories and workshops which could be adjusted to accommodate wheelchair users, along with numerous spacious disabled toilets housing modern facilities.

East Coast High school encouraged its young people to become involved. There was a large 'pupil voice' group which encompassed positions of responsibility such as Head Boy and Head Girl and Deputy Head Boy and Deputy Head Girl. These roles involved building team spirit and leading the team of Prefects. Prefects facilitated the smooth running of the school, while Ambassadors were the charged with being the public face of the school. Subject Leaders worked with the Head of Department to help promote the subject to which they were attached, and similarly House Captains worked with the Head of House to promote their House and encourage those within it. Other roles included membership of a school Youth Council and a local area Youth Council, and 'Hear 2 Help'[51] which provided peer mentoring. Roles were assigned by written application by the individual supported by at least one member of staff, followed by an interview with the Assistant Head teacher. Messiou (2019) explains "inclusion and student voice are interconnected ideas" (p769). However, it was unclear how representative this large group of student leaders was of the school community.

There were 67 policies published on the school website[52]. Having such a large number of policies caused me to question whether practices at the school were joined or if the division of responsibilities resulted in disjointed policy and practice. Of the 67 policies, ten related

[51] The name represents the listening aspect of the role.
[52] All policies referred to were current at the time of my research, spring 2016.

directly to matters of inclusion, including "careful planning of the new building to ensure needs of all our pupils are met" (Accessibility Policy). 'Community' was a common thread throughout these policies, in line with Ajegbo et al.'s recommendations, discussed in sub-section 2.3.3. Community was stated as a "core value […] based on principles of trust, and respect for local diversity" (Community Cohesion Policy). The school advocated "pupils' willingness to participate in a variety of communities and social settings" and developing "understanding and appreciation of the wide range of cultural influences that have shaped their own heritage and those of others" (Social, Moral, Spiritual, Cultural (SMSC) Policy). However, despite stating the aim "the curriculum prepares pupils for life in a diverse society and uses opportunities to reflect the background and experience of pupils and families in the school" (Equalities Policy) this thesis highlights that reference to Traveller heritage was non-existent at the school. Punitive measures appeared. Racist, homophobic and disablist bullying "is reported to county and the pupil is sanctioned with a C6 (isolation)" (Anti-Bullying Policy), but this failed to attend to the source or nature of the bullying. Similarly, a "fixed penalty notice fine" was issued to "all adults with parental responsibility" once six sessions (three days) of unauthorised absence had accrued (Attendance Policy). There was reference to the 'T' code for Traveller travel in a table of attendance codes which appeared as an appendix, but Traveller travel was not listed in the policy under reasons the school would accept for absence (see sub-section 2.4.2). Inconsistency between intentions and outcomes is discussed throughout chapter 6, which examines the difference between words and actions. This thesis acknowledges the intent of the school for inclusion but exposes its shortfall in achieving it. It examines reasons for this and offers suggestions to enable the school to become inclusive.

Approximately a mile and a half from East Coast High school is a small, permanent Traveller site. It is documented that permanent sites in the UK tend to be in "poor locations" (Foster & Walker 2009, p31) tucked away from the nearest neighbours, "located out of the way, off main roads not quite visible to everyday life" (Bhopal 2011, p325). Richardson (2006) points out that local authorities are "under pressure to ensure that the needs of Gypsies and Travellers are analysed" (p77), and there is "no legislative duty to build new sites" (p77). A telling indictment of the view of the government in response to this is demonstrated in the statement "A duty to provide sites is not necessarily an appropriate solution. A duty has been tried before and often did not provide sufficient or appropriate provision" (Official response, Johnston (2004), cited in Richardson 2006, p78). Despite this attitude and the fact that sites

are “in locations unfit for residence” (Foster and Walker 2009, p30) research has shown that “more than half the families in housing would prefer to live on sites”[53] (p31).

This particular site within the school catchment area had been in existence for approximately twenty years and had been managed by a small family management business for the last fifteen of those. It housed 24 pitches, each bordered by chicken-wire fence and each containing a small, single-storey brick-built unit comprising a kitchen and bathroom. Most of the pitches had more than one trailer and at least one car, all belonging to the tenant family, along with a variety of livestock, pets and children of all ages. This scenario was typical of that described by Okely (2011), “Gypsy/Traveller families have become increasingly sedentarized in the UK, as patterns of movement that rely on temporary stopping places en route have become near impossible” (p27). Interestingly, the site was home to a disparate group of Travellers including those of Irish Traveller descent, Scottish Traveller descent and English Showman descent, their routes to the site are discussed in chapter 5.

4.2 An Introduction to the Cases

This section offers case studies of the five Traveller young people who participated in my research, all of the Traveller young people at East Coast High school took part. There was one Traveller young person in each academic year group during the snapshot in time in which this research was conducted, affording me perspectives throughout different stages marked by the academic calendar. Progression toward adulthood is considered differently in the Traveller life-cycle (see sub-sections 2.4.3, 2.4.4 and 2.4.5), Traveller males become adult at 15, and females at 17. This small number of young people represented both genders in increments from age 11-16, the 14-year-old male and 16-year-old females on the cusp of adulthood in Traveller terms. The cases provide context, I introduce each young person and give an overview of their family background. Providing detail potentially makes the individuals identifiable, I avoid this. But I highlight the differences between families to avoid homogenising this relatively little-understood group. I describe some of the outcomes of the data collection with each young person, first examining the responses they gave with regard to themselves and then with regard to the wider Traveller community. It was in the analysis of the data that the significance of inclusion became clear.

[53] Taken from Fordham Research (2008) London Boroughs’ Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Needs Assessment on-line at http://mayor.london.gov.uk/mayor/housing/gtana/docs.pdf pp5-6, cited by Foster & Walker (2009).

4.3 Mary-Ann

4.3.1 Introduction to Mary-Ann

At eleven years old Mary-Ann was the youngest of the Traveller young people at East Coast High school. Mary-Ann's attendance at school was recorded as 63.41%. As I explained in section 2.4 this is considered to make Mary-Ann a persistent absentee. She appeared to struggle with the social aspect of school, presenting a solitary figure.

4.3.2 Mary-Ann's family background

Mary-Ann was the oldest of Shona's children. The family had moved to the site a year before I met them. Shona's husband Henry had spent time in prison for alcohol-related violence, a behaviour he had shown towards his wife and others. The family had spent a brief spell in a house while Henry was 'away' but had all been uncomfortable there. They moved to the Traveller site and Henry joined them following his release from prison.

It was initially particularly difficult to contact Shona, she was being pursued by the Education Welfare Officer (EWO) for the poor attendance of her children at school and avoided answering her mobile phone. My first contact happened because the children were poorly and she was waiting for a call confirming the GP would visit the site for them, which is why she answered her phone. We bargained that I would find some information on local dance schools for Mary-Ann, and Shona and Mary-Ann would take part in my research, something I made clear I would have been happy to have done regardless. Each time I contacted Shona after that initial conversation I took care to reassure her that I was not chasing her with regard to her children's attendance at school, and each time a conversation was coming to an end I gave an idea of when I would call again. Typically, when I called the telephone was not answered; I left a message to say who I was, why I was calling and stated a time when I would try again. This unwritten arrangement enabled me to maintain contact with the family.

Mary-Ann was expected to help extensively in the home. Shona explained "she does everything with me too, looking after the kids, cleaning, she does more than me sometimes". Mary-Ann professed to enjoy helping her mum, she was proud to be needed. Shona described how difficult it is for Traveller girls in particular to attend school full-time when they have commitments at home. Physically being in school full time is hard, "five days is long. You should be able to do two days or three days". Additionally, Henry was opposed to Mary-Ann being at school, he considered that a primary education was enough for a Traveller girl.

Shona had not attended school from her early teens. She had lessons through the Traveller Education Service. Small groups had been taught about Traveller culture, using art, stories and

videos – this was not the case for the other Traveller families (see sub-section 5.1.1). Shona referred to her worker, who was of Traveller descent, as "everything – a friend of the family". She lamented the lack of education of Traveller culture in schools, saying "that's what I think they should do – in school they learn about other cultures, Chinese, why not Traveller culture?" I asked at this point whether Shona meant that everyone should learn about Traveller culture at school, to which she emphatically replied "yes!"

Shona had a complex view. She reflected on her own experience, "I was married at 16 and had her at 17 […] I didn't want to have this life", but she wanted Mary-Ann to "have the Traveller ways". She talked disparagingly of boys looking at Mary-Ann at Traveller fairs with a view to marrying her, explaining "I don't want that for her, she wants to dance". Conversely she described with pride how Travellers in another town looked at her son when he was "five or six, they look for him and say they have a girl for him". She repeated a mantra, "one man, one marriage" throughout both interviews, a view she held with pride despite the sometimes difficult nature of her own relationship. Along with being the youngest parent involved in the research at 26, Shona was the most emphatic about "Traveller ways".

4.3.3 Data collection focussing on Mary-Ann

Mary-Ann's dream was to become a dancer. Shona talked of Mary-Ann's dancing as a God-given talent, stating "If God's give her this why not carry it on?" The concept of God-given talent is discussed in section 5.5. Mary-Ann was very aware of the support she received both from Shona and her grandparents who had shared the costs incurred for her dancing. She referred constantly to Shona helping her to achieve her dream, explaining "my mum will take me as far as I can go". She also considered Henry as being supportive along with Shona's friend and her niece who "showed me a video of street dance and they encouraged me" [to participate].

While Mary-Ann had previously attended a dance school, Shona had not enrolled her in one since the family moved, even once equipped with the requested list of local dance schools and personal recommendations from dancers at East Coast High school. This may have been because Mary-Ann had apparently been the victim of discrimination. Shona described in detail how she felt the dance teacher and other mums at the dance school previously attended by Mary-Ann were jealous of her. There was a competition in another town some 100 miles away. A coach was booked for the dancers and their families but Shona was not made aware of it, something she perceived as deliberate, an example, perhaps, of either herself or the dance teacher employing strategic ignorance (discussed in chapter 6). When Shona heard about the competition she sourced the required outfit and encouraged Mary-Ann to practise.

She drove her to the competition and described the dance teacher as being "surprised when we was there, she was shocked". Shona explained that Mary-Ann "won the competition for her but she didn't mention her. She was saying "well done" to the others who got second or third but Mary-Ann came first and she didn't say […] I told Mary-Ann it was because they was jealous of her". I discuss this further in sub-section 7.6.1.

Mary-Ann did not connect East Coast High school with dance, despite, or perhaps because of it being her dream. She mused "I don't really tell the school - I just don't think about it in school" but she did relay a conversation she had with her form tutor who encouraged her to try the school's enrichment dance activity. "She said I should go once and have a go – if I go once I could see if I like it or not". Enrichment activities are run after the school day and after the bus returns young people to the Traveller site. The prohibitive nature of this arrangement for Traveller young people is discussed in sub-sections 5.3.2 and 6.7.1.

Mary-Ann would definitely be interested in a careers roadshow[54] (appendix viii) about becoming a PE teacher or a beauty therapist and suggested one be arranged regarding working in a gym. She spoke about having done "six sports" last year including "boxing and boxercise with my brother" but that she "picked out the one I did best which was dancing". I discuss gender roles and aspirations in section 5.4. She expressed interest in roadshows about careers as a paramedic, journalist, hairdresser, primary teacher, nursery worker and scientist but had no interest in finding out about any others. Contrary to her parent's attitudes to gender roles, Mary-Ann ascribed all of the careers she showed interest in, including dancer, PE teacher, engineer, boxer, teacher, artist and "all sorts of other jobs" as being both male and female jobs (appendix x).

We used the "Time Machine" activity (appendix xi) to discuss the future (see sub-section 3.6.1). In five years (at age 16) Mary-Ann expects to be a dance teacher's helper. Mary-Ann was ambitious, in ten years she wants to have passed her exams "ready to be a dance teacher starting my own company" and in fifteen years "dancing and travelling all round the world".

4.3.4 Data collection focussing on the wider Traveller community

Mary-Ann and I did not complete the activities focussing on her perceptions of the wider Traveller community. We did the Time Machine activity one Friday morning, but she did not return to school the following Monday, her attendance at East Coast High school ceased. The EWO attempted first to encourage Shona to return Mary-Ann to school. When it became clear that Mary-Ann was not going to return, the EWO telephoned Shona and left numerous

[54] We used the Careers Information Questionnaire as the vehicle for this discussion.

messages asking for a letter officially removing Mary-Ann from the school's roll, this despite uncertainty over Shona's literacy. This again was unsuccessful. I was asked to go to the site to procure Shona's written intent to remove Mary-Ann from the school roll. I explained that I considered this to be inappropriate for two reasons. First, the younger children were still attending the local primary school, and what may be perceived by Shona as heavy-handedness could have an adverse effect on the family's relationship with the school. Second, I feared that Henry would react aggressively toward Shona as a result of a visit from the EWO. Consequently, Mary-Ann was quietly removed from roll.

4.4 Douggie

4.4.1 Introduction to Douggie

Thirteen-year-old Douggie Jr. hailed from a large family who lived in an assortment of trailers which they shared with their dogs. Of all of the Traveller young people Douggie Jr. was the most affronted by racism. I suspected that this indicated that the others had become either more resilient or more resigned to it, Jessie (Douggie's sister, also a participant in this research) was the only Traveller young person not to mention discrimination. Douggie Jr. had a strong sense of fairness and a short fuse, he had scrapes at school as a direct result of being called a "Gypsy", a name he found particularly offensive. Following one altercation in which Douggie Jr. had punched another boy in the face for calling him a "Gypsy" and saying that "Gypsies are poor" I calmed him by assuring him that I would deal with the incident fairly. This would mean consequences both for the perpetrator and for Douggie himself for his retaliation. In this case, the consequences were loss of unstructured time for Douggie[55], and time isolated from the rest of the school for the other boy. When I spoke with Douggie's father, Douggie Sr., about it he said that he appreciated my decisions regarding the sanctions but that they "get it all the time", children shout "Gypsy" at them as they walk through the town. He explained that he just tells Douggie to ignore it. When I asked Douggie Jr. the next day if his dad had spoken with him about the incident he said that Douggie Sr. had just said "I heard you got into a fight today". I discuss racism further in sub-section 5.3.4.

Douggie Jr. found it difficult to respond when someone raised their voice at him. It was only acceptable for Traveller parents to raise their voice at Traveller young people, which was not the case for Gadje young people. This seemingly small difference could have a profound impact at school. Raised teacher voices could lead to what may be perceived as outright defiance by Traveller young people due to this mismatch of social norms. Douggie Jr.'s case

[55] I discussed in section 2.4 the disproportionate incidence of exclusions amongst Traveller young people.

study brought into focus the precarious nature of relationships between the school and Traveller families.

4.4.2 Douggie's family background

Douggie's parents were Douggie Sr. and Evie, and Evie's work was in the home. The responsibility for raising children is given the same status amongst Traveller families as that of providing financially for the family. Douggie Sr. was always busy when contacted, demonstrating the "enterprising" quality hailed by the retired Traveller Education Service Team Leader. Quite how he did this was unclear, Douggie Sr. described the loss of traditional enterprise, stating "there's no door-to-door any more". However, he perceived that "lots [of other Travellers] are still travelling". He expected that others were doing "the same thing" [as himself] - settling for some of the year but travelling for Traveller and family events.

Douggie Jr. spoke very quickly and softly with a strong lilt and with frequent use of the words familiar only to the family. The Traveller Education Service teacher who had worked with the family for years described the family as having developed "their own unique language", with family-only words and a particular way of structuring sentences. Together, the family speaks fast and fluently using these unfamiliar words and intonations, notably missing words commonly used in English-speaking sentence structure. The development of this language of their own may have been due to the long-term isolation of the family from their extended family, who they reported having lost contact from following a rift (see sub-section 5.2.1), and from other Traveller families at the site (see section 5.1).

As Douggie Sr. and Evie struggled with literacy they relied on their children, and Douggie Sr. had developed other strategies to overcome his difficulty with literacy. If he was contacted in relation to a particular date regarding one of his children he asked for a telephone call reminder the day before. After some weeks I realised that this was because he did not record anything, he relied on reminders in place of a diary. Douggie and Evie did not attend meetings or events at the school. They appeared keen to avoid offending representatives of the school, and without fail politely accepted invitations, but never attended the meeting or event (see sub-section 6.6.1). They did, however, accept visitors to their home for conversations about their children's education.

4.4.3 Data collection focussing on Douggie

Douggie Jr. reported that he had not told the school about his dream for himself. While he felt supported by his parents who endorse his aspirations he did not feel supported by East Coast High school. Contradicting this, Douggie later discussed a teaching assistant supporting him at

school, suggesting he may not have been able to contextualise the question. When considering others' attitudes to his dreams Douggie stated that he "don't like" his extended family, perhaps his reaction to the rift described in Jessie's case study (see sub-section 4.6.2). Douggie claimed not to know his neighbours in the Traveller community, signalling the disparate nature of the Travellers at the site (see section 5.2).

Douggie Jr. had a limited knowledge of his family tree (appendix ix). One of his brothers attended college to learn a variety of skills including bricklaying (see sub-section 7.6.1), Douggie Jr. aspired to be a bricklayer because "my brother do it". The eldest brother worked "painting with my cousins". Douggie recalled that an uncle on each of Douggie Sr. and Evie's sides of the family both work with trees. When asked to explain further he described cutting hedges.

Douggie's response to a list of careers roadshows[56] (appendix viii) was illuminating. He did not know what a journalist, beauty therapist or physiotherapist do and was not interested in finding out any more about them when the roles were explained to him. Nor did he understand the role of a social worker, although he did express interest in that as a prospective career. Douggie stated that he would definitely be interested to find out about becoming a paramedic and a tattoo artist, and mentioned both bricklayer and painter and decorator as other careers he was interested in. Of all the Traveller young people, Douggie demonstrated the most profound sense of stereotypical gender roles (appendix x). He listed bricklaying, painting and decorating, and mechanic as male jobs. Dance, dancing and working in school were ascribed as female jobs (despite the Head Teacher and two of four Assistant Heads at East Coast High school being male), and working at KFC as being suitable for either males or females.

Douggie expected to be driving, looking for work or doing work, "bricklaying or painting or mechanic" in five years (at age 18) (appendix xi). In ten years he expected to be married, and in fifteen years he wanted to "see mum and dad" (possibly another nod to the separation from the extended family), to be working at "the first job that come up", suggesting the nature of the work is not important to him, and "go to holidays; Butlins, America, Turkey, France, Spain" (see sub-section 7.6.1); it was what working would enable him to do which was important. Douggie was extremely animated at this disclosure, it seemed to be his most significant

[56] We used the Careers Information Questionnaire as the vehicle for this discussion.

aspiration. We discussed this again much later, the ensuing conversation is detailed in section 7.4.

4.4.4 Data collection focussing on the wider Traveller community

Douggie struggled at first to grasp the concept of the "Snakes and Ladders" board (appendix xv), he commented that "lots of Travellers are scared of snakes", but he was happy to talk and voice his opinions. When asked what he thought a 'snake' would have been for Damien Le Bas Sr. (appendix xii) he focussed on the length of time needed to produce some of the work displayed on the photograph shown of Damien Le Bas, saying "It's got to be difficult drawing that – it's got to take him all day"; 'all day' being perceived as a long time (see sub-section 5.1.1). When discussing Damien Le Bas's 'ladders' Douggie talked about school, "come to lesson and choose Art. Work in school and show people what your drawing looks like". This again presented somewhat of a contradiction with his perception of the support he received in school (aside from that from teaching assistants) and is more in keeping with the attitude shown by Douggie Sr. and Evie. It was during this discussion of Damien Le Bas that Douggie chatted about hair. He asked "Does he shave his head? Get his hair cut? Traveller mans don't have long hair". "A Traveller having long hair is like he's being … gay", followed by an apology in case he had offended me by the use of the word 'gay'. He did then ask to add the comment "He's a good drawer".

Douggie immediately recognised Billy-Joe, the Olympic boxing champion (appendix xiii). Douggie, his dad and older brothers spectated boxing at the weekends, this was sometimes actually bare-knuckle fighting. Douggie again became animated when discussing Billy-Joe, "He wanted to be a professional boxer, I watch him on my brother's X-Box. We seen him fighting other people, he was fighting a couple of months ago, good shot body and face. He knocked the boy two times down". Douggie did not suggest any 'snakes' for Billy-Joe. He ascribed the trainer and the "boss of the gym" as 'ladders' and exclaimed he is proud of Billy-Joe. "My uncle Billy seen him, talk to him and all that. He's very good – a Traveller boxer on our sides – like Tyson Fury. He's better than him!" Sub-section 5.3.3 explores "heroes and the wider community", and sub-section 5.3.5 examines Billy-Joe's role in the Traveller young people's belongingness.

When discussing Zoah, the Traveller who studied at Cambridge University (appendix xiv), Douggie commented that [they] "might move her down", referring to sets in school and possibly inferring that her Traveller status may have some bearing on this. He thought that Zoah's 'ladders' would be "school helped her, exams helped her, English and Maths help, English help make her read". It appeared that Douggie Sr. and Evie had shared their desire for

their children to have functional literacy and numeracy with them, Douggie Jr. in particular cited them as important.

4.5 Alfie

4.5.1 Introduction to Alfie

Fourteen-year-old Alfie was the eldest child in his family. He held himself with an air of confidence and apparently needed to maintain a reputation for poor behaviour amongst his peers. We came to an agreement at the start of the research that I would pretend to collect him from his form room because he was 'in trouble'. We would go to another room to talk about Alfie's life as a Traveller and his aspirations and he would be open and cheerful, then around the school we had a shared understanding that we would ignore each other.

4.5.2 Alfie's family background

Alfie lived with his parents Billy and Christie, his younger siblings and the family's dogs. The family shared three trailers, one for Billy and Christie, one for the boys and one for the girls. That children from primary school age sleep in separate trailers from their parents exemplifies the more fluid attitude to the boundary between childhood and adulthood held by Traveller communities in comparison to the majority population.

Somewhat unusually for a Traveller, Christie is a teaching assistant at one of the local primary schools. Her Traveller grandparents insisted that she learn to read and write competently, despite being unable to do so themselves. Christie's understanding of formal education led her to want Alfie to "succeed in as stress free way as possible in whatever [he] chooses to do". She considered the expectations put on young people in terms of testing and exams to be too stressful. This was the only reference to 'stress' in all of the data. Whether Christie was the only Traveller to recognise that stress was a factor for young people at school was not corroborated, but I sensed that they did not consider school to be stressful aside from the racism they sometimes endured. Older generations of Travellers historically left school before the statutory leaving age, they did not experience the stresses, including the exam system, which their children experience now.

Christie did feel "included in the school as a Traveller parent" but "only because I am willing to be involved". She considered that other Traveller parents chose not to be involved, and reiterated that she used the school website to "find out what I need". Christie may have appeared to set herself above other Travellers resulting in the lack of friendships at the site she described. Despite that, she shared the dismay voiced by the other families at the demise

of the Traveller Education Service, the accepted and much-missed link between Travellers and the formal education service, saying "I think we need it back".

Billy had been a boxer and more recently worked as a boxing coach and trainer. The importance of boxing to the family cannot be overstated, and Alfie was trained by his dad. Along with coaching, Billy was a landscape gardener, an occupation shared with his own father. He had siblings, one was a mechanic but Alfie had no idea of what his other uncle or aunts did. Billy had a family before the one shared with Christie, Alfie had a much older brother (aged 30), who worked as a builder, and older sisters, all in their twenties. Their occupations were unknown. Christie had a brother, Alfie did not know what he did but he stated that his paternal grandmother was a nurse.

4.5.3 Data collection focussing on Alfie

Alfie aspired to "be a pro boxer" because "I've been brought up around boxing" (see sub-sections 5.1.1, 5.3.5 and 7.6.1). He knew that his parents were "proud" of his dream and felt his extended family and the wider Traveller community were "happy and proud" of him and his aspirations too. To achieve his dream Alfie needed "the right people around me", he perceived that he had the necessary support to succeed. Alfie completely separated school from home, he did not want or need school to enable him to achieve his dream.

Alfie's options subjects at school were Applied Learning, which is a series of vocational courses such as construction and motor vehicle maintenance, along with Resistant Materials, both of which he liked. Alfie did not present as academically strong and he had been guided into these courses by his teachers. Fortunately, they would have been his choice regardless. During the course of the research I realised that Alfie was far more academically capable than he portrayed[57]. Christie's involvement in Alfie's education may have been responsible for his actual level of academic competence despite the level he chose to display at school. Similarly, Alfie's behaviour record at school appeared poor. However, his misdemeanours were consistently minor, often "ignoring instructions" and "continued misbehaviour". Alfie had crafted a school persona.

The only careers roadshow[58] (appendix viii) Alfie was definitely interested in was planning engineer. He was interested in finding out more about becoming a PE teacher, the navy and becoming a tattoo artist, but did not suggest any other careers of interest. Alfie assigned construction, boxing coach and plumber as jobs for men only and hairdresser as a job for

[57] Attainment data for Travellers is presented in section 2.4.
[58] We used the Careers Information Questionnaire as the vehicle for this discussion.

women only (appendix x). Aside from plumber these gender roles mirrored the expectations of Travellers expressed by the other young people in the study. He listed teaching assistant, politics, hospital work, painter and decorator and army as jobs suitable for either men or women. One could speculate that Alfie suggested a teaching assistant could be male or female due to Christie's influence and/or having been in classes supported by a male teaching assistant at school. His assertion that painter and decorator was suitable employment for both sexes may have been due to the presence of girls on his Applied Learning courses.

In five years, at the age of 19, Alfie expected to be boxing, working as a bricklayer, to have passed his driving test and to have his own home (appendix xi). Having one's own home at 19 is common for Traveller young people. What was interesting was that despite his success as a boxer Alfie did not see boxing as a full-time prospect. However, his older brother being a builder may have influenced his interest in bricklaying. In ten years Alfie thought he would still be boxing and working as a bricklayer but expected to have children and a wife (he stated them in that order), and to be "learning my kids to be a boxer if they want to". Alfie shared his parent's commitment to allowing their children to choose what they want to do. In fifteen years Alfie expected to be retired from boxing, and working; he did not specify what at.

4.5.4 Data collection focussing on the wider Traveller community

Alfie clearly understood the "Snakes and Ladders" analogy for the discussion of the vignettes. He listened thoughtfully as I told the biography of each of the three Travellers to be discussed, and studied each photograph. Of the first, the artist Damien Le Bas (appendix xii), Alfie felt that 'snakes' would be "people bringing him down – outside the community" and also "not being able to see his family while he was at college". Alfie felt that a 'ladder' would be "his family giving him encouragement – his wife". He considered that Le Bas's family background including artists would have given them a better understanding of him, and given him a better understanding of what being an artist entailed. This insight indicated a level of cognition greater than that expected of someone of Alfie's recorded academic level of ability. Alfie explained "I personally wouldn't have been an artist – I would have been a builder or something because building is a better paid job". Alfie assumed that being an artist, even an internationally renowned one, was less well paid than being a builder (see sub-section 5.1.1). I did not pursue this, wanting not to influence Alfie's thinking, but in retrospect it would be interesting to explore the reasoning behind Alfie's supposition.

Alfie was immediately familiar with Billy-Joe (appendix xiii), he claimed that his family knew him and gave examples of when his dad had worked with Billy-Joe (see sub-section 5.3.5). He explained that Billy-Joe had to fight an Irish Traveller to win the WBO, commenting on the fight

being English versus Irish. This was the only reference made by any of the Traveller young people with regard to their specific heritage. Alfie was of English Traveller descent and was clearly delighted that Billy-Joe had beaten an Irish Traveller, albeit he was "proud as a Traveller of him". An Irish Traveller would be better than a Gadje winning the title. Alfie talked of seeing Billy-Joe at the Appleby fair saying "he inspires me", again demonstrating a level of maturity which was hidden at school. He explained how Billy-Joe's dad and grandad were "into boxing" and felt that Billy-Joe also has "support from the community". When discussing any 'snakes' Billy-Joe may have encountered Alfie raised the issue of racism in social media, a theme he also talked about when discussing Zoah, the Traveller who went to Cambridge University and went on to study Journalism (appendix xiv). This was an unanticipated theme which Alfie was quite clear about, he perceived that racism against Travellers was common on social media. We discussed the concept, I admitted that it was something I had not considered and Alfie was able to educate me about it, describing the extent of racism on social media particularly against notable Travellers such as Billy-Joe, and the immediate visibility of that abuse to anyone following him. The effect on Alfie was that he would not want to use social media if he were to become well-known.

Alfie recognised that "only going to school for short periods of time and doing well in her GCSEs, and working with her sister and mum" would present as another 'snake' for Zoah. He suggested "her mum and dad not being able to read may have given her some inspiration to want to read" as a 'ladder', perhaps alluding to Christie and providing insight into the influence his maternal grandparents have had on his family. He expanded (of Zoah) "maybe she wanted to be more than a showman". By saying "more than" Alfie showed that he considered there to be a hierarchy of which showman is lower than other occupations. This comment also illustrated the blurring of the identity of showman as a heritage or as an occupation.

Alfie embraced the traditional Traveller attitudes in terms of boxing and construction but also had respect for the aspirations of others such as his mum and Zoah, of whom he stated "I think she's done really well". Both had challenged tradition by embarking on careers related to formal education in their own way, achievements particularly notable in the Traveller community as they are women. It would be interesting to explore Alfie's perceptions of his apparently contradictory attitude to gender roles and employment. He professed to be influenced by his heritage and was demonstrably influenced by his classmates given his need to pretend to be 'in trouble'. It was pertinent to contemplate the leverage each has on him, to consider how much of his behaviour was conforming to the expectations of the prevailing group and where his true conviction lay, if indeed he could pinpoint that for himself. As such

attitudes are developed during adolescence it was unrealistic to expect Alfie to have formed concrete schemas at the age of fourteen. Despite his veneer of self-assurance Alfie was grappling with those issues in the context of the "Traveller way" (see section 5.3).

4.6 Jessie

4.6.1 Introduction to Jessie

Jessie was Douggie Jr.'s older sister. She had difficulty in making herself understood by school staff who had not worked closely with her. Perhaps as a consequence she was very softly spoken. Jessie had a friend, a Gadje girl a year younger than herself. She liked to "have a laugh", and enjoyed praise.

4.6.2 Jessie's family background

Jessie's family background was discussed in Douggie Jr.'s case study. The family perceived themselves as somewhat unusual amongst their extended community for their attitude toward formal education, particularly for Jessie as a female and their eldest daughter. They reported that members of their extended family from across the country ostracised them for allowing their children, particularly Jessie, to remain in school past primary age. There were stipulations attached to Jessie attending East Coast High school. Her parents had forbidden her from taking part in any form of sex education, either in Biology or in PSHE lessons.

4.6.3 Data collection focussing on Jessie

Jessie was the only Traveller young person to take photographs and return the camera for developing at the start of the activities (see sub-section 3.6.1). All of Jessie's photographs, which could have been of anything important to her, centred around her home - inside and outside the trailers. She photographed two of her younger siblings, her aunt and her favourite dog. We discussed the significance of each of the photographs. Jessie's favourite place was her bedroom and she aspired to have a trailer similar to that shared by her parents.

Jessie's dream was to become a hairdresser. Her GCSE options subjects were ASDAN, Dance and Art which she had chosen because they "looked fun". In reality Jessie had been directed towards those subjects by the school. ASDAN was a course "offering programmes and qualifications that explicitly grow skills for learning, skills for employment and skills for life" (Asdan.org.uk, 2017). Dance was Jessie's second options choice. Despite dance being offered as a free after-school enrichment activity Jessie had never participated in it, or in any of the enrichment activities offered. The Traveller young people used a school-organised bus to travel to and from school, I discuss in sub-sections 5.3.2 and 6.7.1 the shortcomings of this arrangement. Jessie did not talk about dance in any of our conversations with regard to herself, her family or other Travellers.

When asked about which careers roadshows[59] (appendix viii) she would be interested in Jessie stated that she was definitely interested in hairdressing, beauty therapy and nursery work. She asked what both a beauty therapist and a social worker do before considering how interested she would be in them. After some thought, Jessie decided that she may be interested in social work or becoming a tattoo artist. Jessie also asked what planning engineers and physiotherapists do but was not interested in either of those or the other professions offered for consideration. A pattern emerged, particularly with the Traveller girls, of seeming to become aware of a wide range of career choices early in high school followed by narrowing the scope of their aspirations as they got older (see sub-section 5.4.3).

Jessie thought that she needed the "highest levels" in order to achieve her dream. She felt supported by the school, particularly the careers team who were "trying to help" and who "filled in a form for work experience" for her. She perceived that her parents thought that her dream was "alright", as did the Traveller community, and that her extended family were "happy" about it. Evie and Douggie wanted Jessie to do "what she wants" and knew that she wanted to do hairdressing. They felt that the school supported Jessie in working towards achieving her dream, although they missed the Traveller Education Service, particularly the teacher who worked with them. They repeated this throughout the interview.

Jessie could not explain *why* her dream was to become a hairdresser. She did not ascribe Evie as having influenced her in her dream, nor were there any hairdressers in her family tree we drew together (appendix ix). In fact, Jessie did not know what any of her extended family did for employment, either formally or informally. She considered working with trees a male-orientated profession (appendix x), but was not able to state where this idea came from or whether any of her family had done this kind of work. She considered hairdressing and beauty therapy to be female-only jobs, but working in a café something either males or females could do. Jessie was unable to think of any other lines of work to discuss in terms of gender, despite just having completed the careers roadshow activity in which various professions were discussed. She was similarly unable to provide detail when asked what she saw herself doing in the future (appendix xi) - in five years she said that she would be driving, in ten years she would have a job (unspecified) and see her family and in fifteen years she would be driving, have a job and see her family. Jessie's repetition of her desire for maintaining contact with her family caused me to surmise that the rift which led the family to the Traveller site at East Coast Town (see sub-section 5.2.1) and their subsequent isolation had been a substantial loss to her.

[59] We used the Careers Information Questionnaire as the vehicle for this discussion.

4.6.4 Data collection focussing on the wider Traveller community

Jessie's attitude towards Art was somewhat confusing (see sub-section 5.1.1), she considered "doing loads of art" a 'snake' in the discussion of the vignette purporting to Damian Le Bas (appendix xii). This, in contrast to a 'ladder', something which helped him, being "colouring all of the drawings". It could be that these related to Jessie's dislike of, or difficulty in drawing as opposed to her enjoyment, or relative ease of colouring. Alternatively, Jessie may have misunderstood that a 'snake' represented something which made it difficult for Damian Le Bas to achieve his dream and a 'ladder' represented help. Jessie recognised Billy-Joe, the Traveller boxer who went to the Beijing Olympics and became World Champion (appendix xiii). She cited "doing boxing and Olympics" as 'snakes' in Billy-Joe's journey, yet "doing more boxing" as a 'ladder'. These misconceptions further imply that Jessie may have had difficulty comprehending the activity. She did not have any questions about Billy-Joe but did state that her family knew him (see sub-section 5.3.5).

Jessie said that trying to get to Cambridge would be a 'snake' for Zoah (appendix xiv). However, she expanded "she worked with her mum selling burgers but she had to get to university as well". This demonstrated greater understanding of the concept of barriers to achieving ones' dreams than in Jessie's previous answers. Conceivably this may have arisen because this was the third vignette discussed, so Jessie had a better comprehension of what was being asked. Alternatively, she may have thought that Zoah went to university at the same time as working with her mum, which was not the case. This was specifically explained in the presentation of the vignette. Jessie considered "get A*" as a 'ladder' in Zoah's journey, demonstrating some understanding of the public examination grading system and of the level of academic achievement required to attend university. The discrepancy between Zoah's biography and her status as a Traveller female with the expectation of her to leave education by the age of 12, marry, bear and raise a family by the end of her teens was never raised. It was unclear whether Jessie lacked awareness, either due to her learning difficulties or to the family's relative isolation from their extended family, or whether her attitude was due to her family's somewhat unusual stance towards education in terms of Traveller tradition. Either she accepted Zoah's biography as the norm, or she was making a stand to accept formal education, in line with her immediate family.

4.7 Davinia

4.7.1 Introduction to Davinia

At sixteen, Davinia was the eldest of the Traveller young people at East Coast High school. She gave the air of someone comfortable not to be part of the 'in' crowd by being able to quietly

not conform to the general appearance of the majority without drawing attention to herself. Her closest friend was Asian (see sub-section 5.3.5), one of the few young people from a different ethnic background at the school. Aside from her small circle of friends Davinia was accepted, not merely tolerated, testament to her ability to include herself without compromising who she was, a skill which she had honed to a level beyond that usually seen in someone of her age.

4.7.2 Davinia's family background

Davinia lived with her mum, stepdad and younger sister. Rosa, Davinia's mum, was friendly and assertive. Her husband Raymond was also warm and friendly, and was not of Traveller descent. He had adopted the Traveller way of life which he professed to love, and had become accustomed into it as far as the immediate family was concerned. The apparently disparate composition of the (site) community of various Traveller heritages may have enabled Raymond to successfully join the family and live on the site. This situation was seemingly exploited by Rosa in her pursuit of stability for her family.

Rosa and Raymond shared their trailer with their daughter Lizzie, who had a disability. Davinia had a far smaller trailer for herself. It was filled by a large bed with old teddies neatly lined along the end and numerous display dolls on shelves around the top. Along with these were typical paraphernalia associated with sixteen-year-old girls - makeup, mirrors and hair accessories. The structure of Davinia's extended family told the story of Rosa's difficult adult life. Davinia had older brothers who she maintained contact with, but she was wary of their attitude toward women, explaining they "wouldn't find it acceptable if they knew I hang around with boys". Rosa had experienced loss by bereavement and divorce before she finally met and married Raymond, her thoroughly supportive and friendly Gadje husband, and between them they had Lizzie.

4.7.3 Data collection focussing on Davinia

Davinia's dream was to be a hairdresser and beauty therapist. She felt supported by her parents and extended family in this aspiration, stating that they felt "happy" about it. She was right, Davinia's parents wanted to support her to "do well and be happy" in whatever she chose to do. Davinia felt supported by the school careers team who had "helped me a lot", particularly "to organise myself". However, she did not ascribe any support from her teachers. When asked what she needed to do to achieve her dream Davinia stated that she should "work hard and concentrate". Davinia wasn't sure where her aspiration stemmed from, she could not cite a particular person or incident which caused her to aspire to have a career in hairdressing and beauty therapy. There was no historical family link to the beauty industry,

her mum, maternal grandmother and aunt all worked in the potato fields or in gardening, her grandad was a builder and her brother was a “maintenance person”.

Despite being able to name her mother’s siblings, Davinia could only identify what one aunt did; gardening. She could be more specific about Raymond’s family, she explained that one of his sisters was a vet and one a lorry driver. Davinia’s knowledge of the occupational statuses of her extended Gadje family was at odds with the information shared of her Traveller family. Possibly Traveller occupations were viewed as unimportant to Travellers and therefore unknown. Alternatively, the detail of the Traveller component of the family may have been withheld from me, a strategy discussed in section 8.1. Davinia could only state the employment of one of her brothers, the aforementioned “maintenance person”.

Davinia’s options choices were interesting - Food Technology, mirroring the persistent assertion that “many subjects show gender stereotypical biases” (Department for Education and Skills, 2007), and Engineering despite “a significant gender gap” (Department for Education, 2017). The BBC cites “fewer than one in 10 engineers in the UK is female” (Briggs, 2018) and the Traveller community had even more clearly-defined gender expectations, making Davinia’s choice more significant. She stated that “mum feels women should be allowed the same rights as men”, causing me to consider whether it was in support of Rosa’s stance that she chose to study Engineering. Davinia explained she did not find Engineering useful, which implied that she chose it thinking that it would be, but she did not expand on that expectation. The Traveller attitude of learning needing to be immediately relevant to be considered valuable is discussed in sub-section 5.3.1.

Rosa’s influence was seen again in the activity to elicit Davinia’s projections for herself for the future (appendix xi). When asked what she thought she would be doing in five years, a question posed to be deliberately open to interpretation, Davinia stated that she would be working and would have moved out, away from the family unit (she already had her own trailer). This signifies another step away from the traditional Traveller way where young women in particular leave only when they marry. In ten years Davinia saw herself as married with children, and in fifteen years as being at “work again” expanding, “I wouldn’t raise my kids to follow every rule – they should follow the same rules as my mum taught me”.

Using the activity to list jobs for males, females, and both males and females on a Venn diagram (appendix x), Davinia allocated maintenance and brickwork as male jobs, and cleaning, looking after children, looking after the home and cooking as female jobs. She expressed understanding of traditional Traveller gender roles and asserted that these could be

challenged, but only in terms of what women should be able to do. Davinia did not describe challenging traditional Traveller gender roles in terms of expectations of men, either practically in the form of helping with chores, or emotionally. She was the only participant to interpret "jobs" (as it was stated on the Venn diagram presented for the completion of the activity) as chores for women. A pertinent question is why the other participants, particularly Mary-Ann who works extensively in the home, did not interpret "jobs" in the same way.

4.7.4 Data collection focussing on the wider Traveller community

The Romani Cultural and Arts Company refer to art as a "celebration of our common humanity" which "embraces equality and celebrates diversity" (Anon. 2018) but it was not an avenue Davinia wanted to pursue past her schooling, the subject was not what she expected it to be. Concerning the Traveller artist Damian Le Bas Sr. (appendix xii), Davinia stated that "if people found out where he was from or what he is [Traveller] a lot of people would get 'weirded out'", a nod to the sense of being different and of being perceived as threatening as a community. Davinia asked questions to clarify the chronology of Damian's biography. She felt he would have had "inspiration" and "support" from his family. She claimed that it would have been "different for a Traveller to be in Art", exposing a lack of knowledge of the history and traditions of the Travelling community (see sub-section 5.1.1). Davinia explained that her brother was "really good at art but never kept at it".

Davinia made direct reference to another of her brothers when discussing the Traveller boxer Billy-Joe (appendix xiii), she explained that "it's quite traditional for Travellers to go into boxing or bare-knuckle fighting" (see sub-section 5.1.1), all the males in her family had done so. Davinia watched her brother box - he belonged to a boxing club - and named Billy-Joe's family, friends and other boxers as 'ladders' for him. Davinia considered "confidence", a quality not generally perceived as lacking either in Traveller males or in boxing professionals, to be a 'snake'. It was unclear why.

Davinia recognised that, for Zoah (appendix xiv), travelling in fairs and missing school would have been a 'snake'. She considered her (Zoah's) mum's support a 'ladder', echoing her perception of Rosa's influence on her. Stating that the "wider community would have found it weird, [you] don't hear of people going into journalism, especially a woman" again demonstrated Davinia's understanding of the majority society's perception of the Traveller community. Her reiteration that "women should be able to work and do what men do, they shouldn't have to stay at home and clean. If they have talent they should be allowed to do it" demonstrated her understanding of the difference between traditional Traveller gender roles

and the expectations of the majority society. I discuss Traveller attitudes to talent in section 5.5.

4.8 Summary

The case studies were designed to move away from the 'broader homogenising public discourses' (Tremlett 2014, p833) (see section 8.5) related to Travellers. They offer background to the Traveller young people at the heart of this research and provide insight into their views, along with the individuals and circumstances which have influenced them. Each family has followed a unique path to their current geographical and metaphorical location. Despite this, they share commonalities which they term the "Traveller ways". These are the focus of my first discussion chapter, "What Sustains the Commonality?"

Chapter 5. What Sustains the Commonality?

5.1 Introduction

This first discussion chapter examines commonalities amongst the Traveller families. It considers these shared values and practices in the context of the wider Traveller community, and contemplates the implications of them for Travellers in the majority society.

Christie was my first Traveller contact. She listened carefully to my research aims during our initial meeting and gave her permission for her son Alfie to take part in the study if he wanted to. Young peoples' views would be upheld by parents, as that was the 'Traveller way'. I should be sure to explain the focus was on the young people and school, and not on their homes or life at home *per se*. I made notes and began to formulate a plan of action. Christie then explained that she anticipated no other Traveller parent would give their permission for their children to take part in my research as the community is "very closed". Travellers at the site in question "didn't all grow up together" and are "only just talking to each other", Christie had recently befriended a neighbour having lived in close proximity for "fifteen years or so".

Throughout the course of my research I was to discover that the pattern of swinging between positivity and perceived obstacles would become a recurring theme, a means, perhaps, of keeping me 'at arms' length', a practice discussed further in sub-section 6.6.1. This somewhat perplexing introduction to Christie gave rise to my first questions about her, her place in the community and her perception of herself. Christie had been raised by her grandparents, who were illiterate, but who insisted that she learn to read and write. Does taking that learning further to secure employment as a TA, in a school setting, set her apart from other Traveller women on the site, to whom this could be an uncomfortable site of employment? Padilla et al. (2017) point out that, in their research in Spain, "belonging to an ethnic group does not ensure the homogeneity of the group, nor could it be said that all the *payos*[60] share the same set of values and references" (p190). I wondered what opinion others have of her and whether Christie had been the best choice for my first point of contact because of her association with a feeder primary school. In retrospect, I consider Christie's advice on how to approach the other families to have been useful. However, the families were more open to the idea of my research than I (or Christie) had anticipated. The families were also more separated from each other than I had realised, and Christie's choice of employment did not affect their participation.

[60] Non-Gypsy/Roma; 'Gadje'.

'Traveller ways' were referred to explicitly by Shona, Mary-Ann's mother, and are inferred by other participants, Davinia in particular. Tremlett (2014) reports of Roma in England that, "their self-conscious adoption of the 'Gypsy-way'" is "a kind of internal emigration" by which "they created a place of their own in which they could feel at home, a social space composed according to their own ethic of relatedness" (p837), a 'belonging' as described in section 2.8[61]. Slee (2019) calls belonging "an accoutrement of privilege" (p910). I counter that this is based on an assumption of a hierarchy in which belonging to particular a group – the majority – is desired. Accounting for different types belonging, such as belonging by shared heritage despite physical and metaphorical distance (described by Christie in her analysis of the relationships at the Traveller site) negates this claim and legitimises the concept of belonging in a wider sense; the privilege lies in whether the individual is invited to belong. The questions this raises for me: Is the notion of 'Traveller ways' embedded to the point that any group of families projected as a community by citing this phrase without the need for other forms of interaction or cohesiveness that may characterise a community? If so, this sense of belonging through a sense of shared norms would make it possible to remain a disparate group even within a location/site, and that this transient type of community could itself be a Traveller norm. (I use the term 'transient' cautiously, as fifteen years may not be considered transient in relation to the mobility patterns of majority populations. But Christie highlighted the fact that the community "didn't all grow up together", and from her perspective, it is not historically rooted). Are 'imagined communities' (Anderson 2016) not a feature of most communities? Or could it be that this particular community deployed the lack of deeper cohesiveness as a mechanism to keep outsiders like me at bay? The lack of a distinctive identity to the outsider could make any community less visible and therefore draw less attention. Maintaining a level of separation from the majority population is a recurring theme explored in this and the other two discussion chapters, "Strategic Ignorance" and "The Inclusion Paradox".

5.1.1 Identity

All of the Traveller young people shared a perception of Traveller identity. The 'Traveller ways' were at the centre, providing a robust barometer against which all decisions were measured, and apparently giving the families a sense of belonging, as discussed in section 2.8. However, the Traveller ways were subject to 'subversion' (see sections 5.5 and 7.5), indicating that identity is malleable. Different versions of identity were seen; parts of the whole which were called upon when the need to identify arose - identity was shaped to identify *with*. Christie

[61] I explore issues of 'belongingness' arising directly from the data in sub-section 5.3.5.

successfully navigated 'Gadje' employment which did not apparently detract from her Traveller identity (see sub-section 5.3.1), nor did Alfie's amateur boxing career which led him to a national arena[62] (see section 4.5). An appreciation of Billy-Joe (see sub-section 3.6.1), a contemporary hero, was shared amongst all of the Traveller young people aside from Mary-Ann (see sub-section 4.3.4) and strengthened their Traveller identity. And they shared in common their awareness of the sorrow amongst senior members of their families at the loss of Traveller traditions such as roaming and selling door-to-door (see sections 5.5 and 7.4). Despite this, their knowledge of Traveller heritage was limited, for example the historical connection Travellers had to art. Douggie Jr. focussed on the time taken to produce a painting (see sub-section 4.4.4) and Alfie rejected the idea of being able to earn a living from art (see sub-section 4.5.4). Davinia expressed a misconception, that it would be "different" for a Traveller to be an artist (see sub-section 4.6.4). The Traveller young people's identity, despite appearing to be strong, lacked solid foundation, a symptom of a lack of Traveller cultural capital at school and in society more generally (see section 2.8). And a result, perhaps, of their separation from their extended families (see sub-section 5.2.1). The strength of the Traveller ways lay in the conviction with which they were cited.

5.2 Recent History, the Road to the East Coast

East Coast Town, at which both East Coast High school and the Traveller site are situated, is not a place historically inhabited, either transiently or permanently, by Traveller communities. Historical evidence of Traveller movement along the 'A' road which leads through the town is seen in names such as "Gypsy Lane" and "Tinkers Marsh", illustrating the movement of Travellers and their "*achtin tans*[63] (stopping places)" (La Bas, 2018) along the route. The Traveller site is less than 20 years old and there is no evidence, either formal or anecdotal, of Traveller occupation in the town prior to this. Indeed, the former Area Team Leader of the Traveller Education Service, who devoted his entire working life to provision (educational and other) for Travellers along the route, was emphatic in the recognition that this site was built outside of the geographical areas previously preferred by the Travelling community, along with being built outside of the geographical area of East Coast Town. Was this a deliberate act by local Government, an attempt to 'divide and rule', while portraying an image of performing an act of providence? Baker (2017) argues that the "legacy of nomadism" in England has rendered the Traveller community as "moving targets" (p742). The latter seem to have been

[62] I note here that boxing is a pursuit favoured by many Travellers, but Alfie's engagement with it was with the competitive structure constructed and used by the majority society.
[63] Emphasis in original.

pushed into a 'no-win' position, that is to say having to move (illegally) and be 'targets' or live a sedentary life "at the margins of society" (Baker 2017, p743) and 'vanish'. Was that the aim of the local authority? The positioning of the site exposes the power differential between the local authority and the Travelling community. It therefore highlights the inaccuracy of Berryman & Eley's (2019) definition of inclusion relating to external factors such as policies (see section 2.8). Rather, this demonstrates an attempt by the local authority to enforce the integration of the Traveller community (see section 2.8). Le Bas explains, "the life of the Traveller changes, sometimes so much so that you could forgive the outside world for thinking the people themselves have vanished" (2018). Did this act succeed in 'vanishing' these Travellers to the point that they maintain that they are not a coherent 'community' even in their own eyes? The further implications of this "correlation between visibility and presence" (Baker 2017, p742) are discussed in section 7.7. They are deeply significant, " – if we cannot visualise ourselves in the world how can we claim our space in it?" (Baker 2017, p742). If the aim was to 'include' Travellers by '*Gorjifying*[64]*'* them because of "illogically racially biased fear and hostility" (Rostas 2017, p761) it appears not to have been successful, as "many Gypsies now live either in housing, or on permanent caravan sites, not in meadows or lanes or lay-bys or by the sides of old tips. And yet they are still what they are, changed in some ways, but different enough to draw the old line between themselves and the *gorjies*"[65] (Le Bas, 2018).

5.2.1 Rifts

With no historical links to the town or to each other, I wondered how the families arrived at the site at East Coast Town. They shared the fact that they arrived following a rift from their respective extended families, a phenomenon which is apparently not uncommon - Le Bas (2018) explains "in our world, arguments are often resolved by somebody leaving and the relationship being severed". Each case study exemplified this. Mary-Ann's mother Shona had moved the family onto the site while Henry was incarcerated, in an apparent attempt to distance herself and her children from him. Following Henry's release Shona allowed him to return, maintaining the nuclear family but situated some 30 miles away from her parents, who both Shona and Mary-Ann reported had previously been extremely supportive of them. Douggie and Jessie discussed having extended family in the west Midlands. The young people reported a rift and one of Jessie's aspirations for the future was to "see all my family". Douggie similarly aspired to stay close to his parents, indicating concern at the possibility that

[64] Term used by Le Bas.
[65] Emphasis in original.

may not happen. It is known from patterns of attendance at East Coast High school[66] and conversations between Douggie Sr. and the school that the family travels across the country for family events, suggesting a level of restoration. However, it appears that a breakdown amongst the extended family originally led Douggie Sr. to settle his family at the site at East Coast Town. Alfie's nuclear family is a second family for his father Billy. Billy's history is well-known amongst both the local Travelling community and the wider community, as Billy is a boxing coach who coached a local (Gadje) boxer to Olympic success. The Traveller Education teacher described the family as atypical of the site community in the level of their occupational status, while the site manager reported tensions between Billy's first and second families, particularly following the arrival of one of his daughters from his first marriage along with her own young family at the site.

Davinia was also the product of a second family. She reported having a very good relationship with her Gadje stepfather, Raymond, but that her brothers, products of Rosa's earlier marriages, favoured traditional practices and disapproved of a Gadje marrying into the family. The Traveller Education Teacher, who supported the families for many years until the cessation of the Traveller Education Service, described the families at East Coast Site as inhabiting the 'bottom of the Traveller social sector', which may be why they arrived at a site in a non-traditional area for Travellers to form a strikingly mixed group; along with the families who took part in the research the site hosts English Travellers, Irish Travellers, Scottish Travellers, Gypsies and Showmen.

5.3 The "Traveller Way" and the Need to Adapt

Until Mary-Ann's removal there had been a 100% High School completion rate amongst the Travellers from the site[67]. The families, members of the founding Senior Leadership Team (SLT) and governors recalled the efforts made by the Traveller Education Service and the Assistant Head Teacher - Pastoral (AHTP), along with the Special Educational Needs and Disabilities Coordinator (SENDCO) and Special Educational and Disabilities Manager (SENDM), to encourage the smooth transition from local primaries to the new High school at its inception. The school has been open for five years, the same time since the demise of the Traveller Education Service, and the Traveller young people (aside from Mary-Ann who moved onto the site a year ago) maintain their attendance rate, which suggests the desire to

[66] National and Traveller attendance data is given in section 2.4.
[67] This relates to the Travellers from the site enrolled at East Coast High school. I state in sub-section 2.4.2 that there is no legal requirement for enrolment at school, and the number of Travellers of school age not in education is not known.

complete a High School education stems from the families. Padilla et al. (2017) explain how in Spain expectations and behaviour, particularly with regard to education, evolve over time, "a 'normalized' context is what opens the door to considering education as the means by which to progress in life" (p195). However, they also found that "the messages received in all cases point to the idea that education entails a loss of Roma culture and a distancing from the usual Roma profile" (p196) mirroring the conflicts around belonging and identity described and discussed throughout this research.

5.3.1 Functional Literacy

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) definition of having functional literacy is a "person who can engage in all those activities in which literacy is required for effective function of his or her group and community and also for enabling him or her to continue to use reading, writing and calculation for his or her own and the community's development" (UNESCO, 2019). In the context of my research this definition raises the question of which group or community is to be considered, Traveller or majority. During our first meeting Christie attributed her grandparent's desire for her to be literate as a factor in shaping her life leading her to the position she is currently in, a mother and a teaching assistant at the local primary school (see sub-section 5.1.1). Reflecting Hately-Broad's (2004) findings discussed in sub-section 2.4.3 that learning should be 'appropriate', Douggie Sr. and Evie both expressed explicitly during numerous of our meetings, both as part of my research and in my role as teacher and Traveller liaison, their desire for their children to be what I understand to be functionally literate. Evie gave the example of being able to read the instructions printed on a can of polish. Accounting for these perspectives, in the context of this research I interpret 'functional literacy' to mean literacy sufficient to enable an individual to access day-to-day information common to the majority society, as the Travelling community functions within that society. My interpretation only partially meets the full UNESCO definition.

It seems Douggie and Evie rely increasingly on their children in this respect. They took Jessie to a hospital appointment (not for herself) across the country to read and complete paperwork for them, despite her literacy being below that which educationalists would consider a functional level. They remained adamant that their children learn to read. I went with the SENDCO to speak with Evie and Douggie Sr. about the possibility of securing a placement at a local school with alternative provision for Douggie Jr., which would be more suitable to support him with his academic difficulties. They were emphatic in their desire for Douggie Jr. to remain at East Coast High school, as is their right, but have since agreed that he be

withdrawn from GCSE English classes to concentrate on learning to read, specifically to acquire functional literacy. Douggie Jr. will, in fact, work towards Entry Level English, a qualification which will enable him to focus on core skills and gain confidence in literacy in preparation for his transition to the local college, along with gaining a qualification in English. The Site Manager is sometimes called upon to read letters for the families, a situation which is tolerated as a necessity in some instances by Douggie Sr. and Evie. However, it is apparent that they have missed school correspondence, including important documents to secure extra provision for Douggie Jr., because they are selective in the help they seek. It appears that this has not been deliberate evasion as they have responded positively when I have taken the same paperwork to complete with them. This family in particular lamented the demise of the Traveller Education Service who they trusted to support them in this and other practical ways.

Raymond completed the questionnaire I took to Davinia's family in Rosa's presence, he read the questions and they agreed their responses. Rosa mentioned not having her reading glasses despite being in her trailer at the time, so either her vision or her literacy may have been compromised. The reading glasses comment was also made by Shona during both of my face-to-face conversations with her. While I at first thought that she may not be able to read, she was able to pick out contact information in details printed from the internet of local dance classes I had taken to her for Mary-Ann. Both parents may have felt intimidated reading in front of me knowing my role as a teacher at East Coast High school, so their ability with regard to literacy remains unclear. I discussed in Douggie Jr.'s case study how Douggie Sr. requested telephone reminders of appointments. It appears that the Traveller families in this research have, to an extent, found ways around difficulties concerning literacy and the wider implications of these.

5.3.2 School and the Improbability of Socialising Outside of the Traveller Community

While there is an arrangement for most eligible students at East Coast High school to use public buses with a county bus pass, the Traveller young people have a separate bus which takes them directly onto the Traveller site. They could theoretically use the same public bus as the other students, as the bus stops across the road from the site. However, to cross the road would be difficult and potentially dangerous, as it is the busy A road. Concern for the safety of the Traveller young people in their journey to school is reported in the minutes of a meeting of the temporary governing body of the new school prior to the school opening,

> "There is no provision to get the children from the travellers' (sic) site to East Coast High school on the western side of the A road nor is there a suitable crossing to the eastern side of the A road so transport will be provided for these children."

Where this arrangement differs from that for other students, aside that it is a bus set aside solely for the transportation of Traveller young people, is in the fact that there is only one bus to and from school each day, and their pass only allows them to use 'their' bus. Consequently, Traveller young people are technically excluded from extra-curricular activities; after-school detentions, clubs and interventions – they are afforded a different level of inclusion (see section 2.8 and sub-section 7.6.1). This arrangement contravenes the school's Community Cohesion Policy (discussed in section 4.1), which cites 'community' as a core value. It potentially poses a risk to the Traveller young people of a "socioemotional outcome […] a decline in social engagement", highlighted in the US by Gottfried (2014, p69) and discussed in sub-section 2.4.3. The wider connotations of this for both the Traveller families and East Coast High school are discussed in chapter 7.

All of the families have vehicles of their own. Douggie Jr., Jessie and Alfie stated that they foresee themselves driving, but all of the families rely entirely on the bus for transport to and from school. There are many possible reasons for this apparently rigid approach. Traveller parents may fear coming to the school grounds because of their own previous experience[68], or have a psychological separation from school so great that they do not see themselves as any part of it. They may consider their children's attendance in itself enough of a compromise with the authorities, absolving them of the responsibility for any additional effort. Or this may be another means of maintaining control over the level of inclusion they have into 'Gadje' society. Young people from the site do not tend to have 'outsiders' to their homes. This could be indicative of the 'Traveller way' (see sub-section 5.1.1).

Davinia provides the only exception as her close friend who she socialises with both in and outside of school, and who is welcomed by Rosa and Raymond, is Gadje. It is interesting to note that this young person's family migrated to the area from overseas when she was younger. I suggest that Davinia has either consciously or subconsciously chosen an 'outsider' from the majority school population as her ally, a situation which I further suggest is enabled by the effect of the non-conformity required for the acceptance into the family of her Gadje stepfather. The wider effect of seemingly small steps away from the expected Traveller norm presents an intriguing potential focus for future research.

5.3.3 Heroes and the Wider (Traveller) Community

Without exception, the Traveller respondents claimed not to know what Travellers in other parts of the country are doing. At all. Not their aspirations, employment, past-times; nothing.

[68] Attendance, exclusions and attainment data is presented in section 2.4.

There is a sense of complete disconnection from other Travellers in their responses. Yet Douggie Jr., Alfie and Davinia talked animatedly and at length about the Appleby Horse Fair, "an annual Traveller gathering of Gypsies and Travellers in the town of Appleby in Cumbria, which takes place on the first week in June" (http://www.applebyfair.org/), and which is significant Traveller cultural capital (see section 2.8).

> "The Appleby Horse Fair has existed under the protection of a charter granted by James II since 1685 and is one of the key gathering points for the Romany, gypsy and travelling community. The fair is attended by about 5,000 travellers who come to buy and sell horses. The animals are washed and groomed in the River Eden before being ridden at high speed along the 'mad mile' for the viewing of potential buyers." (http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/06/03/appleby-horse-fair-2016-in-pictures/)

In fact, both Douggie Jr. and Alfie's families reported having been to the Appleby Horse Fair in the past and intending to go again in the future. During these gatherings the families meet friends and family from across the country - do they not use the opportunity to 'catch up' on their news? Do they really not know what Travellers in other parts of the country are doing, or is there an implicit yet unspoken understanding? And what of the school's declared responsibility to furnish its young people with an "understanding and appreciation of the wide range of cultural influences that have shaped their own heritage and those of others" as stated in the SMSC Policy (section 4.1)? Traveller Horse Fairs do not appear in the curriculum. Shona described the way in which Mary-Ann is perceived by others in the Travelling community, "they look at her [at Traveller fairs across the country], they know her, they say "that's that Mary-Ann girl", confirming Le Bas's (2018) observation that "horse fairs are shop windows for young brides and husbands" (see sub-section 2.4.4). I wonder whether my questioning about what other Travellers are doing is considered rude, and hence is evaded, either because of the nature of the question or because of the way in which it was delivered. Or perhaps not, as Le Bas (2018) explains "what the fairs offer is a chance to track the progress of our lives", implying introspective reflection rather than the expansive swapping of personal information. If there is this disconnect between Traveller families, how are traditions, the 'Traveller ways' shared and continued? This concept is developed further in section 7.5.

Boxing is a commonality raised by each of the families. It is considered a male pursuit and is part of Traveller cultural capital (see section 2.8). Mary-Ann's younger brother does boxing, she tried it with him but "did best" at dance. Douggie Sr. takes his sons to spectate boxing and bare-knuckle fights across the country. Christie and Alfie talked with pride about their family's

ties to boxing - Billy has been known within and outside of the Traveller community for his work as a boxing coach for many years. Following in his footsteps, Alfie has been particularly successful in the junior boxing circuit and aspires to become a boxing coach (along with being a bricklayer). Davinia explained that "it is quite traditional for Travellers to go into boxing or 'bare-knuckle fighting'". She reported that "all of the males of the family have done boxing", one of her brothers was part of a boxing club for a period of time.

One of the Traveller vignettes used in data collection was of Billy-Joe, an English Traveller who became a successful boxer (appendix xiii). All of the Traveller young people claimed that their families knew Billy-Joe personally (see sub-section 5.5.3). Alfie and Douggie Jr. were both keen to explain that Billy-Joe is seen as a hero, winning kudos for the Traveller community. Douggie Jr. boasted "my Uncle Billy seen him, talk to him and all that" and his sister Jessie claimed "my family knows him". Alfie claimed a family connection to Billy-Joe because of Billy's boxing connections. In a fight between him and any Gadje they would back Billy-Joe, and in a fight between Billy-Joe and the Irish Traveller boxer Tyson Fury they would want Billy-Joe to win because he is of English Traveller descent. However, if Tyson Fury were to fight a Gadje they would back Tyson Fury because being Irish Traveller trumps being Gadje. A perception of allegiance, commonality based on ethnicity and identity, was shared and understood by both boys.

Typically amongst the Traveller young people, the apparent success of the other Travellers discussed in the vignettes - Damian Le Bas Sr., a Traveller from Sheffield who became an artist renowned around the world amongst the art community (appendix xii) and Zoah, the Suffolk-born fairground Traveller who was awarded a First Class Honours Degree in History at Cambridge and who has continued to study journalism (appendix xiv) - were less enthusiastically received. Douggie Jr.'s perception of the time he thought it must have taken for Damien Le Bas to have completed the artwork in the background of the photograph used for the vignette, "it's got to take him all day", shows a complete disconnect with the whole world and culture associated with art (see sub-sections 4.7.4 and 5.1.1). Aside from Douggie's suggestion that "all day" is a long period of time to take to produce significantly intricate and sizeable paintings, I wonder if this declaration was linked to his perception of financial reward. Alfie had a similar attitude to Douggie's toward Damien Le Bas Sr., conceivably a commonality borne of age rather than culture. He explained "personally I wouldn't have become an artist – I would have been a builder or something because building is a better paid job", which may be true for most aspiring artists. Damian Le Bas Jr. comments "Travellers I knew from the east of England had lived rough deep into the recent past, still working the farms into the 1990s"

(2018), a nod perhaps to the relatively 'sleepy' nature of the area as a whole. But the Traveller Education Area Team Leader described the community historically as enterprising, adapting with society in order to make the money needed to sustain themselves. The boys' insights follow this tradition, they sought a means of earning.

Alfie and Davinia both recognised the difficulties potentially experienced by Zoah in maintaining her education alongside travelling and working for one third of the academic year, from the start of the Easter holiday to the beginning of the new academic year in September. Alfie commented that "her mum and dad not being able to read may have given her some inspiration to want to read. Maybe she wanted to be more than a showman", a reflection of the experience shared by Christie. Her grandparents insisted that she learnt to read in spite of, or perhaps because of being unable to do so themselves. Alfie expressed approval of Zoah's achievements, "I think she has done really well", despite his inferences to wanting to be able to finance himself by boxing and building, more traditional Traveller trades. I suggest Alfie said what he thought I want to hear, an example of strategic ignorance, a concept central to the outcomes of this thesis. Strategic ignorance was evident both in actions of the Traveller families and of the other respondents to such an extent that I have devoted the following chapter to explore the concept. It is equally conceivable that Alfie does not envisage himself in anything other than the perceived 'traditional' Traveller role despite Christie's input, or that he does not want to exclude himself from the Traveller community by challenging what he perceives as his Traveller identity (see chapters 2 and 7 and sub-section 5.1.1). Christie strayed from the traditional in her aspirations, she stepped away from the 'traditional' Traveller wife and mother's role by learning to read and becoming a teaching assistant. It would be interesting to learn the type and extent of the pressures on her from inside and outside the Traveller community. Tellingly, Davinia casually mused (of Zoah) "the wider community would have found it weird – [you] don't hear of people going into journalism – especially a woman. [It's] more traditional for women to stay at home". I discuss gender roles in 5.4.

5.3.4 Racism and the (Gadje) Misunderstanding of Ethnicity

An unanticipated outcome of the research was the realisation that racism through social media is a problem. Alfie raised the issue with regard to the Traveller boxer Billy-Joe, who Alfie reported has been subject to prolonged and sustained racism on Facebook to the extent that Alfie would be reluctant to raise his profile in the same way should he become a professional boxer. Interestingly, the retired Traveller Education Service Team Leader spoke of the advantage of having social media in terms of maintaining contact, both between Travellers, and between Travellers and other interested parties such as schools. This issue illustrates how

my Gadje perspective is likely to be somewhat different to that of some of the Traveller families. I initially surmised that if the families decline to use social media they are deliberately keeping a distance between themselves and school, however it may be that the use of social media is simply too troublesome because of racism.

Racist abuse is to be expected and ignored, according to Douggie Sr. As described in Douggie's case study (section 4.4), he sought to reassure me in a conversation we had about racist comments directed at Douggie Jr. at school. He suggested that I should not worry too much, as they (the family) are used to it. He described walking through town the previous weekend with Douggie Jr. and having racist abuse shouted at them. His response was to ignore it and to encourage Douggie Jr. to do the same. In fact, the term which Douggie Jr. finds particularly offensive is "Gypsy", irrespective of the derogatory comments this word is embedded into, which in themselves proffer racial stereotypes. At East Coast High school racist, homophobic and disablist bullying "is reported to county and the pupil is sanctioned with a C6 (isolation)") (Anti-Bullying Policy). However, I point out in section 4.1 that this does not attend to the reasons behind the behaviour, and failure to do so may perpetuate a cycle of bigotry. In this case, the parent of the offending child refused to acknowledge that her son's offence to a white boy could have been racist, substantiating Bhopal's findings that individuals could not understand that Traveller students could be subject to racism as they are white (see sub-section 2.4.1).

Ignorance around the terms "Gypsy" and "GRT" (Gypsy, Roma, Traveller) is highlighted by the staff survey, only 35.7% of respondents listed "Traveller" as an ethnic minority represented at East Coast High school (see appendix xxiv). Minutes from the first meeting of the governing body following the opening of the school state that a governor had "agreed to be the governor for gypsy/romany/travellers" (sic), demonstrating a lack of knowledge and care around the use and reporting of these labels. Official records of the school cohort are obtained from forms to be completed by parents. These offered "Gypsy/Roma" as a category for ethnicity with no category for "Traveller" until this research highlighted the discrepancy. All of the Traveller families must have been aware of this labelling in official documentation. They had all completed forms, either independently or with help, to enrol their children at East Coast High school, and so had all assigned their children's ethnicity as "Gypsy/Roma". I question more deeply in chapter 6 whether the ignorance described both on the part of the school and the Traveller families is unintentional or calculated. It is possible that this misunderstanding of their ethnicity by the majority population has become a factor which increases cohesiveness amongst the Travellers, a factor which sustains the commonality. However, being unable to

assign one's ethnicity is a causal factor in a reduction of self-esteem and, contrary to the previous argument, is damaging to group esteem. I discuss 'The Threat of the Disappearing Sense of Self' both in individual and group terms in section 7.7.

5.3.5 Belongingness

I explained in sub-section 5.3.2 that the Traveller young people do not have outsiders to their homes. While both Jessie and Davinia have Gadje friends, only Davinia's friendship extends outside of school (see sub-section 4.7.1). They face constraints, such as their geographical location (see sub-section 2.4.2) and the prohibition (by the Local Authority) of others from using their bus. Why do the Traveller families accept this arrangement? Perhaps it is because, if belongingness is proportional (see section 2.8), any gain in belonging to one group automatically detracts from belonging to the other (based on a model limited to two factors). From this perspective, Mary-Ann's removal from the school roll (see sub-section 4.3.4) indicates her belongingness to the school was perceived as a threat, potentially undermining her belongingness to the Traveller community. However, belongingness is more complex than that. Davinia's confidence in Rosa's interpretation of the Traveller ways enables her friendship, while Rosa's confidence that Davinia will remain part of the Traveller community appears to be well-founded. And I discuss in sub-section 5.4.3 how that confidence is seen in the other Traveller families, Mary-Ann's being the exception. This confidence is key.

The disconnect of the Traveller families from the lives of Travellers from other areas, when aligned with their perceived connections to Billy-Joe (see sub-section 5.3.3) presents an apparently conflicting attitude to belonging. Perhaps being metaphorically tied to Billy-Joe gave them "the internalized concept" of belongingness described by Berryman and Eley (2019, p989) (see 2.8). Viewed individually, Alfie is able to manage the Traveller/majority society interface in his boxing, mirroring Christie's ability to do the same with her work as a Teaching Assistant (see sub-section 4.5.2). In contrast, Jessie's repetition in stating her aspiration to see her family (see sub-section 4.6.3) signals her fear of losing her belongingness to her family. Personal and family history have significant bearing on confidence in the durability of belongingness. And confidence underpins the extent to which the boundaries of belongingness can be tested.

5.4 Gender Roles and Aspirations

5.4.1 The 'Gatekeeper'

A practice common to all of my dealings with the families is that the eldest male is the gatekeeper, the first point of contact with a family. When I initially telephoned Shona with regard to Mary-Ann participating in my research she was waiting for a call from a GP and

assumed my call was from the surgery. Shona made it clear for future contact that her husband was aware that she was trying to get my help to source dance lessons for Mary-Ann. Contact with me for this purpose was discussed with him and his permission was granted before contact continued. I am unclear whether he was made aware of our conversations around my research. During both interviews with Shona, she constantly referred to the time and to having to get back to him or he would come chasing after her, further signifying gender-related expectations.

Douggie Sr. is the only direct point of contact between East Coast High school and his family. During a visit to Jessie and Douggie's family at their trailer, Douggie Sr. arrived breathless mid-way through the meeting he had agreed to. He had clearly rushed to try to be there with Evie. Douggie checked that Evie was ok, and then left when she confirmed that she was comfortable with the situation. Similarly, it was made clear that Billy was aware of my meeting with Christie, and had given his permission for it to happen. Raymond was always present in meetings with Rosa and Davinia. This pattern of (gender-specific) behaviour was neither discussed nor deviated from, it was accepted and adhered to.

5.4.2 Gender-Specific Differences in Perceptions of Gender Roles and Aspirations

Two patterns emerged in the young people's perceptions of gender roles, the first was the difference in boys' and girls' expressed level of acceptance of gender expectations. The boys were happy to maintain their idea of 'traditional' Traveller gender expectations of and for themselves in terms of aspirations. This extends to employment - they both talked of bricklaying and building, aspirations for home and family - they both expect to be married and have a family within ten years, and aspirations for 'leisure' – including activities such as boxing. The males in Douggie and Jessie's family enjoy bare-knuckle fighting, and while Douggie Jr. appeared not to want to participate, he talked in terms of it being the expected norm, and was never openly critical or disapproving of it. In fact, neither boy suggested at any point any desire to change in any way either the expectations of them or of Traveller girls in terms of gender roles.

Mary-Ann and Davinia claimed to want Traveller girls to have the choice to expand their aspirations without the constraints of traditional expectations, which they considered to be staying at home, cleaning and raising children. Davinia explained that it is "more traditional" for Traveller women to stay at home, but that in her opinion "women should be able to work and do what men do, they shouldn't have to stay at home and clean" (see sub-section 4.7.4). Jessie also expects to be working in fifteen years (see sub-section 4.6.3), contrary to the role

fulfilled by her mum, who looks after the home and children but has never had outside employment.

None of the girls expressed any opinion of the expected norms for boys.

5.4.3 Maturing Towards the Expectations of Adulthood

The second pattern in the young people's perceptions of gender roles was that the girls became more 'traditional' in their discussions of their aspirations as they got older and progressed through school. This supports Willoughby's (1996) work discussed in sub-section 2.4.4, where the majority of Traveller girls were found to want to "marry young and have children" (Levinson & Sparkes 2006, p81). Despite apparently being subject to the most traditional Traveller upbringing, including being removed from the school roll at the age of 12, Mary-Ann articulated the most liberal view of employment in relation to gender of the three. She discussed a wide range of potential careers (see sub-section 4.3.3). Expressing interest in a variety of seemingly unrelated career options cannot be attributed solely to influence from a Traveller heritage. Arguably many young people have a wide variety of interests and intentions. The precarious nature of employment discussed in section 7.4 provides a backdrop against which fostering a diversity of interests is unsurprising, notwithstanding that the phenomenon may be common amongst individuals of the same age group from all backgrounds. Davinia was able to explain Traveller expectations clearly, referring to the "wider community" and considered her mum to have broken with tradition with respect to some 'rules', she explained "mum feels women should be allowed the same rights as men" (see sub-section 4.7.4). Davinia made a distinction with the expectations of her by her older brothers, who she described as 'more traditional'. Ultimately, despite the range of GCSE options choices Davinia had undertaken (see sub-section 4.7.3), she had applied to study Hairdressing and Beauty Therapy at college, an interest shared with the other Traveller girls. Perhaps deviating would undermine her sense of belonging to the Traveller community, or worse, threaten her position in it (see section 7.5).

The trend of progressively conforming as childhood progresses through towards adulthood appears to contradict the fears perceived of Traveller families and discussed in sub-section 2.4.3 that education will cause their children to become 'Gorgified'. Marzi's (2016) research found that aspirations of young people in deprived neighbourhoods/communities in Columbia may be 'navigational', i.e. may be open to whatever opportunities may come their way, no matter how random, with the common intention of achieving 'a good life' - "where one is secure and not threatened by violence and danger" (p119), a threat more familiar to the Traveller population than the majority in East Coast Town. It is unclear whether this

movement towards more traditional expectations is a common phenomenon amongst the wider Traveller community, and if it is, whether these families are aware of it. If it *is* recognised, it suggests Mary-Ann's father removed her from formal education because of his fear that she may be 'tainted' by contact with boys rendering her a poor prospect for marriage, rather than the fear of being 'Gorgified' *per se*. Davinia commented that her brothers "wouldn't find it acceptable if they knew I hang around with boys" (see sub-section 4.7.2), further suggesting the crux of the matter is the effect on girls' marriageability, as discussed with regard to Kyuchukov's (2011) work in Bulgaria in sub-section 2.4.4, rather than in the ascription of gender-specific aspirations. I note this was not at any point discussed openly in these terms, it is surmised by aligning published research to the data gathered, the conversations had, and the subsequent analysis of their content and omissions. The way in which the young people appeared to seek to 'maintain the status quo' in terms of aspirations is discussed in sub-section 6.6.2.

5.5 The Purpose of Employment: Heritage, Gender-Specific Perceptions and the Concept of 'God-Given Talent'

Douggie Jr. and Alfie both discussed aspirations in terms of earning power. The purpose for work solely for financial gain appears to be shared by Douggie Sr., who was nostalgic in a conversation discussed earlier in this chapter bemoaning the fact that "there's not really any door-to-door any more". Douggie's lament belies a profound loss (see sub-section 5.1.1). Ahmed (2007) explains "If the conditions in which we live are inherited from the past, they are 'passed down' not only in blood or in genes, but also through the work or labour of generations" (p154). Losing 'door-to-door' is akin to losing Traveller heritage, a concept central to, and discussed in, 'the Threat of the Disappearing Sense of Self' in section 7.7.

Both Shona and Davinia talked in terms of 'talent'. Shona, in conversation about Mary-Ann's dancing, ascribed Mary-Ann's 'talent' to 'God'. She asked, "if God's give her this, why not carry it on?" Davinia spoke in more 'worldly' terms in conversation about Zoah, the Traveller girl who went to Cambridge and became a journalist (appendix xiv) - "if they [women] have talent they should be allowed to do it" (see sub-section 4.7.4). Work appeared to be viewed very differently when considering gender, not only in the types of work suitable for each gender but in the purpose of it. Men's work was a means to an end, for financial gain. Women's work, when it was considered as an alternative to looking after the home, cleaning and looking after children, was elevated to an activity requiring divinely-instigated talent.

I wonder whether only those women who are perceived to have 'God-given talent' are considered to be eligible for work, pondering then on the purpose of women's work. Is it to

nurture that talent so that it does not go to waste? Other questions arise: Does every woman have a talent or just a chosen few? Who decides what constitutes talent? Shona's perception of Mary-Ann's talent was at odds to the way in which the dance teacher appeared to view it - Shona ascribed the dance teacher's attitude to racism (see sub-section 4.3.3). Mary-Ann considered herself to be 'good' at dancing, a view she explained was validated by her 'mum's friend'. Both Shona and Mary-Ann talked at once of Mary-Ann's ability at dance and her enjoyment of it, mirroring the discussion in sub-section 2.4.4 in which Levinson & Sparkes (2006) explain how girls reflect the attitudes of their mothers. They seemingly connected the two, as if the enjoyment of dance was directly proportional to talent at it. I suggest that ascribing talent as 'God-given' allows Traveller women to pursue their aspirations or even their hobbies where otherwise they may not be given the opportunity to do so under the jurisdiction of their men. If this is accurate, it follows that either male Travellers are God-fearing to the extent that they are loath to question any pursuit attached to the idea of 'God', or that they are aware of and in agreement with this tactic to enable women to pursue their interests whilst upholding 'Traveller ways'. No other mention was made of God in any context, which leads me to consider that Shona used this 'God-fearing' approach as a way of subverting formal structures, explained by Levinson & Sparkes (2006) and discussed in sub-section 2.4.4. Applying this attitude would also negate the authority necessary for the successful implementation of policies which Larsen et al. (2019) explain act as a "societal security system" against the "risk that excluded individuals in modern society represent" (p1057) (see section 2.8). In this way, this Traveller attitude subverts the formal structures of the majority society too. Calling on a higher power enables Travellers to justify their actions when they do not conform to the expectations imposed onto them by (the policies sanctioned by) the majority society (see section 2.5). I discuss the concepts of navigating boundaries, referring specifically to the relationship between the Traveller families and East Coast High school as examples from the Traveller community and the establishment, in section 7.5. There are similarities between their management of the relationship with authority figures in both that example and this, of Traveller women and their men. I suggest that both are examples of asserting power to ensure a particular outcome.

5.6 Summary - The Commonality

What I have termed the "Commonality" is in essence what the Traveller families referred to as the "Traveller ways" - expectations and behaviours which shape their identity and perpetuate their belongingness to the Traveller community - arising from heritage, built on resilience and almost fluid in both metaphorical and literal terms (see sub-section 5.1.1). They are

perpetuated by Traveller women - “the Romany women who had brought me up – my mum; her mother, Gran; and Gran’s mother, Nan” (Le Bas 2018). Traveller ways enable Travellers to manage the type and extent of intrusion and obtrusion of the community, preserving its dynamism and integrity.

This chapter discussed the commonality amongst the Traveller families at East Coast High school. Two key concepts arising from deeper analysis are addressed in the following discussion chapters. The first considers the nature of disclosing or withholding meaning, the purpose and repercussions of this, “Strategic Ignorance”, which I move on to next. The second examines the concept of inclusion, and how desirable and feasible it is. It becomes my final discussion chapter, “The Inclusion Paradox”.

Chapter 6. Strategic Ignorance: Not Saying What They Mean vs Not Meaning What They Say

6.1 Introduction

This chapter examines omissions and inconsistencies. It recognises that omissions are deliberate and examines their purpose and significance. Inconsistencies which emerge are explored, and the questions arising from them are discussed.

Unpicking the hidden meaning in many of the interactions I have had as my research has progressed has led me to two conclusions - people do not always say what they mean and do not always mean what they say. I refer specifically to 'people' because the phenomenon is common both for the Traveller families and those personnel connected to East Coast High school, irrespective of the capacity of the connection. The two concepts overlap and become entangled but there are subtle, yet significant differences between them. Not saying what one means implies a deliberate act, while not meaning what one says indicates a more subtle, manipulative tactic. I discuss the idea of 'not saying what they mean' followed by 'not meaning what they say', I have found far more evidence of the latter. In both instances I first discuss the Traveller families who are at the heart of my research followed by the school, represented by those who participated in my research.

6.2 Not Saying What They Mean; From Duplicity to Prevarication

'Not saying what they mean', whether literally or metaphorically, infers being consistently unable or unwilling to engage with something with integrity. In this research it involves claiming ignorance to enable deflection or avoidance of the issue at hand, both from Traveller and school perspective. Whether the inability in each case is borne of lack of ability or lack of will is somewhat ambiguous and remains open for interpretation. The intention determines whether the behaviour is considered duplicitous, an act of deliberate misleading, or prevarication, an act of evasion. In each case, contradictions and inconsistencies are exposed and give rise to questions around the purpose of the behaviour exhibited and the benefit to the individual of acting in this way.

6.3 Traveller Families

6.3.1 Casualties of Bureaucracy

Perhaps the most confounding example of the Traveller families not saying what they mean is in their response to the school admission forms, the information on which is required to be updated annually. As discussed in sub-section 5.3.4, before this study highlighted the anomaly, the forms only gave the option of declaring Traveller ethnicity as "Gypsy/Roma". Douggie Jr. in particular is hideously offended by being called "Gypsy". Yet his family have

never actively questioned their being funnelled into this 'best-fit' choice for the purpose of the paperwork. While it is known that Douggie's family particularly struggle with literacy, they are also known to allow the site manager to help with documents such as this. So why was this not raised by them? And why did Davinia's family, who were also involved in the work around the transition to the new high school, not talk of the mis-labelling on the form? It is also pertinent to point out here that this expectation contradicts the hope expressed by Ajegbo et al. (2007) that schools challenge perceptions by their "ethos" and "work with communities" (p16) (see sub-section 2.3.3). I suggest that to the contrary, this perpetuates Skey's (2011) "'common sense' assumptions" which "enable us - to categorise" (p6) – in this case incorrectly - ethnicity (see sub-section 2.3.2).

In fact, the form in question did have an option of "other" with a space to specify, so there was a means of declaring their children's ethnicity as "Traveller", albeit in what is arguably an unsatisfactory way. This option has never been taken by any of the Traveller families, including by Christie who works in a school. Why might this be the case? An academic response to this issue is the insistence that "from a sociological standpoint it is as important to account for the absence of ethnic identification as for its presence" (Banton 2011, p193). Accounting for problems that arise with both absence and presence must remain a commitment of social research. Tremlett (2014) discusses the difficulties that come with the term 'ethnicity' – "the emphasis on ethnicity becomes an over-focus on certain individual and group traits, leading to a limited, fixed 'billiard ball' approach to multiculturalism that places people in separate spheres that they can rarely keep to in everyday life" (p835). In this sense, ticking the box 'Roma/Gypsy' on the form means acquiescing with a mis-recognition of the individual or group by the authorities. Douggie Jr.'s frustration with this sort of encounter is evident, even as no one has objected to it with the school itself. Why might this be so? Modood (1992) explains "for members of minorities, individual self-esteem critically hangs upon group dignity and group status (p5). And yet, in Spain, Padilla et al. (2017) notice a different response at times – a '*laissez-faire*' attitude, where "they neither deny nor openly proclaim their identity" (p200). There may be many reasons for this prevarication. As a Traveller explained at the Gypsy, Roma and Traveller Education Conference, the reluctance to declare oneself and one's family as 'Gypsy', 'Roma' or 'Traveller' can stem from the memory of Hitler's insistence that ethnicity was assigned with clarity, "and look where that led" (UEA 16/06/2017). History's lesson seems to be that to be made visible, to be identified in plain sight has not benefitted Traveller communities. Hence there is good reason to prevaricate, obfuscate or even tick the wrongly named box on an institutional form. Perhaps there is also a

weariness with having to explain one's identity, or a resistance to offering one's accurate identity 'on a plate', to organisations that do not show particular interest in the accurate naming of groups. O'Nions (2010) points to the issues that subsequently arise and were highlighted by the British Traveller Education service: "The denial of personal identity may be an understandable coping strategy for many Gypsy/Roma pupils (Hancock 1997) but it represents a considerable problem when trying to redress prejudice and develop respect for difference" (p7). I also wonder if a denial of being named or named accurately also contributes to the disappearing sense of self, discussed in section 7.7.

If this is strategic ignorance on the part of the families or East Coast High school, what do they gain from choosing to ignore the issue? The school's Equalities Policy states the intention to "prepare[s] pupils for life in a diverse society and uses opportunities to reflect the background and experience of pupils and families in the school" (see section 4.1). How can it make this claim whilst failing even to acknowledge the ethnicity of a particular group within its community? The interplay between the school and families is at the heart of this thesis which highlights questions that remain unanswerable at this juncture. However, the illumination of these complex relationships provides a potential focus for future research; there remains much to be uncovered.

6.3.2 A Denial of Having Accessibility and the Act of Remaining Ignorant

A lack of clarity arises when considering the families' practical ability to access communication with the school. While it is reported that there is limited internet access on the site, there is internet access at the site office. Additionally, Mary-Ann's family has at least one smart phone, as Shona used it during one of our meetings to find the address of a dance club I had recommended to her. Shona's denial of having received letters or communication from the school could stem from her reluctance to have contact - "I don't have nothing to do with the school" - rather than the inability to access communication via the internet. Douggie and Evie's denial of receiving email from East Coast High school may be more accurate, either in terms of their online access, or due to their struggles with literacy. Christie, who purports to feeling included in the school as a Traveller parent "but only because I am willing to be involved", reports receiving letters or email from the school "all the time", while Raymond and Rosa agree that they receive letters and email and state that they consider the school website to be "very good". Accessibility to information could arguably be more difficult or expensive for the Traveller families than for other families with children at East Coast High school, internet access via mobile phones is more costly and less reliable than that via a broadband contract. It appears that it is also carefully managed by the families in line with the extent to

which they wish to be involved in the school and aware of its 'goings-on', a way of managing their level of belonging (see section 2.8) to the school community, giving rise to my suggestion that this is an example of metaphorically not saying what they mean.

This discussion relates also to the role of the school, again in a metaphorical sense. Minutes from the meeting of the Temporary Governing Body two months prior to the opening of East Coast High school state that a governor "asked about the provision for parents who were unable to read or access the [web]site. HT[69] confirmed that the VLE[70] would be only part of the school's communication with parents and other means would be provided to deal with the issues raised." Further it states "HT had visited the traveller (sic) site […] and confirmed that internet access was available." While there are BT lines in place to each of the pitches, the site manager reports that "a few" have used them to access internet provision, "most" have not. The Head Teacher's reassurance regarding the availability of internet access on the site was strictly correct but realistically somewhat optimistic. Could this be interpreted as obfuscation, metaphorically representative of someone not saying what they mean? Portraying the availability of internet access in this way could enable the Head Teacher to satisfy the governors, the Local Authority and possibly himself that provision for the Traveller families by East Coast High school is good, but this is at odds with the inclusion of the Traveller families. What is the cost to the belongingness of the Traveller families? (see 2.8). And what effect in turn would that have on the Traveller young people's perception of their citizenship if, as Deuchar and Bhopal (2013) state, citizenship is about belonging, which in turn educates about rights and responsibilities, and active participation? (see 2.7). I talked in section 5.5 of the way in which the Traveller families may subvert the formal structures of the majority society. I suggest that they are repeatedly subject to indicators that they are not true 'citizens', which calls to question the majority society's expectation that they behave as if they are. In this instance, the Head Teacher is accountable to the school governing body and Local Authority. It is pertinent to consider why he felt the need to appease the authorities in this way; their stance, whether actively supportive of the Traveller families or not, would arguably have bearing on his responses. How easily they were appeased by the answers recorded in the minutes is unclear. There is no record of deeper questioning of the Head Teacher around the subject, suggesting they were satisfied.

[69] Head Teacher.
[70] Virtual Learning Environment.

6.4 Founding Governors and the Senior Leadership Team

6.4.1 Differences in Perceived Awareness and Acknowledgement of the Traveller Cohort

Stark contradiction arises in the self-ascribed level of awareness of the Traveller cohort amongst founding governors and Senior Leadership Team (SLT) of East Coast High school. Despite the Chair of Governors (CoG) being recorded as having been present at meetings where discussions including issues specific to the Traveller cohort were cited, he positions himself as unaware of them. When asked how the Traveller community was considered when setting up the school, he responded "this was not known to governors as the location of the school was decided by the [East Coast] County Council". It is unclear whether this response represents a purposeful misinterpretation of the question, moving the focus from how the (known) Traveller community were considered by founders of East Coast High school to whether the Traveller community geographically fell into the school's catchment area. East Coast High school's Accessibility Policy talks of planning to "ensure needs of all our pupils are met" (see section 4.1). What would be the purpose of "glossing over" the school's responsibility for the Traveller young people in its cohort, what is being hidden or gained by failing to address the question as it is posed? The National Governance Association states "school governors provide strategic leadership and accountability in schools" (Nga.org.uk, 2018) which suggests a requirement that the demography of the catchment and actual cohort is understood, yet in answering my first question "**When setting up the school, were you aware of the demography of the catchment?**" the CoG answered "no". Opportunities were given to highlight consideration given to the Traveller community in particular during the development of the new school. I probed more deeply, asking how the Traveller young people were considered when establishing the curriculum. The school's Equalities Policy states "the curriculum prepares pupils for life in a diverse society and uses opportunities to reflect the background and experience of pupils and families in the school" (see section 4.1), yet the CoG replied "I don't think this was taken into account when setting up the school". Why claim not to be able to fulfil a specific requirement of the position of responsibility held, when presumably this leaves one open to criticism of incompetence? As discussed in sub-section 2.4.1 Bhopal (2011) reports British parents "boycotting schools where Traveller children attend" (p319), and in the US "the *racial white flight hypothesis*[71] continues to recognize whites' racially motivated preferences against, and departure from, integrated neighborhoods" (Kye 2018, p38). I suggest that failing to acknowledge the Traveller young people in the school cohort could be viewed as a means of masking their existence to prevent

[71] Emphasis in original.

that potential outcome for the school. Additionally, Rossiter (2010) reports that Traveller children in England "usually attend schools with lower than average rates of achievement" (p34), a perception at odds with the desire explained by the Deputy Head Teacher (DHT) to "prove wrong the stereotype that East Coast Town pupils and schools were not as high achieving or aspirational as other pupils in the county". Ahmed (2007) claims "The institutionalization of whiteness involves work" (p157), further, "institutions too involve orientation devices, which keep things in place" (p158). Ahmed explains "orientations are about starting points" (p150) and "how we proceed from here" (p151). This starting point is a denial of existence, there is nowhere to proceed, by failing to acknowledge these students from the start the CoG has abdicated any responsibility for their "unfolding" (p151), their safe and productive passage through the school. This failure to facilitate inclusion again raises concerns around the belongingness of the Traveller young people at the school (see section 2.8). Concurrently this attitude is being 'set' for the school, if "we can also consider 'institutions' as orientation devices, which take the shape of 'what' resides within them" (p157), it follows that this failure to acknowledge the Traveller families becomes the prevailing attitude.

Minutes of meetings held during the planning stages of the school detail discussions over the arrangements for the Traveller young people's transport to school and access to the internet. However, there are statements made by both founding governors and SLT claiming that there were no Traveller young people in the first cohort. In fact, there were two Traveller young people who would attend the new school upon its opening, and it was known that there would be younger children from those and other families joining the school within each of the four years it would take for the new school to reach capacity. The lack of awareness of these young people joining the school community causes me to question the validity of the Community Cohesion Policy, which centres on 'community' as a "core value […] based on principles of trust, and respect for local diversity" (see section 4.1), reflecting Ajegbo et al.'s (2007) recommendations (see sub-section 2.3.3). The Enrichment Coordinator (EC) stated "there were no Traveller children in the first year", her initial confidence followed by apparently questioning her immediate response, "I wasn't aware of any – only of who was at the school" and consequently reassuring herself "there were no Travellers at the school. (Assistant Head Teacher - Pastoral (AHTP)) would have made me aware". A lack of conviction through this sequence of responses exemplifies a lack of concern. A founding governor similarly states "I wasn't aware of a significant travellers (sic) population in the East Coast Town despite, being a governor and member of the community so don't have a strong view on, or knowledge of their

issues" - a somewhat dismissive view of the Traveller community considering the trust placed in, and accountability expected of, members of the governing body. It reinforces Bhopal's (2011) finding that Travellers in the UK remain physically and metaphorically on the fringes of society, "located out of the way, off main roads not quite visible to everyday life" (p325).

Awareness of the Traveller families at East Coast High school amongst staff is seemingly split dependent on role. If this is common to other institutions, it indicates the prevalence of integration – in ethos and in practice – rather than inclusion (see sections 2.3 and 2.8). As the responsibility for integration lies with the minority, in their willingness and ability to 'fit in', it absolves others (from the majority society) from engaging with it – and even from acknowledging them as individuals from minority groups. Personnel with specific responsibility for pastoral care, particularly for the Traveller young people, reported being actively engaged with the families prior to the opening of the school. These personnel include the HT, Assistant Head Teacher - Pastoral (AHTP), Special Educational Needs and Disabilities Coordinator (SENDCO)[72], Special Educational Needs and Disabilities Manager (SENDM), link governor and other governors. Some of those with other non-pastoral responsibilities, such as the Assistant Head Teacher – Data (AHTD), and other governors including the CoG were less aware of the demography of the cohort and particularly of the Traveller families. It must be noted that the EC who claimed that "there are no Travellers" is the wife of the AHTD and otherwise has no connections to East Coast High school, she was employed to coordinate the enrichment programme at the school's inception and for its first year but has never been a member of staff. Why the AHTD, who came from a similar role in another high school in the town, has no knowledge of the Traveller cohort is unclear, particularly given the description of the detailed explanations of the demography presented by the Local Authority and discussed by a founding governor. Does the small size of the (Traveller) group diminish their importance in terms of school data? If so it is somewhat alarming given the national attendance, exclusion and attainment statistics in relation to Traveller young people discussed in section 2.4. It would be interesting to know which groups in particular the AHTD focusses his attention on. It seems the focus of the individual's primary role affects their perception of the school community. This potentially has wide-reaching implications for this and similar establishments. It presents an opportunity for future research. It also becomes a challenge for education institutions in achieving 'buy-in' of staff (or governors) in employing strategies facilitating inclusion, particularly when it will require extra funding or time.

[72] The SENDCO is also Head of the Inclusion faculty.

The AHTD raised the concern “Maybe communication across the school could be lacking. Whatever came in may not have got across the school to help the kids (i.e. information gained from the AHTP and the SENDCO was kept close, not really shared)”. Why would those personnel charged with the pastoral wellbeing and successful transition of the Traveller cohort withhold information directly regarding the young people? To gain kudos by positioning themselves as the ‘experts’ with regard to the Traveller families, either to their colleagues or to the families themselves? Is there anything else to gain from the withholding of information specific to the Traveller families? As a member of school staff, I struggle to find any potential gain.

A different picture emerges with regard to support staff, the pattern seen is that their awareness of the Traveller cohort was at its highest at the start of the school and has reduced since, which supports the comment made by the founding SENDCO that “the Traveller community were taken into consideration in the setting up of the school by my Inclusion faculty but perhaps not so thoroughly by the whole staff” (appendix xxiv). This again raises questions around the communication of information throughout the school. Were support staff who would work directly with the Traveller families privy to information not made available to others at East Coast High school in the way described by the AHTD? Considering the tone of the responses to this question I wonder whether the Traveller young people may have become casualties of in-house politics or personality clashes. Conversely, the information may have been widely shared but differently received. Did some recipients of the information fail to engage with it? It is possible that those who claim to not being aware of the Traveller families within the school cohort, and those who claim to have been aware and to have shared information to that end, are examples of individuals deliberately not saying what they mean? If so, what is the purpose of their strategic ignorance?

6.5 Not Meaning What they Say: Appeasement and Conciliation

‘Not meaning what they say’ refers to using appeasement as a way of satisfying external demands. As with ‘not saying what they mean’, ‘not meaning what they say’ demonstrates strategic ignorance but from a more conciliatory perspective. In this research it involves the use of polite or benign gestures, apparently to placate. ‘Not meaning what they say’ is seen more commonly both amongst the Traveller families and the school than ‘not saying what they mean’, indicating a desire either to appear reasonable or to appear to ‘toe the line’.

6.6 Traveller Families

6.6.1 "Actions Speak Louder than Words"

There have been occasions, both as part of my research and as part of my wider role as East Coast High school's liaison with the Traveller families, when I have extended invitations to the families. Whenever the need arises for a meeting with any of the families, I invite them into school but also give the option of my going to meet with them at the site. The latter option has been chosen without fail, for meetings ranging from summaries of (unattended) parent's evenings to discussions around the appropriateness of the demands of the curriculum for Douggie Jr., whose Special Educational Needs cause him atypical challenges.

I invited all of the families for an informal gathering after school hours towards the end of the academic year during which I had spent much time with the families in the course of my research. The invitation was verbal and informal, I let it be known that all families of Traveller young people who attend East Coast High school would be invited and that there would be no expectation placed upon the families, it would simply be a chance for them to have a look around the new building when there would be few others around. I explained the disabled access at the school particularly for Davinia's family, her sister would be unable to negotiate the stairs but there is lift access[73]. All four families politely accepted my invitation, Douggie Sr asked for me to telephone him to remind him of the invitation the day before the planned visit, as is his common practice. On the day no one came, which made me wonder whether there was any intention to accept my invitation, whether they discussed it amongst themselves as families or with other families, and whether my position as a teacher at East Coast High school made it impossible for the families to decline my invitation. Did the families choose not to come because of a lack of a sense of belonging to the school community, or to preserve control over their level of belongingness? Or, as I explored in section 2.8 and sub-section 5.3.5, does increased belonging to the school community put the Traveller families at risk of excluding themselves from their Traveller community?

Toward the end of the following academic year I asked all of the Traveller young people if they would like to celebrate Traveller History month at school. I offered suggestions ranging from a low-key display to a campaign including an assembly, the possibility of visiting speakers and a stand at school offering information. I explained that I would be as involved or removed as the young people would like; I gave them a completely open invitation to celebrate in any way and with as little or as much of their own input as they wanted. Again, their polite acceptance and

[73] East Coast High school's Accessibility Policy is discussed in section 4.1.

assurances that they would discuss the idea amongst themselves and let me know what they wanted yielded nothing. They completely evaded both celebrating Traveller History month and letting me know that they would rather not celebrate at school. There are two factors to consider, the first is why the young people did not want to celebrate Traveller History month. There have historically been serious consequences to Travellers declaring their ethnicity, both *en masse* as was required by Hitler during the Second World War and on a small, local scale. While some Travellers clearly want to celebrate their heritage some, such as those at East Coast High school, either do not want to or do not feel able to. In retrospect, the scope of my open invitation may have been inhibitory in its lack of structure, or the 'tokenistic' nature of a history month may have jarred. In fact, rather than being a 'token', this celebration should have been exemplary of an ethos which shows "appreciation of the wide range of cultural influences that have shaped their own heritage" (SMSC Policy), another way to "reflect the background and experience of pupils and families in the school" (Equalities Policy) if the school's policies (see section 4.1) were effective in practice. The second factor is the evasive manner of their refusal. It is feasible that it is more difficult for young people to decline my suggestion given my status as a teacher at East Coast High school however explicit I tried to be that their refusal would not offend. This, and any unintentional harm caused by my research are discussed further in section 8.4.

Shona stated emphatically that she wanted more about Traveller culture to be taught at school (see sub-section 4.3.3), this is a phenomenon reported by O'Nions (2010) following a ruling by the Grand Chamber of the European Court of Human Rights: "States are requested to take urgent measures to train educators, assistants and teachers from among the Roma community and to include Roma culture and history in teaching materials" (p2). By the summer term Mary-Ann's attendance was sporadic, she was not part of the discussions around Traveller History month solely due to the fact that she wasn't present. Shona's stated desire for mainstream education to incorporate education around Traveller culture – a desire for active inclusion - coupled Mary-Ann's removal from the school roll signifies 'not meaning what they say'. It is pertinent to refer here to my discussion in section 2.3 about the difference between 'integration' and 'inclusion' and their meanings for both school and Traveller families, Mary-Ann's inclusion rather than integration may have been a more suitable arrangement for the family. I suggest a way forward in section 8.8.

6.6.2 Maintaining the Status Quo in A 'World of Opportunities'

One of the strengths of East Coast High school is its Careers team who facilitate annual trips to the local Sixth Form College and the College of Further Education for students in year eight, in

preparation for them making their 'options' choices for GCSE. These are timed to complement options information evenings for parents and students, and there have been Careers Roadshows with visiting presenters since the first cohort reached year 11. I used the foci of these roadshows to produce a Careers Information Questionnaire (appendix viii) which became the talking point when discussing careers with the Traveller young people. I encouraged discussion of wider aspirations for adulthood using a 'time machine' concept (appendix xi), described in sub-section 3.6.1. I wanted to elicit responses in respect of tangible foresight rather than fancy.

I discussed in sub-section 5.4.3 how, despite expressing an understanding of some of the depth and breadth of opportunity in terms of career paths, the Traveller young people tended to aspire to occupations traditionally held by Travellers. Aside from Mary-Ann's dream of becoming a dance teacher, and all of the young people's expressed interest in the occupation of tattoo artist, they follow more traditional lines. In conversation the boys both discussed the possibility of working in construction or in gardening, employment patterns seen in their family histories. Levinson (2015) explains "work outside the spectrum of normal Gypsy jobs […] is liable to be viewed as a betrayal of heritage" and Lloyd & McCluskey (2008) describe "a preference for self-employment" (p333) amongst Travellers in the UK. The Traveller young people's family trees (appendix ix) indicate the influence particularly of male occupations. While the concept of 'following in the footsteps' of family in terms of occupation may be seen far more widely than within the Traveller community, it is documented here as a finding of my research in particular.

Jessie and Davinia both talked of wanting to become hairdressers and makeup artists. There is no indication in their family histories that they have relatives who have been hairdressers, however all three girls spoke of spending time with other Traveller girls, often family, and styling each other's hair and makeup. Convery & O'Brien (2012) talk of "distinctive occupational practises (which) emphasise the importance of kinship networks" (p336). Alternatively, this pattern may illustrate the difference between work outside the home which is undertaken by males, and work inside the home which is the preserve of the Traveller women. What is the cause of the perceived lack of desire of the Traveller young people to aspire outside of the 'traditional' despite their assurances otherwise? Does fear of the consequential loss of belonging to – and potential exclusion from - the Traveller community play a part? (see sub-section 5.5.3). And how does the experience of older family members affect the young people today? Shona explained "I didn't go to school, I went to the Prince's

Trust"[74]. The retired Traveller Education Team Leader described Traveller parents' reluctance to send their children to schools in this county where they were "segregated even as recently as 1993; taught at the back of rooms or even in separate blocks", due to the "hostility" they experienced "from the majority community, including many schools". O'Nions (2010) reports Roma pupils in the Czech Republic were "often sent to remedial schools or special classes as an alternative to mainstream" (p1) prior to a ruling by the Grand Chamber of the European Court of Human Rights. They were children who were segregated to "remove those perceived as different from the classroom and eradicate the need to teach and otherwise engage with difference" (p1). It is conceivable that this, at least in part, resulted in "lasting negative consequences for youth: it affects their identity development, creates ethnically biased network of social ties, damages self-esteem" (Tremlett et al 2017, p646), inhibiting Traveller families from pursuing training for a wider range of occupations.

In acknowledging the scope of employment possibilities, yet aspiring to a limited selection of more traditional 'Traveller' occupations, the young people follow the pattern of behaviour exhibited by the families and outlined earlier in the chapter. They politely concur with what they perceive is the expectation and continue to act in their chosen way. Is this a case of not meaning what they say, exerting their autonomy to inconspicuously maintain their 'status quo' without antagonising those who may infer that they know better, representatives of the establishment? I discussed in sub-section 2.4.5 Myers, McGhee & Bhopal's suggestion that there is 'a growing pragmatism' amongst Traveller parents with regard to formal education. I counter that this may be a misconception, that what Myers et al. observed could be another example of Traveller families not meaning what they say, and in doing so enabling themselves to manage their level of belonging both to their schools and their Traveller communities (see section 2.8).

6.7 Founding Governors and the Senior Leadership Team

6.7.1 Benign Gestures

Discussion of the practical considerations around the young people of the Traveller families attending East Coast High school is documented from the planning stages of the new school, at first concerning the requirement for transport for the young people. The resolution was to provide a mini-bus to collect the young people from the site and to return them at the end of the school day. As discussed in sub-section 5.3.2, while apparently providing a solution to the problem of transport this particular arrangement is also divisive; there is only one after-school

[74] Traveller attendance data is discussed in section 4.1.

bus to the site, effectively excluding the Traveller young people both from after-school detentions and also from after-school interventions, enrichment activities, clubs and events. I reiterate here that this arrangement contravenes the school's Community Cohesion Policy, SMSC Policy, and Equalities Policy, discussed in section 4.1. Why, knowing the exclusions to the wider activities of the school that this limited transport offers, does the school leadership consider this arrangement to be adequate for Traveller young people? The bus pass system for these young people also precludes the possibility of their having friends transported to the site (a factor discussed in sub-section 5.3.2). This is different to the other bus users from the school who have a pass to use public transport, a more flexible arrangement. I suggest that the difference between the provision for the Traveller young people and the provision for all of the others signals a benign gesture, designed with the aim of fulfilling a requirement placed upon the school rather than facilitating the inclusion of the Traveller young people to all aspects of the wider school. In fact, the transport arrangements as described actively excludes the Traveller young people.

During the planning stages of the school the other reference to access for the Traveller families concerned their access to ICT. In this chapter the point of focus is on the suggestion put forward by the link governor to the Traveller families, which was upheld, that the school endorse the "Free Computers for Families" scheme. At the start of the new school the website stated:

> "Recycle-pc is a local organisation which will provide computers or laptops to a range of people. If you do not have a family computer, recycle-pc can provide you with one for free. If you do already have one but think that you need one for your son or daughter to access the internet, do homework or help them in school, recycle-pc will provide a second computer for £25. If you are eligible for this offer, then please click on the logo above and apply on line. If you need help with this, please contact the school."

This offer formed part of the "News" page at the beginning of the first term at the school, and while it has remained on the website (April 2016) it has never been re-posted or given any greater prominence, necessitating actively seeking the information in order to find it. To be able to access the promotion requires the ability both to access, and navigate, the school website. This, in itself, is potentially prohibited by the lack of the technology being offered. Accessibility to the offer may be compromised by the inability to read the information, which leads again to an invitation to "contact the school", creating another barrier for some Traveller

families. This is an example of Bourdieu's "Social Reproduction Theory" which Cilesz & Drotos (2014) describe as "a social structure reproduced through social institutions [which] […] impedes change, limits social mobility […] and reinforces distinctions" (p6). Having raised the possibility that some families, in particular Traveller families may need help to access ICT equipment and proposed a possible solution, it is unclear whether the link governor considered the job to have been done. Did she not recognise the barriers to accessing the scheme she proposed when it was advertised in the way described? Why was there no follow-up, either by the governor concerned, by other members of the governing body, or the SLT?

The inaccessibility of the offer to those who most need it, potentially the Traveller families in this case, impedes the change that internet access would facilitate, whether it be in accessibility to information distributed by and about the school or any other benefit from being 'online'. It is contradictory to the school's SMSC Policy (see section 4.1) which advocates student participation "in a variety of communities and social settings". Additionally, the potential for the school to consider itself to have offered accessibility to the internet and so to apportion blame for inaccessibility to those who did not take up the offer is dangerous. It represents a neo-liberal tactic of shifting of responsibility for being without a service, the internet, onto those unable to access it. I further suggest that benign gestures result in Gkofa's 'associational injustice', "related to the matters of power and representation […] that is, the absence of patterns of association amongst individuals and amongst social groups which prevent some people from participating fully in decisions which affect the conditions within which they live and act" (Gkofa 2017, p446).

Along with these specific issues relating to practical considerations surrounding the accessibility of the school, there is much to be discussed of the school's claim to be "emboldened and strengthened by our diversity"[75]. Statistically the school is not ethnically diverse, it was not at all diverse during the time that data was collected and is barely more so now. Aside from the Traveller young people there have been a handful of students each year who hail from ethnic minority families. There are currently three, Davinia's (Asian) friend, and two refugees, one of whom has lived in the country for ten years and one who has been here for less than a year. As a comparison the next town along the coast is described as such: "Around 1,170 school children have a first language other than English, speaking around 50 languages, with Portuguese being the most common" (East Coast Insight, 2015). The numbers

[75] I note here that the Community Cohesion Policy discussed in section 4.1 refers directly to "local diversity".

of Traveller young people at East Coast High school have ranged between four and six for each of the academic years during which this research has taken place, and only 37.5% of the staff survey respondents recognised the Traveller cohort as an ethnic minority (appendix xxiv). Why claim to be "emboldened and strengthened by our diversity"? It appears that this another benign statement made to satisfy the requirements of the local authority, another 'box-ticking' exercise, a symptom, perhaps, of "inclusion political agendas promising too much" (Armstrong, Armstrong & Spandagou, 2011 in Larsen et al. 2019, p1049-1050) (see section 2.8) - to the extent that school cannot meaningfully engage with its ideal. Or perhaps it is simply 'overambitious leadership and governance' (see section 2.8). Other examples of diversity are seen, in the diversity in sexuality and transgender nature of students. There is also a higher than average influx of students with recognised specific needs throughout each academic year. However, when this claim was cited as part of the research (appendix xxv), it incited incredulity amongst some of the respondents, including members of the founding SLT who asked "Where is the diversity? We're not!" Aside from the limited ethnic diversity in the school community, this study has shown that the ethnic diversity that *is* presented is not visibly named, recognised or supported at East Coast High school.

6.8 "Not Saying What They Mean", "Not Meaning What They Say" and the Nuance Emanating from Power Relations

The significance of the subtle differences in 'not saying what they mean' compared to 'not meaning what they say' lies in the power relationships at play. 'Not meaning what they say' is to meet the expectations of those in a position of apparent power relative to the actor - a dynamic common in all examples of 'not meaning what they say'. It is different from examples discussed in 'not saying what they mean', where the power dynamics are less concrete and the actors appear more ready to assert themselves. Appeasement and conciliation present as submissive acts, apparently conforming to the prevailing power dynamic in the relationship whilst enabling the actor to preserve their particular intention. That there are notably more examples of this phenomenon, both amongst the Traveller families and those representing the establishment, gives an indication of the relative extent of the influence of power relations on behaviour. That the objective of the actor is maintained regardless of the position (and relative power) of the actor casts doubt over the rigor of that power, this behaviour does not instigate change. Are all of the players masquerading so as not to 'upset the applecart', to prevent the script which is being followed from descending into chaos? What do all parties stand to gain by perpetuating the pretence? This idea is amplified in the discussion in chapter 7.

6.9 Summary – Making Sense of What Wasn't Said

Inconsistencies were more apparent than omissions in the responses from the founding governors and SLT at East Coast High school. I suggest that both these and the appeasement used by the Traveller families in their measured disclosure were designed to prevent addressing the bigger issue, both in wider society and within the local and school community; inclusion.

This chapter treated the inconsistencies, omissions and appeasement behaviours seen in the research as data. Doing so became a turning point in my analysis. It highlighted 'inclusion' as the underlying issue. This led me to question why the Traveller families and representatives of East Coast High school seemingly share the common aim of avoiding addressing the inconsistencies around inclusion, leading to my final discussion chapter, "The Inclusion Paradox".

Chapter 7. The Inclusion Paradox

7.1 Introduction

'Inclusion' is the core of this thesis. This chapter focuses specifically on this concept. It starts with discussion of the concept of freedom, comparing its meaning to the majority society to its meaning for Travellers. It moves on to examine how rapidly changing political and socio-economic factors affect the Travelling community. It also shows how inclusion is something of a shape-shifting device and used differently at different times by the parties.

The ideals of freedom to travel and freedom to educate at home are two instances where majority communities are held to different standards compared to Traveller communities. This chapter examines them. It discusses changing economic patterns of work and how Traveller communities are affected by them. This chapter highlights these changing contexts along with deeper values as part of the reason for the complex relationships between the two parties. Therefore, inclusion as a concept and as a practice does not always share a common meaning.

Questions I asked the founding governors and senior leaders along with current staff focussed on their level of awareness of the Traveller young people in the school intake, their attitude toward them as a minority group, and any particular adjustments made to accommodate them. Discord arose around a particular phrase used by the school leadership - that "we are emboldened and strengthened by our diversity as a school" (East Coast High school website, 2016). What also emerged from the data was the sense of a 'waggle-dance' between Travellers and the establishment in which both parties apparently ascribe to the notion of inclusion but from their distinct perspectives, perspectives which are influenced by the balance of power they hold in this particular relationship. What for the Travellers may be a necessity for survival in the environment may hold much less importance for representatives of the establishment. Banton (2011) describes the reciprocal nature of relationships; "differential behaviour can occur only within a social relationship. The two parties have expectations of one another. Each party adjusts his or her expectations to take account of signals about the other party's expectations. Even if only two persons are present, each will be aware of the expectations of other members of the categories involved. They negotiate the basis on which to interact. If one party will not accept the other's presentation of self, the negotiation fails" (p190). Roles are defined, acted and redefined in social relationships according to the behaviour of the other(s). Travellers negotiate 'push and pull' factors in the terms of their wider inclusion into majority society. This includes negotiations amongst their families. I discuss later the push and pull involved in navigating perpetually changing boundaries in the

relationship that is Traveller inclusion at East Coast High school. In continuing to attend East Coast High school the Traveller families demonstrate a level of agreement to acting their part, albeit this may stem from necessity rather than choice, perpetuating the imbalance of power. More than this, the inevitable fluidity of those roles incites constant renegotiation of power and expectations. This interplay is the crux of this research.

Data from many aspects points to the enigmatic nature of inclusion. The constant renegotiation of roles enables actors from all angles to perpetuate its obscurity. All parties continue to act in their particular way to secure a pre-determined response without interacting meaningfully with others involved, engendered by what I call "The Inclusion Paradox". I suggest that the paradoxical nature of behaviour makes it impossible to gain a true representation of the attitudes of the actors involved towards the concept of inclusion. I explain my position in section 8.3 and suggest how to move forward in section 8.8.

7.2 The Skewed Lens (i): Mobility and Movement

Freedom of movement may be an acceptable civil right in theory, although often disputed in practice. Movement is both a personal construct and a dynamic concept. It can mean moving freely around one's home town or moving between countries or continents. The reasons for moving and type of movement are constantly changing, both individually and *en masse*, affected directly by the prevailing political and socio-economic environment. Types of movement are regarded very differently both by those in power, discussed in relation to Travellers in section 2.5, and by those reporting it.

Exploratory and recreational travel are highly regarded in British society. Recreational travel within Great Britain is crucial to the economies of many parts of the country ranging from major cities to the smaller seaside resorts of which East Coast Town is a typical example. Technological advances have evolved approaches to travel but not diminished its appeal. Social media has become a platform upon which stories of families who have chosen to sell their belongings and travel the world are celebrated. Uk.businessinsider.com reports a "couple get paid up to £7000 per instagram post" explaining "the young couple live an incredible life travelling the world, while earning six-figure salaries promoting brands and locations through their photo feeds" (Fitzmaurice, 2017). To 'broaden one's horizons' is perceived as improving upon oneself, becoming a better person for having made the effort to experience the wider world. To do so perpetually, to make this exploration a permanent life choice is to reach the pinnacle of this ideology.

Traveller travel, however, is derided. Governmental disapproval at all levels is seen in the intolerance of Travellers 'on the move'. As detailed in the section 2.5 the revocation of Traveller rights to 'pitch-up' on common land and at the side of the road, a lack of local authority-provided sedentary pitches, and the refusal of planning permission for Travellers to pitch on their own land, permission for which can only be granted retrospective to buying the land, demonstrate this. High-profile litigation culminating in the forced removal of Travellers from their own land by the demolition of the site and reported by hostile media inflame all parties, culminating in widely-reported social unrest. Concurrently and consequently, Traveller culture has become increasingly removed from the act of travelling, at least of permanent and persistent movement. Traveller journalist and writer Damian Le Bas Jr. reminisces "there were caravans that we sometimes lived in and out of […] we never considered this odd, even though we had a big house on the land that my grandad had built with his men […] the hard stuff of motion was everywhere, although we were settled […] we had a name for ourselves: Travellers. In our case, it didn't just mean anyone who travelled around, regardless of their race: to us it meant our people specifically, the Romanies of Britain" (2018). The 'common sense assumption' (see section 2.8) that all Travellers are permanently on the move is a widely-held misconception, however the ability of Travellers to travel when they want to has been eroded, their historical cultural mobility curtailed.

How can this disparity in core beliefs around the freedom to travel be reconciled? Why is the act of travel perceived as embracing the ultimate liberal freedom for the majority population but denigrated to the level of nuisance for this minority? Damian Le Bas Jr. muses the "bizarre contradiction of Britain's love affair with caravanning, camping and glamping, and its hatred of those who were born to this life" (2018). Travellers have, for many generations, engaged in the ideal craved by neo-liberalism – the removal of barriers, the freedom of movement. An indication of the inconsistency of attitude around travel may be found in popular media. Hadziavdic & Hoffman (2017) discuss the underlying threat in the portrayal of Gypsies in film, "their representation as 'placeless'" perpetuating the notion that this makes them likely to steal, and escalating from that to committing the most heinous of crimes, children are stolen by "'gypsies' on the move" (p706). Demonising Gypsies, 'othering' them, enables the majority population (in this case, in the US) to absolve themselves as a group from such atrocities. "By describing them as 'bound to nature' and on the move, the opposite position of belonging to a culture and living in stability and being civilised is a proxy for self-description" (Hadziavdic & Hoffman 2017, p706). If Gypsies are guilty of crimes we, the majority population, by default, are the victims of these crimes. On a political scale, "in dire economic conditions the state is

poised to protect its 'true' citizens from 'episodic intruders', such as immigrants, and unwanted others, such as the Roma" (Themelis 2016, p447). I discussed in section 2.5 the political attitude and influence on the perception of the Travelling community to the majority society.

Ahmed (2007) postulates "if whiteness allows bodies to move with comfort through space, and to inhabit the world as if it were home, then those bodies take up more space. Such bodies are shaped by motility, *and may even take the shape of that motility*"[76] (p159). Put into the context of Travellers and travel, this suggests that the majority society has claimed the act of travelling for and by itself. Does the disparity arise because, for settled communities, caravanning is a leisure activity from which they can retreat to stable lifestyles? While for Travellers this is their main way of life, diminishing its value? It is incongruous how the majority society refuses to be associated with, much less aspire to 'Traveller ways' despite the desire to participate in the act of travel. This presents another example of the power differential discussed earlier.

7.3 The Skewed Lens (ii): Education

Another trend in neo-liberal Britain is for particular parents to opt to remove their children from the education system, referred to as a "white exodus that is primarily motivated by socioeconomic concerns" (Kye 2018, p38). Arising from political and economic changes, this has been seen increasingly following the downturn of fortune amongst some families, representative of 'middle England', causing financial difficulties and culminating in them being unable to afford the private education their children previously enjoyed. I suggest that Skey's (2011) observation, that the majority society see themselves as "occupiers to the centre of national space and culture" (p31) (see sub-section 2.3.2), can be extrapolated to explain the negative effect for this 'middle-class' group, both on their belongingness to their previously-held groups of contemporaries, and on their sense of identity. But, while the symptoms of being pushed out of their preciously-held positions in this way may be the same as for the Traveller minority who also struggle to remain at school, the outcome is very different.

Traveller parents have a history of home-schooling their children, an example is seen in this research with Mary-Ann being removed from the school roll to be home-schooled. It appears that it is perceived as more acceptable for a middle-class family to home-school their children than a Traveller family. But if middle-class families have reason to doubt the ability of mainstream schools to provide the education they seek for their children (which is what is

[76] Emphasis in original.

suggested when they choose to home-school their children), does the same not apply to Traveller families? Middle-class families who choose to home-school their children are celebrated in high street magazines such as 'The Green Parent' and 'Juno', and home-schooling is actively promoted in articles such as "10 good reasons to home school your child" (Barbieri, 2016). My first-hand experience, albeit only at a small number of schools in the vicinity of East Coast Town, is that Travellers are not afforded the same celebratory attitude for choosing to home-school their children. Yet Traveller young people are almost twice as likely to be subject to at least one fixed term exclusion from school (see section 2.4), indicating either a difficulty in behaving within what are deemed acceptable boundaries by schools, or blatant discrimination. Such difficulties, which are manifested in the relationship between Traveller families and schools, are likely to increase the likelihood of withdrawal from formal education.

So what is behind this difference in attitude of the state, the media or individuals to these two groups who are essentially doing the same, albeit with different foci? I suggest the education system could learn from both groups by striving to establish what in particular is causing them to move from formal education. As a leader at a high school, I am conscious of prevalent fears for the safeguarding of children who are removed from education, and who consequently are considered to be at risk of 'disappearing'. The concept is part of the statutory 'Safeguarding' training undertaken by all school staff bi-annually. Is it assumed that Traveller children removed from a school roll are more 'at risk' than middle-class children from the majority population who are no longer visible? If so, why is this?

Both of the 'Skewed Lens' discussions hail from "subtleties of representation and interpretation" where the "axis of meaning" is "crucially where preconceptions are either challenged or confirmed" (Baker 2017, p748). The source of the 'skewed lens' must be considered. Themelis (2016) describes the way in which governments have utilised "the creation of scapegoats in order to manipulate the mass of the working people" (p439). This is exacerbated by what Araujo (2014) describes as "the underlying assumptions of integration", perceptions of "cultural inadequacies of marked populations – who ought to show a willingness to integrate to prevent hostile reactions" (p301). Again, 'integration' requires change by the minority and consequently threatens their belongingness to their (minority) community, and their sense of identity (see section 2.8). To further compound this, popular sections of the media have employed a high-profile, persistent anti-gypsy discourse where "pre-judgement dominates populist news coverage of Gypsies, Travellers and Roma" (Okely 2014, 65). Bogdan reports that when the Roma Press Centre in Hungary stopped actively stifling the racist media by challenging specific articles and television portrayals, "the term

'gypsy crime' (has) spread in the Hungarian media" (Bogdan 2017, p756). Denigration of this group is the default without maintained and concerted effort to the contrary. Bogdan reports this became unfeasible with the advance of social media, supporting Alfie's observation of the negative connotations of social media.

End (2017) reports that in Germany the media has popularised "a whole variety of semantic and contextual elements that function as markers for "gypsy" and that move beyond traditional cultural stereotypes into wider discourses of poverty and migration that are nonetheless still perceived as having a particular "gypsy" theme" (p673). The media, in various forms, has facilitated the widespread operation of the 'skewed lens'.

7.4 Adaptability, Enterprise and the Chasing of Dreams

Travellers have been utilised for the skills and services they offered where there was no rival for the particular market activity they filled at the point in time. The retired Traveller Education Service Team Leader described the local Traveller community as "good at adapting". He described their work patterns, [they] "traditionally worked in the farming community, then in scrap metal, tending gardens, building driveways and so on"; they were resourceful, supporting and sustaining their families by frequently adjusting their location and the services they offered. However, once there was an alternative provider who fit more closely the profile of the 'accepted' in society, the consumer withdrew their custom from the Traveller communities in favour of the newcomer, resulting in the Traveller communities becoming what Van Baar (2011, in Kocze & Rovid, 2017) calls "non-deserving poor". This, in turn, "legitimises the abandoning of their social rights and social protection" (p692) (in this case, in Europe). Tremlett et al. (2017) explain "the idea of Roma as instrumental in creating their own poverty and thus being parasitical on welfare systems is endemic" (p646). Despite being able to adapt throughout generations in line with changing patterns of consumerism in the mainstream, Travellers' persistent positioning at the bottom of social hierarchy due to ongoing failure to protect them from xenophobia has perpetuated this situation. In the current climate of economic stagnation, where multiple strata of the workforce have seemingly 'stepped down' to positions previously held by less qualified employees, the fate of many Travellers is to become surplus to the required workforce. They have become more vulnerable to being redundant in terms of the services they can sell, having been usurped by those who previously occupied other employment niches. This was discussed in section 5.3 and is explained by Okely (2014), in the UK "their former stigmatised economic activities as mini-capitalists were suddenly legitimised, but appropriated by non-Gypsies" (p67).

A further consequence of the recent economic and financial crisis in Spain is mooted by Padilla et al. (2017) in Revista De Educacion, it "raises reasonable doubts regarding the continuity and financing of […] inclusion policies" (p188). Worse, says Themelis (2016), this turn of events has caused "the resurgence of the marginalisation and stigmatisation of many Roma and other minority groups within the EU […] the outcome of the re-organisation of labour and restructuring of class relations" (p438). This situation was recognised and referred to by Douggie Sr. who explained "there's no door-to-door any more". Concurrently, as has been discussed, the right for Travellers to travel has been eroded in the UK by changes in legislation. "Regrettably, nomadism is demonized by sedentary states" (Okely 2014, p82), curtailing their means of finding employment in different geographical locations. In short, Travellers' ability to adapt and enterprise in the ways seen historically has been quashed in much the same way as their ability to travel has been. How, then, are Traveller families managing the situation? How are the young people adapting to the new socio-economic climate in which they find themselves? Can they maintain their Traveller status and survive? This presents another potential focus for future research - a longitudinal study may be appropriate as the political and economic landscape evolves.

When discussing life aspirations Douggie Jr. talked of travel in terms of "go to holidays", specifically "Butlins, America, Turkey, France, Spain". He listed these typically Gadje holiday destinations and could not explain further why he had listed them, he simply wants to travel to them. I wondered whether this represented a switch to aspire to a more Gadje perspective of travel or whether he still envisages "Traveller" travel to these destinations. Does he imagine his family in trailers, pitching at sites made available by extended family, or pitching at any suitable location (which is no longer particularly feasible in England but which may be in other countries)? Douggie's family has an apparently sedentary lifestyle but maintains the practice of travelling for family, sporting and leisure events. If Douggie's response suggests this isn't fulfilling his desire for travel, I wondered if he has a romanticised idea of Traveller travel which he perceives he doesn't do, or which he fears is being lost, or whether he simply responded in the way which he considered 'right' or expected of him when speaking to a Gadje teacher.

I pursued this line of questioning with Douggie two years after my initial conversation with him, and he was somewhat bemused by his original responses. He had no recollection of our original conversation, even when presented with the illustrated sheet with his (scribed) comments. He affirmed that he does want to travel for holidays, "it's a bit different, sometimes we book it to Butlins but sometimes we travel about and that", but finds Traveller travel "a bit awkward - people they see us like driving about … " apparently referring to the

conundrum described by Baker (2017): "I was convinced that there was no room for my 'Gypsiness' – or my Gypsy sense of self - within these other worlds so I kept them separate: so separate that parts of my life gradually became invisible to me" (p741). This suggests a more profound deficit than the lack or loss of belonging to a group, as described by Tajfel and Turner's (1979) Social Identity theory (see section 2.8), which talks of the loss of one's self. The concept of losing one's identity and perception of self, is a repeated theme, it is explored in depth in 'The Threat of the Disappearing Sense of Self' later in this chapter. Douggie reports that his dad "wishes he could still travel in a Traveller way", reminiscing "when me Granny and Grandad was alive it was fun – pulling about on a big green field. Now it's not the same". Despite his acute awareness of the perception of others toward the Traveller community, Douggie is keenly anticipating the family's trip to Kenilworth Traveller Fair this year. He is clear that he values his Traveller heritage and his Traveller identity – he ascribes and describes himself as a Traveller, whilst describing feeling at ease with a predominantly sedentary lifestyle and enjoying both Traveller and more Gadje-style recreational travel. Douggie appears to exemplify Damian Le Bas's "misunderstood truth of many Traveller lives, which is that they are neither permanently nomadic, nor ever truly static" (2018).

7.5 Push and Pull: Navigating Boundaries and the Inclusion Trade-Off

I described earlier the roles played by parties involved in a social relationship, in this case between the Travellers and East Coast High school. The extent to which each party is required to compromise illustrates where the balance of power lies. It is not simple to identify or define. It is complex and multi-faceted and constantly and discreetly being re-negotiated as the political, cultural, symbolic, social and economic landscape evolves. The alignment and realignment of the balance of power is defined by perpetual shifting of expectations and control. The level of consciousness of this dynamic and the processes and reasons influencing it must in itself affect the balance of power in the relationship. To be conscious of factors underpinning behaviours enables the actor to manipulate them, to be proactive, ergo more powerful. Lack of awareness places the actor in a reactive role. I consider this dynamic to underpin the notion of 'push and pull' factors both towards and against inclusion, resulting in boundaries which are perpetually shifting and which ultimately lead to antagonism. I discuss in section 7.8 that inclusion is elusive due to the transient nature of the issues and attitudes around it.

Each set of Traveller parents was clear in their responses that they want their children to do whatever they themselves want to do, and to be happy. In Shona's case this specifically meant for Mary-Ann to "do the dancing", the dream which Mary-Ann made clear she is chasing for

herself. The other parents responded in a more generic way. Rosa maintains an apparently successful marriage to Raymond, a Gadje man, whilst living an otherwise sedentary Traveller lifestyle, following several previous partnerships. While Davinia is clear that her brothers disapprove of non-traditional ways it is unclear to what extent Rosa's leniency with herself - allowing herself to marry a Gadje man – will be extended to leniency towards Davinia's life-choices. Christie wants Alfie and his siblings to be successful and "stress free" possibly implying that stepping away from the Traveller ways would be considered a source of stress even greater than that caused by the need to continually adapt and be enterprising in an apparently hostile environment, something she *doesn't* want for her children. Alternatively, as has been discussed in sub-section 5.4.3, Christie may assume that her children will retain their Traveller ways. There is a level of confidence exhibited in the apparent leniency afforded to all of the young people in this study in respect to their dreams. It would be interesting to know how convinced the families are that their children will follow the Traveller ways – and maintain their Traveller identity - and whether this belief underlies that confidence (see sub-section 5.1.1). Rifts which led the families to the site, discussed in sub-section 5.2.1, are known at least in part to concern the families' level of commitment to traditional 'Traveller ways', indicating that the extended families do not share the same conviction.

Gender roles are entrenched within this group of Traveller young people. Even tentative interest in occupations which lie outside of those, seen in exceptions such as Davinia's GCSE studies in Engineering, seem not to be considered seriously when it comes to consequential choices - Davinia chose to study Hairdressing and Beauty Therapy at college (see sub-section 5.4.3). Davinia's family is, perhaps, the most divided around traditional and new 'ways'. She is clear that her brothers hold traditional Traveller views on issues around family and gender roles while Rosa considers herself to be more liberal, her self-perception shared and admired by Davinia. The family is symbolic of the 'push and pull', the shifting compromise and the apparent feeling of instability around important concepts, of what to negotiate and where to draw boundaries. I wonder to what extent this impacts on their belongingness to the Traveller community (see sub-section 5.3.5).

The 'push and pull' dilemma is seen in Traveller attitudes to formal education, particularly concerning females. The rift between Douggie and Evie's immediate and extended family, and some of the consequences of this, have been discussed (see sub-section 5.2.1). It is at least in part pinned to Douggie and Evie's insistence that all of their children be allowed to complete their high school education. One of the difficulties encountered by the young people in pursuing their education is that the males are considered by the family to become adults on

their fifteenth birthdays (see sub-section 2.4.4). They seem to find school particularly difficult around this time, with the mis-match between being considered adults at home and young people with expectations at school. Additionally, parents allowing their daughters to stay on at school after the age of eleven or twelve breaks with Traveller tradition, a tradition upheld by Mary-Ann's father (see sub-section 4.3.4). Females are not considered to be adults until they reach seventeen, which at least allows them to avoid the conflict around the childhood/adulthood boundary at school, encountered by the Traveller boys. Davinia and Jessie have been allowed to continue their education to the end of high school and beyond. Have they navigated this particular 'push and pull' dilemma purposely to exploit this inequality in their 'coming of age'? Has remaining in education reduced traditional expectations on them, effectively extending their childhood, ironically (from a Gadje perspective) preserving relative 'freedom'? If this is the case, I suggest they have exploited another means of 'subverting [Traveller] structures' described by Levinson and Sparkes (2006). It seems this is a strategy used successfully by Traveller women in particular to manage the extent of the freedom their daughters are given by the males of the family. It is a strategy (discussed in sub-section 2.4.4 and section 5.5) which can be used to allow inclusion into the majority society which may otherwise be curtailed by the men.

A stronger sense of power is demonstrated in Davinia's comments around traditional roles in terms of gender, but also with regard to what would traditionally be considered 'acceptable' for a Traveller to do. Disapproval shrouds Davinia's observation around Traveller attitudes to Zoah's journalistic pursuits (appendix xiv), both as a woman and as a Traveller, discussed in sub-section 5.3.3. Davinia's assertions were made in an accepting, almost dismissive way as part of a far longer conversation. They lay bare power within the Traveller community, which in turn limits the level of tolerance for inclusion to Gadje society for Traveller individuals, and ensures the perpetuation of Traveller ways. The implications of this phenomenon are evident both within the Traveller community and the majority society. Messing & Bernath (2017) discuss the role of the media in the inclusion of Roma in Hungary, suggesting "another way to increase access to media representation is to integrate[77] Roma journalists into the mainstream media editorial staff" (p661), a concept which is apparently somewhat divisive in the Traveller community. It involves a trade-off between the absolute sanctity of traditional Traveller ways, which would not allow Travellers, particularly Traveller women, to be employed as journalists in the majority arena, with an acceptance of a broader interpretation of Traveller ways (see

[77] I note here that I assume this use of the word 'integrate' is in line with my own definition (see sections 2.3 and 2.8).

sub-section 5.1.1). It would mean positioning Travellers where they are able to represent themselves and their community without the bias shown historically when others represent them, but with the inherent cost of integration (see section 2.3). It may be viewed as an unfair trade-off from a Traveller perspective.

The government insists that the "British Values" taught in every school must "enable students to develop their self-knowledge, self-esteem and self-confidence" along with "further tolerance and harmony between different cultural traditions by enabling students to acquire an appreciation for and respect for their own and other cultures" (DfE 2014, p5)[78]. It is difficult to reconcile the way in which East Coast High school as an institution continues to act in its responsibilities to the Traveller families and in its accountability to the government in relation to its provision for the Traveller young people in its cohort, particularly considering the school's recognition of its responsibilities, demonstrated in its policies (see section 4.1). I suggest the answer partly lay in that "promoting inclusive discourses about diversity and equality as societal values cannot be realised unless those who have never been the target of such discourses are also included" (Rostas, 2017, p767), although this carries the (Gadje) assumption that they would want to be included.

Discussion around the education of the Gadje majority in Traveller culture and traditions arose. Shona berated the lack of such education, "in school they learn about other cultures, Chinese, why not about Traveller culture?" This sentiment is echoed by Rostas (2017), discussing how, throughout Europe, "stigmatisation of Roma identity within the education systems happened through failing to include within the mainstream curricula any information on Roma history, arts and culture" (p761). My suggestion to the Traveller young people that we may hold a Traveller Culture event at East Coast High school to celebrate Traveller History month was not met with support (see sub-section 6.6.1). Their reticence indicates it would be unfavourable to hold a Traveller History event, there must be an inclusion trade-off for them. A possible cause is that historically "Roma do not find themselves represented in the curriculum[79], and when they attempt to incorporate aspects of their culture into educational experiences, the result is conflictive and not well received by the institution" (in this case in Spain) (Padilla et al. 2017, p200). Conceivably, despite the policies discussed in section 4.1 (which were arguably unknown to them), the Travellers at East Coast High school may have taken heed of the experiences of others before them.

[78] See East Coast High school's SMSC Policy in section 4.1.
[79] See East Coast High school's Equalities Policy in section 4.1.

7.6 Spurious Ideology, Bewilderment and the Endeavour to Appease

Inclusion is a process involving both those to be included and those who seek to include them, and Ajegbo et al. (2007) made clear that "'education for diversity' is fundamental if the UK is to have a cohesive society in the 21st century" (p16). It was important for me to ascertain the level of awareness and understanding of staff at East Coast High school of the Traveller community at the heart of my research. I was struck by the apparent discord of the word 'diversity' with the demographic profile of the town and the school itself. The school's Community Cohesion Policy is "based on principles of trust, and respect for local diversity" (see section 4.1), and I extracted the phrase "emboldened and strengthened by our diversity" from the school website as the basis of a question posed to all staff and stakeholders of the school. As stated in sub-section 6.7.1, this question elicited the greatest volume of response both in the questionnaires, and the shorter online survey. A sense of bewilderment was prevalent in the answers: "Are we?", "Absolutely no idea". The AHTD asked "Where is the diversity? We're not", while a governor explained "I don't think we are very much – perhaps because in the most obvious way (race/religion) it is not very diverse". Similarly, one teacher claimed "We are not! It's difficult when we have so few" while another stated "We are not diverse, we are [East Coast County]".

Examples from both sets of responses indicate a desire to support the school's claim but the bland, generic tone of the reasoning exposes the lack of knowledge behind assertions such as "we take positive action to combat stereotyping, prejudice, bullying, unjust discrimination and racism", "we have a sense of belonging in our school community. All individuals are treated equally", "we have embraced diverse aspects of life in East Coast Town, ensuring that minorities, although small, are represented", these from a member of the support staff, a teacher and the Head Teacher respectively. It seems the perception held is that diversity is just about race, despite the school's Equalities Policy citing "the Equality Act of 2010 [which seeks to] protect the following characteristics: age (staff), disability, gender reassignment, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion or belief, sex, sexual orientation". There is no recognition of difference in orientations, values, thinking, lifestyle, social class. This permeates the school community from the top down, the workforce is apparently unquestioningly compliant. The potential consequences, particularly when the nature of the work is the education of its young, may be harmful, especially to more vulnerable minority students who need representatives actively working to ensure their wellbeing. The statement is made on the school website, the first point of entry to the school, which causes me to consider how it resonates with stakeholders and the wider community. Unchallenged, the claim that "we are

emboldened and strengthened by our diversity" in the context described enables the perpetuation of the status quo, where minorities such as the Traveller population at East Coast High school are quietly overlooked.

My research indicates that this 'box-ticking' approach, which hails from a 'majority' perspective, enables the representatives of the establishment to assume that they are doing enough (see section 6.8). The issue of a lack of inclusion is commonly unchallenged, in what Gkofa (2017) describes in Greece as being the "gap between the official policies on equality and actual equality" (p445). It diminishes the status and sense of self of the Traveller families concerned, a concept discussed later in this chapter. Even "simple ethnicity focussed approaches are said to be inadequate and are often inappropriate for understanding individual needs or the 'dynamics of inclusion or exclusion'" (Tremlett 2014, p831). It is not known whether the Traveller families are aware of these inconsistencies, whether they are concerned by them or indeed whether they are quietly complicit in their perpetuation for their own ends.

7.6.1 Variability in Inclusion

The Traveller families' acceptance of the unequal transport arrangement to East Coast High school indicates a benefit to them (see sub-section 5.3.2). It allows them to regulate the level of their inclusion to the school. Employing different inclusions is empowering, and managing them can give them a level of control. This is seen in Alfie's boxing in the national youth arena (see section 4.5), and in Douggie Jr.'s aspirations for 'Gadje' travel (see sub-section 4.4.3). By contrast, Shona's intervention to include Mary-Ann in a dance competition (see sub-section 4.3.3) demonstrates inclusion enforced by the minority individual to achieve an outcome. I described enforced inclusion as "not conducive to inclusion in practice" (see sub-section 2.3.2) referring to enforcement by the majority. This episode bears that out when inclusion was enforced by the minority. This variable model of inclusion allows the Traveller families to engage and disengage with inclusion in different arenas: there is different inclusion into, and for, different groups.

Jessie and Douggie Jr.'s older siblings completed college courses to acquire the certification necessary for trades which were negotiated previously by more 'casual' arrangements (see sub-section 4.4.3), such as the "door-to-door" described by Douggie Sr. (see sub-section 4.4.2). Their adherence to the majority society's requirement for certification indicates their choice for inclusion, although it may have been enforced by the social and economic climate. And there is chronological variability in the type and level of inclusion seen in different stages of the Traveller young people's life-cycle (see sub-sections 2.4.3, 2.4.5 and 5.4.3). Interestingly, when similar scrutiny is applied to East Coast High school, disparity of interest in, and

understanding of, inclusion emerges. Taken as a whole, the school's failure to implement a cohesive approach to inclusion indicates a lack of control (see sub-section 6.4.1).

7.7 The Threat of the Disappearing Sense of Self

A significant, recurring theme which has been discussed throughout these chapters is the juxtaposition between elusiveness, whether by actively hiding or by being made invisible, "our struggle to confirm our presence not only to others but to ourselves as well" (Baker 2017, p743), and the loss of the sense of self, or of the culture within which the 'self' belongs. Writers such as Ahmed (2007) and Baker (2017) record a sense of 'placelessness', almost disembodiment and different from that of nomadism, where the notion of being non-existent further damages self-perception and self-worth. I locate this concept of the loss of 'self' in Tajfel and Turner's (1979) Social Identity theory (see section 2.8), a person's sense of who they are is based on their group membership which in turn gives them a sense of belonging. So, "in order to enhance our self-image we enhance the status of the group to which we belong" (McLeod 2008). I discussed in section 2.3 the threat of integration. What then of the self-image of those whose group status is historically persistently denigrated? Ahmed (2007) explains "In a way, the experience of not being white in a white world not only gives us a different viewing point, but it disorientates how things are arranged" (p163). There are positive connotations of being able to "dwell alongside the mainstream, while not being part of it" (Le Bas, 2018), "you can live in the bank of the river and swim and hunt there when you need to, and then climb back out again with equal ease and alacrity". This is somewhat wistful (or even wishful) commentary and Le Bas (2018) concedes that "Traveller culture" can be "preoccupied with bygone times". "Nomads have tended to use movement and invisibility for political/economic survival in the midst of a sedentarist polity. Evasion and unpredictability have hitherto been creative, productive strategies" (Okely 2014, 66). I suggest that this may be perceived as somewhat optimistic, the effect of the current political and socio-economic climate on the capacity for adaptability and enterprise have been discussed.

The loss of the sense of self is far more profound than the ability to slide into vision and obscurity at will. The omission of 'Traveller' as a category for self-assignment on school registration paperwork described in sub-section 5.3.4, and the apathy surrounding it discussed in sub-section 6.3.1, signify a loss of the sense of the importance of identity to the sense of self. It may, in part, be due to the persistent denial of heritage by many Travellers, particularly when dealing with the establishment, coupled with "being construed as the 'other'" (Themelis 2016, 439). As O'Nions points out, in the UK "Roma and Traveller pupils rarely learn anything of their culture, language or values in a classroom. As a result they may suffer low self-

esteem" (p6), this is part of "an invisible culture of exclusion" (Cudworth 2008, p365) discussed throughout chapter 2, and in spite of policies such as those discussed in section 4.1. I challenge that addressing this by teaching Traveller young people about their culture, language or values in the classroom still fails to address the imbalance of power and is unsatisfactory in terms of inclusion. Rather, Traveller young people must be empowered to teach the majority population about themselves, as should other minority groups. I suggest in section 8.8 the need to put Traveller perspective at the centre of any meaningful attempt at inclusion.

What 'Gadje' would consider educational success may also prove to be a threat to the sense of self. I discuss in sub-section 2.4.3 the concerns the Traveller community have around the impact of formal education on the sustainability of their traditional way of life, and Social Identity theory links this to the individual's sense of identity. Padilla et al. (2017) describe "the danger of being "assimilated", akin to being 'integrated', where educational success is explained by "not really being Roma" or by "not being like other Roma" according to their teachers and classmates" (p202); if others have lost sight of their 'Roma-ness' how much more difficult must it be to keep hold of it for themselves?

7.8 Summary - Aspiring to Inclusiveness and the Inclusion Paradox

The "inclusion paradox", the state in which actors from all angles continue to act in their particular way to secure a pre-determined response without interacting meaningfully with others involved, presents a conundrum. Actors from all angles perceive the notion of inclusion from their own distinct perspective, which, by its very nature, cannot be fully empathised with by outsiders. Becker (1962) highlights the problem with perspective in research, "the observational facts about social organization are inherently subject to the frame of reference of the direct observer - a frame of reference which tends to be unique in many uncontrollable respects" (p370). Yet acknowledging and accounting for perspective facilitates deeper understanding.

During the course of my research I have become increasingly aware of the intricate balance of power at play, it is more complicated than it at first appears. I suggest that inclusion must be advocated in the way in which it is desired by minority parties rather than prescribed by the majority. I caution that the majority population, myself included, are not completely aware of *how* (and whether) Travellers want to be included. Travellers struggle with inclusion in their 'Traveller way' within a society which expects *all* members to perform in a 'majority' way. Okely (2014) describes "niche occupants", where "with publicly valued and official profiles,

such minority representatives acquire the expertise, on the dominant society's *own*[80] terms, to challenge racism and exclusion" (p66). I counter that the level of inclusion into the majority society for the length of time required to access these "niche" occupations poses the risk of personal displacement and the threat of possible exclusion from the (birth) community to the minority individual in order to meet the dominant society's terms. This appears to be a 'solution' weighted heavily against the minority. Another approach has been the formation of an elite Traveller school, designed to educate the brightest Traveller young people ready to take 'niche' positions in the majority community. However, this in itself was not altogether successful, as O'Nions (2010) reports, in the UK "some former pupils felt that they had been 'cocooned' from the real world and that a separate education had not prepared them for life in the discriminatory, competitive environment that awaited them" (p8). Inclusion has been shown to benefit the majority population in a study of schools in the US, Siegel-Hawley (2012) reports that "diverse schools are linked to a host of positive learning outcomes for white students" (p1) including academic results and problem-solving ability. However, it appears to be impossible to unpick the concept of inclusion with the cost which seems to be almost entirely borne by the minority.

This is perhaps the most paradoxical component of all, that in order even to be able to make an informed decision as to whether inclusion is desirable, individuals from the minority, in this case the Traveller community, must become included – to belong, to an extent - into the majority society, and this in itself incurs the exclusion from the minority to varying degrees. If they decide that inclusion is not desirable, is it possible to 'de-include' themselves? Would they ever be able to fully re-include into their Traveller community, potentially hindered either because of the impact upon themselves of their own lived experiences outside of the community, or due to a lack of acceptance from within the community as a Traveller who has stepped away, albeit temporarily? It seems not, I discuss in sub-section 2.4.3 Levinson and Sparke's (2006) assertion that "you can't just go back to the old ways" (p93). This leaves them in multi-placelessness. In spite of his Oxford University education, Le Bas Jr. (2018) "was raised, and still lives, in a Romany psychological realm", reiterating Baker's (2017) observations (see section 7.7), and alluded to in a discussion of Douggie Jr.'s postulations about travel and holidays (see sub-section 4.4.3). There appears to be a conception, at least by some Travellers, that readmitting a Traveller who has become included into the majority society would pose too great a threat to the seemingly vulnerable sense of self within the Traveller community,

[80] Emphasis in original.

particularly when that society causes an "inability to recognise oneself amid the array of mis-representations that constitute Roma identifications" (Baker 2017, p743).

And of the admittance of Gadje, I explain in section 8.1 the type and extent of the information concerning the Traveller young people I have been privy to has been completely under the control of the families, primarily the patriarch in each case. Yet without fail, positive reference is made to two Traveller Education Service teachers - one who worked with Davinia, Jessie, Douggie and Alfie's families at East Coast Town and another who worked with Shona in the neighbouring county. She was described by Shona in gushing terms, "she's everything – a friend of the family". It may be that these educators are truly held in such high esteem, or that this is this a relative comparison to other Gadje. If this is an example of perpetuating the pretence, of 'playing the game' in the way discussed in chapter 6, the fact that the families engage in it when they are at liberty to remove their children from the school roll and in doing so take a step away from the majority society suggests that some, at least, *do* want a level of inclusion (see sub-section 7.6.1). This brings me back to my earlier suggestion, that inclusion must be advocated in the way in which it is desired with recognition that the perspective of the minority is likely to be different from that of the majority society. There must be awareness of the impact of these different perspectives on all actions, reactions and interactions.

I discussed in section 2.5 Cudworth's (2008) explanation of how, despite the "Every Child Matters" agenda, the current model of education is market-driven. Runswick-Cole (2016) describes it as a situation which has not changed in the last decade, "under neoliberal-ableism, the rationality of the market is paramount" (p257). It focusses on competition amongst providers set against budget cuts and austerity; hardly conducive to inclusion. To compound this, as discussed in sub-section 2.3.3, the Parekh Report (2000) proved 'toothless' in facilitating inclusion. The situation has not improved, "the logic of neoliberal ideology demands that we sort the leaners from the lifters, or the scroungers from the strivers" (Runswick-Cole p258), a demand compounded by 'common sense assumptions', further 'othering' Traveller families.

This chapter explored factors which inhibit inclusion. It discussed the threat of Travellers being excluded from their own communities, either metaphorically, in the loss of their own and group identity, or practically by the Traveller community in their level of belongingness if they stray too far into the majority society. I proposed the inclusion paradox as an explanation of

an underlying cause. I suggest in section 8.8 how East Coast High school could begin to work towards the inclusion of its Traveller families.

Chapter 8. Reflections and Conclusions

Following my discussion chapters which explored the key themes arising from the data, this chapter offers my reflections. I examine the power relationships which influenced my research. I contemplate my findings and my contribution to this field of research, along with the limitations of my research. Finally, I suggest how East Coast High school may move toward inclusion, and consider the wider implications of my findings.

8.1 Traveller Autonomy

When I started working with the Traveller young people and their families, I had an objective in mind. Although I was flexible and open to allow my research to evolve its own direction, within the parameters of Traveller young people and formal education, I knew that I wanted to gather information which I could then organise into a thesis. I began with an interest in aspirations and particularly wanted to get to know this group better, I had an agenda which I believed would be mutually beneficial. During the data-collection stage of my research I upheld this belief, I organised my questions and activities with the families in such a way as to elicit the information I sought. I worked to build trusting relationships with the families and put myself forward as a point of contact with school - I championed the Traveller families, positioning myself, from my Gadje perspective, as their 'voice' at East Coast High school.

This was no empty gesture, relationships have been built, numerous visits and many more telephone conversations have been made from a school perspective. I was secretly thrilled when Evie grabbed my arm during a home visit to let her little dog know that I'm alright so it did not need to bite me (it didn't) and when Douggie Jr. told a teaching assistant that he considers me to be his "second mum, me school mum". I am genuinely glad to help with providing a little extra support when it is needed, in particular for Douggie and Evie's family who are most receptive of the Traveller families, but also for teachers and school staff. They are sometimes reticent to contact the Traveller families themselves and seek reassurance before doing so, apparently nervous of dealing with parents with compromised literacy along with being nervous of dealing with Traveller parents *per se*.

As I became increasingly familiar with my data and reflected upon the interactions which led to its collection, collation and analysis, I noticed a stark cut-off point with each family. They had, without exception, agreed that they understood the nature and purpose of my research and appeared pleased to participate. I had been invited into two of their homes on more than one occasion and had been made to feel genuinely welcome. There were increasing numbers of instances where I had liaised between the families and East Coast High school, the liaison

instigated by both parties on different occasions. Yet, when I looked at the data in a visual format (appendix xxvi), there were gaps around each family. I realised the families had all allowed me to know only what they wanted me to know, a concept I had accepted cerebrally but not understood in a meaningful sense. It caused me to question who, in this relationship, holds the power? Apparently, quite rightly, the Traveller families do in this instance, contrary to my preconceptions. So, the families have between them managed the type and depth of the information they have disclosed about themselves, leaving me with questions: what have they not shared? And why? How does the 'missing' information affect my research, the implications of it and the conclusions drawn from it? Le Bas Jr. (2018) explains how "for all its flighty connotations, Gypsy culture can be stifling in its demands for living in line with its hidden rules". Presumably, somewhat ironically from my Gadje perspective given the objective of my research, the fulfilment of these rules kept me at bay. Treating the 'gaps' as data in my analysis exposed a picture of behaviours engaged in, and designed to, claim power in the type and extent of inclusion.

8.2 School Complacency

A similarly fragmented picture emerged from my analysis of the data from East Coast High school. My unique perspective as a researcher who is an 'insider' of the school allowed me to identify where words and actions did not align, which enabled me to consider omissions and contradictions. This became the crux of my research and facilitated deep understanding of the complexities around the concept of inclusion.

Inconsistencies by school governors and senior leaders were neither subtle nor hidden, indicating confidence arising from working within the neoliberal educational context. In this case the power of the institution lay in directing responsibility away from itself, and by default onto the individual (Traveller) for any perceived inability to conform, giving credence to the idea of a "deficit approach to education provision", described by Larsen et al. (2019, p1050) (see section 2.8). This, despite inadequate provision for the Traveller young people, unequal in its inaccessibility to them. So, as it became evident from accounts presented in sub-section 6.7.1, decisions made around the advertising of technology to keep abreast of school activities, and concerning attending extra-curricular activities, enabled the school to claim to have facilitated those provisions. By default, the Traveller families became responsible for not accessing them, despite being unable to. Was it assumed that Travellers were actively choosing not to be included? Even recognition of their attendance was inconsistent amongst the founding governors and senior leaders. If Travellers are not known to attend, how can they belong? How can they be included? Does this further remove responsibility from the

school? Not only were Travellers not included, they were not recognised, not named as 'Travellers'. And 'othering' perpetuates negative stereotypes which strengthens the notion that the Travellers were choosing not to be included.

Perhaps the most surprising aspect of these inconsistencies, contradictions and omissions for me was the lack of concern by school governors and senior leaders that they would be exposed for lacking in their duty. Again, I surmised that this is located in confidence in the power held by the institution. Was it assumed I would hold the same opinion? If not, it appears that my opinion was not relevant. Or were they oblivious to the implications of their governance and leadership?

8.3 My Reflections

I was keenly aware that my perspective would affect my understanding of Traveller inclusion. I was not able to state facts. What I could do was interpret evidence arising from interactions with this limitation in mind. Challenging my majority, white, teacher, Gadje perspective was the closest I could conceivably get to the deep understanding of the Traveller perspective I sought. I did this in preparing for the research, handling the data and in my deeper analysis of the outcomes.

As I reflected on the relationship between the school and the Traveller families I became aware of the power I had assigned the establishment by unquestioningly conforming - I had not previously questioned the inconsistencies around provision for the Traveller families. I could not claim ignorance, different provision for the Traveller young people is a fact, visible to all. It is not surprising then that the governors and senior leaders were seemingly languid around the inconsistencies and contradictions they reported. Conceivably the assumption that the school had 'done its bit' was shared amongst the wider school community. So why had I, as an individual ardent in my opposition against inequality, not previously questioned what I had seen? The honest answer is that I could not pinpoint a reason. I could cite excuses: mode and frequency of transport was a decision made before I started working at the school by someone with greater responsibility than me, someone further up the school hierarchy. The Traveller families hadn't complained about travel so presumably endorsed the arrangement. Challengers (in general) are seen as militants. In fact, it was simple, unintentional omission, I had not considered the full implications of this single, seemingly small discrepancy. I did not seek to use these excuses to absolve my apathy, but to explore explanations which I suspect were common to the majority, which, albeit unintentionally, perpetuate inequalities.

Realising the implications of my own inactivity prompted me to respond in various ways. I assumed responsibility as Traveller liaison and have been called upon when the school has concern over a Traveller young person and contact with home is necessary. I have delivered training to groups of staff on the specific challenges faced by Traveller young people and their families, and I have encouraged staff to contact Traveller families as they would any other. The background information I have shared apparently reassured staff in this, the layers of access to be navigated became less intimidating once they were understood. I have been frequently approached by the Traveller families, invariably the young people asked me to call their parents when they wanted to speak with me. I (unsuccessfully) challenged the unequal transport arrangements - the situation remained unresolved despite my intervention, purportedly because of the increasing financial constraint as austerity measures affected the school. As for internet access - there is internet access at school, available for anyone who needs it, but due to their comparatively limited transport arrangements it is only available to Traveller young people during break and lunchtimes. This also remains unresolved. But my heightened awareness remains; I notice inconsistencies, I share my concerns and I challenge inequality and unfairness.

8.4 The Potential for Harm

My increased awareness enabled me to further reflect upon my approach to, and the potential consequences of, the research aspect of this thesis. I described my use of vignettes in section 3.6, I consciously attempted not to imply a patronising and potentially damaging "look at how well this Traveller did" attitude when discussing the biographies. Retrospectively I am not convinced that I achieved that, perhaps working with the young people to research Traveller biographies and prepare vignettes together would be more equitable. Similarly, in sub-section 6.6.1 I express my concern that I may have clumsily caused offence in my suggestion that we celebrate Traveller History month. Sourcing a local celebration in another school or college and arranging a visit could provide a more moderate introduction to the idea. More widely, I point in section 3.4 to the possible harm I may have inadvertently caused by highlighting this group of Travellers who apparently consciously remain hidden. I explained in section 3.5 how I approached the Traveller families at the start of my research. I was explicit about the aim of my research, and remain satisfied that they understood its purpose. I subsequently built relationships with the families, I hope that the benefits of my research to the families have outweighed the costs to them. My role as Traveller liaison at East Coast High school is obvious, they are aware of that. Other benefits which are not immediately obvious to the families are in my advocacy of them with school leadership, having examined the underlying behaviour I

am positioned to challenge it at East Coast High school with authority. A wider benefit is in the publication of this thesis, I hope that my discussion of different inclusions, and my proposal and explanation of "The Inclusion Paradox" provoke thought around how attempts at inclusion can be more equitable.

Conclusions

8.5 Examining Inclusion

To guard against perpetuating the 'disappearing self' phenomenon, it was prudent to heed Tremlett et al.'s (2017) advice, that "researching Roma populations in the current climate requires 'a careful de-essentialisation of the debates without losing sight of ethnicity' (from Tremlett 2014, 845, p723), a determined break away from trying to understand 'who are the Roma?' to focusing on 'who defines who is Roma and what for?' (see McGarry, 2014) and 'how do Roma people live?' (see Clough Marinaro and Daniele, and Roman, 2014), a break that demands attention to both the broader homogenising public discourses as well as the everyday practices of ordinary people" (Tremlett 2014, p833). My cases were intended to do this, to highlight and detail the individual from the label which homogenises them.

My adaptation of the Mosaic method, using numerous activities to build a picture to explore a theme, contributed to the construction of case studies of each of the five Traveller young people, enabling them to explore their views from various perspectives and adding depth to the stories which emerged. Developing relationships with the Traveller families enabled me to recognise and act where needed as my research progressed, satisfying moral and ethical requirements. Using various methods and sources from different perspectives enriched and triangulated the data.

My examination of the seemingly *laissez-faire* attitudes underpinning the behaviours exhibited by all parties which maintained the norm at East Coast High school highlighted the continued 'othering' of Traveller families, which in turn demonstrated that their inclusion has not yet been achieved. That this situation is perpetuated by both the school and the Traveller families indicated that there was perceived benefit to both by maintaining it.

8.6 Different Inclusions

As I considered the cycle of attitude and behaviour it became apparent how 'common sense assumptions' are formed and perpetuated. It struck me how damaging the power held by those in authority at the school was when used to this end. Assuming neoliberal doctrine unquestioningly continued not only to reinforce negative 'folk-assumptions', but also apparently strengthened the belief in the doctrine itself; we made provision, we held the

moral high-ground, Travellers were choosing not to be included. Contrary to working towards being more inclusive as was being purported, this stance widened the gap between school and Travellers. The metaphorical distance afforded by this attitude apparently suited the Traveller families, their acceptance of the provision in place coupled with their adeptness in keeping me at arm's length indicated a lack of desire for change. The unequal power relationships at play perpetuate the relative cost/benefit to both parties and is at the root of that acceptance, it must be acknowledged when addressing inclusion.

I presented the concept of different inclusions, starting with the somewhat unclear use of terminology (see section 2.8) and demonstrated in the different provisions for Travellers at East Coast High school (chapter 6), and the assumptions and expectations around those. There are clear implications for the school's practice around transport, with the wider implications it brings with the inclusion of the Traveller young people in extra-curricular activities and in their belongingness, the development of friendships beyond their own group and the confines of the school day. And there is a need to review the implementation of policies (see section 4.1), such as the Equalities Policy, to ensure "the school counters and challenges all types of discriminatory behaviour" including in the provision of transport - as is stated. I suggest an audit of practice to highlight areas for improvement. This in itself is good practice which should be followed by all education providers. More widely, a national focus on inclusion starts with the recognition that inclusion in the current model is unsatisfactory. This thesis explores the reasons for this, along with suggestions for successful inclusion (see section 8.8). A national strategy on inclusion, rather than the current statutory guidance which does not specifically attend to inclusion, is needed. It must recognise that different inclusions are necessary to preserve the autonomy of the minority individuals and groups to be included. I discussed the importance of nomenclature in chapter 1, and explored the subtle differences in meaning of similar words in section 2.8. I highlight here the difference between 'equality', 'diversity' and 'inclusion' – inclusion must be placed at the centre of any new initiative. More, a new strategy must take account of the inclusion paradox, putting minorities (in this case, Travellers) at the centre, valuing both the people - individuals and groups - and the ethos of inclusion itself.

8.7 The Contribution of this Thesis

By examining Traveller 'place' in the current neoliberal, market-driven model of education which, at best, ignores difference, I exposed the threat that inclusion poses of causing metaphorical 'placelessness' – of losing self and group identity. The consequential damage to self and group esteem exacerbates powerlessness; this model of inclusion is situated to benefit

those who already hold most power. Perhaps it is the recognition of this by the wider Traveller community which encourages them to shun those who seek to be included into the majority society. Inclusion is intangible, it is idiosyncratic, the meaning ascribed to it dependent on perspective, consequently it is dynamic. Yet it is a lived experience. At East Coast High school, both Travellers and those with responsibility in the school continue to act alongside each other, apparently satisfied with pseudo-inclusion, unable or unwilling to elevate it to a meaningful interaction. If genuine inclusion is sought a fresh approach is required, first accounting for the paradox.

Research on this scale and of this type cannot be generalised from, it offers a 'snapshot' of a specific group at a specific time and space. Case study details the particular, it does not produce generalizable data. More, my study (see section 3.3) relied upon my 'Gadje' interpretation of the meaning of interactions with a small group of Traveller young people and their families, a group hailing from different heritage from my own. I discussed earlier in this chapter the impact of my dual position as teacher and researcher on my relationships with the families and the young people, and ultimately on the information and opinions they shared with me. I tried to apply 'co-ethnography' (see section 3.9), to critically analyse the meaning I gave to these interactions, but I recognise that my analysis of the findings and subsequently my suggestions are inevitably infused with my own interpretations. However, my discussion and analysis provide fresh insight, which may be useful both in conjunction with existing research and in planning future research. It informs the transforming of policy and practice for inclusion at East Coast High school, and calls to account local policy and national strategy for facilitating inclusion.

8.8 Inclusion in Practice

How, then, if we want to move forward with the concept of inclusion, can we do so? I suggest Modood's 'ethnicity paradox' discussed in section 2.3 as a starting point, both at a local level at East Coast High school and as a national strategy. I refer back to article 15 of the Framework Convention on the Protection of National Minorities, cited in Moore (2004, p188) and discussed in section 2.5 which "states 'The parties shall create the conditions necessary for the effective participation of persons belonging to national minorities in cultural, social and economic life and in public affairs, in particular those affecting them'", and Bhopal's (2011) call for "flexible and supportive arrangements" (p317). Allowing Travellers to live in the way dictated by their respective heritages as a valued part of society until they deem themselves to have a suitably secure base from which to include themselves into the majority society would require open-mindedness and a willingness for adaptable practice. However, this alone fails to

mitigate the power imbalance stacked against Travellers as the minority group. The inclusion paradox calls to account the effect of different perspectives. By engaging with them, which requires first challenging one's own perspective, deeper understanding of the other's reality is reached.

How could this be achieved in practice? In an ecological model, the mainstream may have to recognise its own dependence on minority values. I suggest the need for Traveller young people, along with those from other minority groups, to educate the majority about their heritage and culture. I recognise that this stance would be perceived as radical in a high school setting, the way it is introduced and implemented it would be key to its success. Action research akin to that used in Spain by Flecha and Soler (2013), but planned and implemented with the minority's initiative and lead at the centre could be used. This in itself poses the challenge of first discovering a representative version of a minority group perspective, particularly from a group which may be unused to being consulted or unwilling to disclose their views. If "these schools have improved students' performance", as Flecha & Soler found, it would undoubtedly appeal to advocates of the market-driven league-table approach to schools, while "enhanced social cohesion, providing all children with better learning opportunities to reduce social and educational inequalities" (Flecha & Soler 2013, p452) would indicate a step away from neoliberal ideology. The inclusion paradox must not be used as an excuse for 'othering' which depends upon and perpetuates an imbalance of power, amplifying inequality. Understanding the inclusion paradox provides an opportunity to approach inclusion with comprehension of the underlying factors which affect and direct it, and which consequently determine its success.

A new version of inclusion which is acceptable to both minority and majority communities must be created. To do so requires openness, commitment and engagement, and a recognition that it will inevitably evolve as the political and socio-economic landscape changes. This version of Inclusion is directed by the minority and respected by the majority society.

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Appendices

(i) Young Person Participant PIS Opt-in Form

11th April 2016

Faculty of Social Sciences
School of Education and
Lifelong Learning
University of East Anglia
Norwich Research Park
Norwich NR4 7TJ
United Kingdom

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT

Investigating the Aspirations of Traveller Young People from a Site in a Suffolk Coastal Town

(1) What is this study about?

You are invited to take part in a research study about your aspirations, what you want to do and achieve in your life after you leave school. You have been invited to participate in this study because I am trying to find out about the aspirations of Traveller young people. This Participant Information Statement tells you about the research study. Knowing what is involved will help you decide if you want to take part in the research. Please read this sheet carefully and ask questions about anything that you don't understand or want to know more about.

Participation in this research study is voluntary. By giving your consent to take part in this study you are telling us that you:

- ✓ Understand what you have read.
- ✓ Agree to take part in the research study as outlined below.
- ✓ Agree to the use of your personal information as described.

Your parent or carer will also be asked to give their consent for you to take part in this study.

(2) Who is running the study?

The study is being carried out by the following researcher: Angie Cator.

Angie Cator is conducting this study as the basis for the degree of Doctor of Education at The University of East Anglia. This will take place under the supervision of Dr Spyros Themelis, Senior Lecturer in Education, and Dr Esther Priyadharshini, Senior Lecturer in Education.

(3) What will the study involve?

You will be invited to work with me and with the other Traveller young people in the school. You will be asked if you would like to talk about your views and to take photographs of the things which influence you in your aspirations, at school and at home. You will be given a disposable camera for this. You must agree not to photograph people at school. We will discuss your photographs and we will watch films about specific aspirations and discuss those as well. All meetings will be entirely voluntary and will take place whenever you choose.

(4) How much of my time will the study take?

Your participation is entirely voluntary and would take place at a suitable time for you outside school hours. The research will be carried out outside lesson time and your learning will not be affected in any way. You will not have to arrive early or stay behind after school unless you choose to, so you will be able to catch the bus in the normal way. I expect to start the study during January 2016 and to have finished the study by June 2016.

(5) Do I have to be in the study? Can I withdraw from the study once I've started?

Being in this study is completely voluntary and you do not have to take part. Your decision whether to participate will not affect your current or future relationship with Mrs Cator, East Coast High school or anyone else at the University of East Anglia.

If you decide to take part in the study and then change your mind later you are free to withdraw at any time. You can do this by contacting me at the school by telephone number 01502 530750, or by emailing me at school ac@ech.org.uk or at the UEA A.Cator@uea.ac.uk. If you would like to speak to someone else you can contact my supervisor: Dr Spyros Themelis, 01603 591733, S.Themelis@uea.ac.uk.

During the informal intervews, you are free to stop the interview at any time. Unless you say that you want us to keep them, any recordings will be erased and the information you have provided, including your photographs, will not be included in the study results. You may also refuse to answer any questions that you do not wish to answer during the interview. If you decide at a later time to withdraw from the study your information will be removed from our study records and will not be included in the study results, up to the point that we have analysed and published the results and this would include the submission of the thesis for assessment purposes.

If you withdraw from the study, we will not collect any more information from you. Please let us know at the time when you withdraw what you would like us to do with the information we

have collected from you up to that point. If you wish, your information will be removed from our study records and will not be included in publications, up to the point that we have analysed and published the results.

(6) Are there any risks or costs associated with being in the study?

I do not expect that there will be any risks or costs associated with taking part in this study.

(7) Are there any benefits associated with being in the study?

I will be giving you the opportunity to explain your aspirations and what influences you. My study will be used to inform the school, so that consideration can be given to possible opportunities to help you work towards achieving your goal.

(8) What will happen to information that is collected during the study?

The data collected will be recorded in a way which protects your identity. All participants in the study will be referred to by a pseudonym, a false name, but your true age and gender will be recorded and used in the publication of the resulting data. All electronic copies of raw data, such as transcripts or notes of informal interviews will be kept in a password-protected file, accessible by me. All hard copies will be kept in a locked cupboard for ten years, in accordance with the UEA's ethics policy and your disposable camera will be destroyed. Any of the data collected may be used for publication in anonymised form, so that you remain unidentifiable. This study will form part of a Doctoral Thesis but may be used in future publications.

By providing your consent, you are agreeing to us collecting personal information about you for the purpose of this research study, along with your views. Your information will only be used for the purposes outlined in this Participant Information Statement, unless you consent otherwise. Data management will follow the 1998 Data Protection Act and the University of East Anglia Research Data Management Policy (2013).

Your information will be stored securely and your identity/information will be kept strictly confidential, except as required by law. Study findings may be published. Although every effort will be made to protect your identity, there is a risk that you might be identifiable in publications due to the nature of the study and/or the results. In this instance, data will be stored for a period of 10 years and then destroyed.

We will keep the information we collect for this study, and we may use it in future projects. By providing your consent you are allowing us to use your information in future projects. We don't know at this stage what these other projects will involve. We will seek ethical approval before using the information in these future projects.

(9) What if we would like further information about the study?

When you have read this information, Mrs Cator will be available to discuss it with you further and answer any questions you may have. If you would like to know more at any stage during the study, please feel free to contact Dr Spyros Themelis by telephone, 01603 591733, or by email S.Themelis@uea.ac.uk.

(10) Will I be told the results of the study?

You have a right to receive feedback about the overall results of this study. You can tell us that you wish to receive feedback by ticking the relevant box on the consent form. I will invite all participants in the study to meet with me for feedback. This feedback will be in the form of an informal presentation coupled with a brief written summary of the data collected. You will receive this feedback after the study is finished.

(11) What if we have a complaint or any concerns about the study?

Research involving humans in UK is reviewed by an independent group of people called a Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC). The ethical aspects of this study have been approved under the regulations of the University of East Anglia's School of Education and Lifelong Learning Research Ethics Committee.

If there is a problem please let me know. You can contact me via the University at the following address:

Angie Cator

School of Education and Lifelong Learning

University of East Anglia

NORWICH NR4 7TJ

A.Cator@uea.ac.uk

or at school,

ac@ech.org.uk

If you would like to speak to someone else you can contact my supervisor:

Dr Spyros Themelis

01603 591733

S.Themelis@uea.ac.uk

If you are concerned about the way this study is being conducted or you wish to make a complaint to someone independent from the study, please contact the Head of the School of Education and Lifelong Learning, Dr Nalini Boodhoo, at n.boodhoo@uea.ac.uk.

(12) OK, I'm happy to take part – what do I do next?

You need to fill in one copy of the consent form and return it to Mrs Cator. Please keep the letter, information sheet and the 2nd copy of the consent form for your information.

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM (1st Copy to Researcher)

I, ... [PRINT NAME], agree to take part in this research study.

In giving my consent I state that:

- ✓ I understand the purpose of the study, what I will be asked to do, and any risks/benefits involved.
- ✓ I have read the Participant Information Statement and have been able to discuss my involvement in the study with the researchers if I wished to do so.
- ✓ The researchers have answered any questions that I had about the study and I am happy with the answers.

My decision whether to take part in the study will not affect my relationship with the researchers or anyone else at East Coast High school or the University of East Anglia now or in the future.

- ✓ I understand that being in this study is completely voluntary and I do not have to take part.
- ✓ I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time.
- ✓ I understand that I may stop the informal interview at any time if I do not wish to continue, and that unless I indicate otherwise any recordings will then be erased and the information provided will not be included in the study. I also understand that I may refuse to answer any questions I don't wish to answer.
- ✓ I understand that personal information about me that is collected over the course of this project will be stored securely and will only be used for purposes that I have agreed to. I understand that information about me will only be told to others with my permission, except as required by law.
- ✓ I understand that the results of this study may be published. Although every effort will be made to protect my identity, I may be identifiable in these publications due to the nature of the study or results.

I consent to:

- **Audio-recording**

  YES ☐ NO ☐

- **Would you like to receive feedback about the overall results of this study?**

  YES ☐ NO ☐

If you answered **YES**, please indicate your preferred form of feedback and address:

☐ Postal: _____

_____

☐ Email: _____

.....

Signature

.....

PRINT name

.....

Date

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM (2nd Copy to Participant)

I, ... [PRINT NAME], agree to take part in this research study.

In giving my consent I state that:

- ✓ I understand the purpose of the study, what I will be asked to do, and any risks/benefits involved.
- ✓ I have read the Participant Information Statement and have been able to discuss my involvement in the study with the researchers if I wished to do so.
- ✓ The researchers have answered any questions that I had about the study and I am happy with the answers.

My decision whether to take part in the study will not affect my relationship with the researchers or anyone else at East Coast High school or the University of East Anglia now or in the future.

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- ✓ I understand that personal information about me that is collected over the course of this project will be stored securely and will only be used for purposes that I have agreed to. I understand that information about me will only be told to others with my permission, except as required by law.
- ✓ I understand that the results of this study may be published. Although every effort will be made to protect my identity, I may be identifiable in these publications due to the nature of the study or results.

I consent to:

- **Audio-recording**

  YES ☐ NO ☐

- **Would you like to receive feedback about the overall results of this study?**

  YES ☐ NO ☐

If you answered **YES**, please indicate your preferred form of feedback and address:

☐ Postal: _____

_____

☐ Email: _____

.....

Signature

.....

PRINT name

.....

Date

(ii) Parent Consent PIS Opt-in Form

11th April 2016

Faculty of Social Sciences
School of Education and
Lifelong Learning
University of East Anglia
Norwich Research Park
Norwich NR4 7TJ
United Kingdom

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT

Investigating the Aspirations of Traveller Young People from a Site in a Suffolk Coastal Town

(1) What is this study about?

Your child is invited to take part in a research study about their aspirations, what they want to do and achieve in their life after they leave school. Your child has been invited to participate in this study because I am trying to find out about the aspirations of Traveller young people. This Participant Information Statement tells you about the research study. Knowing what is involved will help you decide if you want to let your child take part in the research. Please read this sheet carefully and ask questions about anything that you don't understand or want to know more about.

Participation in this research study is voluntary. By giving your consent to take part in this study you are telling us that you:

- ✓ Understand what you have read.
- ✓ Agree for your child to take part in the research study as outlined below.
- ✓ Agree to the use of your child's personal information as described.

(2) Who is running the study?

The study is being carried out by the following researcher: Mrs Angie Cator.

Mrs Cator is conducting this study as the basis for the degree of Doctor of Education at The University of East Anglia. This will take place under the supervision of Dr Spyros Themelis, Senior Lecturer in Education and Dr Esther Priyadharshini, Senior Lecturer in Education.

(3) What will the study involve?

Your child will be invited to work with me and with the other Traveller young people in the school. They will be asked about their aspirations and invited to record their thoughts about

their aspirations using a disposable camera to record anything they perceive as relevant to them in forming them. The disposable cameras will be provided by me to be used at school and at home, but participants will be asked not to photograph other young people. We will discuss their photographs and they will be asked to include any other thoughts or influences on them in an informal interview setting. We will watch films about specific career choices and your child will be invited to discuss their thoughts about them. All films or clips of films will be suitable for children and you will be informed of the film to be shown before your child is allowed to watch it, so that you can confirm that you are happy for them to watch the film.

The research will be carried out outside lesson time and your child's learning will not be affected in any way. They will not have to arrive early or stay behind after school unless they choose to, so they will be able to catch the bus in the normal way.

(4) How much of my time will the study take?

Your child will be invited to meet with me during break or lunch weekly, but meeting with me is their choice and is not compulsory, he/she can meet with me some weeks and not others if that is what they would prefer to do. I expect to start meeting with the young people involved in the study during January 2016 and to have finished the study by June 2016.

(5) Does my child have to be in the study? Can they withdraw from the study once they've started?

Being in this study is completely voluntary and your child does not have to take part. Your decision whether to let them participate will not affect your current or future relationship with Mrs Cator, East Coast High school or anyone else at the University of East Anglia.

If you decide to let your child take part in the study and then change your mind later (or they no longer wish to take part), they are free to withdraw at any time. You can do this by contacting me at the school by telephone number 01502 530750, or by emailing me at school ac@ech.org.uk or at the UEA A.Cator@uea.ac.uk. If you would like to speak to someone else you can contact my supervisor: Dr Spyros Themelis, 01603 591733, S.Themelis@uea.ac.uk.

During the informal intervews, your child is free to stop the interview at any time. Unless you say that you want us to keep them, any recordings will be erased and the information your child has provided, including their photographic records, will not be included in the study results. Your child may also refuse to answer any questions that they do not wish to answer during the interview. If you decide at a later time to withdraw your child from the study (or they no longer wish to take part) their information will be removed from our study records and

will not be included in the study results, up to the point that we have analysed and published the results and this would include the submission of the thesis for assessment purposes.

If your child withdraws from the study, we will not collect any more information from them. Please let us know at the time when they withdraw what you would like us to do with the information we have collected about them up to that point. If you wish, their information will be removed from our study records and will not be included in publications, up to the point that we have analysed and published the results.

(6) Are there any risks or costs associated with being in the study?

I do not expect that there will be any risks or costs associated with taking part in this study.

(7) Are there any benefits associated with being in the study?

I will be giving your child the opportunity to describe their aspirations and what influences them. My study will be used to inform the school, so that consideration can be given to possible opportunities to help your child work towards achieving their goal.

(8) What will happen to information that is collected during the study?

The data collected will be recorded in a way which protects your child's identity. All participants in the study will be referred to by a pseudonym, but their true age and gender will be recorded and used in the publication of the resulting data. All electronic copies of raw data, such as transcripts or notes of informal interviews will be kept in a password-protected file, accessible by me. All hard copies, such as printed photographs, will be kept in a locked cupboard for ten years, in accordance with the UEA's ethics policy. Disposable cameras will be destroyed.

Any of the data collected may be used for publication in anonymised form, so that your child remains unidentifiable. This study will form part of a Doctoral Thesis but may be used in future publications.

By providing your consent, you are agreeing to us collecting personal information about your child for the purposes of this research study. Your child's information will only be used for the purposes outlined in this Participant Information Statement, unless you consent otherwise. Data management will follow the 1998 Data Protection Act and the University of East Anglia Research Data Management Policy (2013).

Your child's information will be stored securely and their identity/information will be kept strictly confidential, except as required by law. Study findings may be published. Although every effort will be made to protect your child's identity, there is a risk that he/she might be

identifiable in publications due to the nature of the study and/or the results. In this instance, data will be stored for a period of 10 years and then destroyed.

We will keep the information we collect for this study, and we may use it in future projects. By providing your consent you are allowing us to use your child's information in future projects. We don't know at this stage what these other projects will involve. We will seek ethical approval before using the information in these future projects.

(9) What if we would like further information about the study?

When you have read this information, Mrs Angie Cator will be available to discuss it with you further and answer any questions you may have. If you would like to know more at any stage during the study, please feel free to contact Dr Spyros Themelis by telephone, 01603 591733, or by email S.Themelis@uea.ac.uk.

(10) Will I be told the results of the study?

You and your child have a right to receive feedback about the overall results of this study. You can tell us that you wish to receive feedback by ticking the relevant box on the consent form. I will invite the parents and carers of all of the young people involved in the study to meet with me for feedback. This feedback will be in the form of an informal presentation coupled with a brief written summary of the data collected. You will receive this feedback after the study is finished.

(11) What if we have a complaint or any concerns about the study?

Research involving humans in UK is reviewed by an independent group of people called a Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC). The ethical aspects of this study have been approved under the regulations of the University of East Anglia's School of Education and Lifelong Learning Research Ethics Committee.

If there is a problem please let me know. You can contact me via the University at the following address:

Angie Cator

School of Education and Lifelong Learning

University of East Anglia

NORWICH NR4 7TJ

A.Cator@uea.ac.uk

or at school,

ac@ech.org.uk

If you would like to speak to someone else you can contact my supervisor:

Dr Spyros Themelis

01603 591733

S.Themelis@uea.ac.uk

If you (or your child) are concerned about the way this study is being conducted or you wish to make a complaint to someone independent from the study, please contact please contact the Head of the School of Education and Lifelong Learning, Dr Nalini Boodhoo, at n.boodhoo@uea.ac.uk.

(12) OK, I'm happy for my child to take part – what do I do next?

You need to fill in one copy of the consent form(s) and ask your child to return it/them to Mrs Cator. Please keep the letter, information sheet and the 2nd copy of the consent form(s) for your information.

PARENT/CARER CONSENT FORM (1st Copy to Researcher)

I, ... [PRINT PARENT'S/CARER'S NAME],

consent to my child ……[PRINT YOUNG PERSON'S

NAME] participating in this research study.

In giving my consent I state that:

- ✓ I understand the purpose of the study, what my child will be asked to do, and any risks/benefits involved.
- ✓ I have read the Information Statement and have been able to discuss my child's involvement in the study with the researchers if I wished to do so.
- ✓ The researchers have answered any questions that I had about the study and I am happy with the answers.
- ✓ I understand that being in this study is completely voluntary and my child does not have to take part. My decision whether to let them take part in the study will not affect our relationship with the researchers or anyone else at East Coast High school or the University of East Anglia now or in the future.
- ✓ I understand that my child can withdraw from the study at any time.
- ✓ I understand that my child may stop the interview at any time if they do not wish to continue, and that unless I indicate otherwise any recordings, including the photographs they have taken, will then be erased and the information provided will not be included in the study. I also understand that my child may refuse to answer any questions they don't wish to answer.
- ✓ I understand that personal information about my child that is collected over the course of this project will be stored securely and will only be used for purposes that I have agreed to. I understand that information about my child will only be told to others with my permission, except as required by law.
- ✓ I understand that the results of this study may be published. Although every effort will be made to protect my child's identity, they may be identifiable in these publications due to the nature of the study or results.

I consent to:

- **Audio-recording of my child**

  YES ☐ NO ☐

- **Would you like to receive feedback about the overall results of this study?**

  YES ☐ NO ☐

If you answered **YES**, please indicate your preferred form of feedback and address:

☐ Postal: _____

_____

☐ Email: _____

.....

Signature

.....

PRINT name

.....

Date

PARENT/CARER CONSENT FORM (2nd Copy to Parent/Carer)

I, ... [PRINT PARENT'S/CARER'S NAME], consent to my child ……..[PRINT YOUNG PERSON'S NAME] participating in this research study.

In giving my consent I state that:

- ✓ I understand the purpose of the study, what my child will be asked to do, and any risks/benefits involved.
- ✓ I have read the Information Statement and have been able to discuss my child's involvement in the study with the researchers if I wished to do so.
- ✓ The researchers have answered any questions that I had about the study and I am happy with the answers.
- ✓ I understand that being in this study is completely voluntary and my child does not have to take part. My decision whether to let them take part in the study will not affect our relationship with the researchers or anyone else at East Coast High school or the University of East Anglia now or in the future.
- ✓ I understand that my child can withdraw from the study at any time.
- ✓ I understand that my child may stop the interview at any time if they do not wish to continue, and that unless I indicate otherwise any recordings, including the photographs they have taken, will then be erased and the information provided will not be included in the study. I also understand that my child may refuse to answer any questions they don't wish to answer.
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- ✓ I understand that the results of this study may be published. Although every effort will be made to protect my child's identity, they may be identifiable in these publications due to the nature of the study or results.

I consent to:

- **Audio-recording of my child**

  YES ☐ NO ☐

- **Would you like to receive feedback about the overall results of this study?**

  YES ☐ NO ☐

If you answered **YES**, please indicate your preferred form of feedback and address:

☐ Postal: _____

_____

☐ Email: _____

.....

Signature

.....

PRINT name

.....

Date

(iii) Parent Participant PIS Opt-in Form

11th April 2016

Faculty of Social Sciences
School of Education and
Lifelong Learning
University of East Anglia
Norwich Research Park
Norwich NR4 7TJ
United Kingdom

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT

Investigating the Aspirations of Traveller Young People from a Site in a Suffolk Coastal Town

(1) What is this study about?

You are invited to take part in a research study about your child's aspirations, what they want to do and achieve in their life after they leave school. You have been invited to participate in this study because I am trying to find out about the aspirations of Traveller young people. This Participant Information Statement tells you about the research study. Knowing what is involved will help you decide if you want to take part in the research. Please read this sheet carefully and ask questions about anything that you don't understand or want to know more about.

Participation in this research study is voluntary. By giving your consent to take part in this study you are telling us that you:

- ✓ Understand what you have read.
- ✓ Agree to take part in the research study as outlined below.
- ✓ Agree to the use of your personal information as described.

(2) Who is running the study?

The study is being carried out by the following researcher: Mrs Angie Cator.

Mrs Cator is conducting this study as the basis for the degree of Doctor of Education at The University of East Anglia. This will take place under the supervision of Dr Spyros Themelis, Senior Lecturer in Education and Dr Esther Priyadharshini, Senior Lecturer in Education.

(3) What will the study involve?

Your child will be invited to work with me and with the other Traveller young people in the school. You will be asked if you would like to talk about your views. All meetings will be entirely voluntary and will take place whenever you choose.

(4) How much of my time will the study take?

Your participation is entirely voluntary and would take place at a suitable time for you outside school hours. I expect to start the study during January 2016 and to have finished the study by June 2016.

(5) Do I have to be in the study? Can I withdraw from the study once I've started?

Being in this study is completely voluntary and you do not have to take part. Your decision whether to participate will not affect your current or future relationship with Mrs Cator, East Coast High school or anyone else at the University of East Anglia.

If you decide to take part in the study and then change your mind later you are free to withdraw at any time. You can do this by contacting me at the school by telephone number 01502 530750, or by emailing me at school ac@ech.org.uk or at the UEA A.Cator@uea.ac.uk. If you would like to speak to someone else you can contact my supervisors: Dr Spyros Themelis, 01603 591733, S.Themelis@uea.ac.uk or Dr Esther Priyadharshini, E.Priya@uea.ac.uk

During the informal intervews, you are free to stop the interview at any time. Unless you say that you want us to keep them, any recordings will be erased and the information you have provided will not be included in the study results. You may also refuse to answer any questions that you do not wish to answer during the interview. If you decide at a later time to withdraw from the study your information will be removed from our study records and will not be included in the study results, up to the point that we have analysed and published the results and this would include the submission of the thesis for assessment purposes.

If you withdraw from the study, we will not collect any more information from you. Please let us know at the time when you withdraw what you would like us to do with the information we have collected from you up to that point. If you wish, your information will be removed from our study records and will not be included in publications, up to the point that we have analysed and published the results.

(6) Are there any risks or costs associated with being in the study?

I do not expect that there will be any risks or costs associated with taking part in this study.

(7) Are there any benefits associated with being in the study?

I will be giving you the opportunity to give your views about your child's aspirations and what influences them. My study will be used to inform the school, so that consideration can be given to possible opportunities to help your child work towards achieving their goal.

(8) What will happen to information that is collected during the study?

The data collected will be recorded in a way which protects your identity. All participants in the study will be referred to by a pseudonym, but their true age and gender will be recorded and used in the publication of the resulting data. All electronic copies of raw data, such as transcripts or notes of informal interviews will be kept in a password-protected file, accessible by me. All hard copies will be kept in a locked cupboard for ten years, in accordance with the UEA's ethics policy. Any of the data collected may be used for publication in anonymised form, so that you remain unidentifiable. This study will form part of a Doctoral Thesis but may be used in future publications.

By providing your consent, you are agreeing to us collecting personal information about you for the purpose of this research study, along with your views. Your information will only be used for the purposes outlined in this Participant Information Statement, unless you consent otherwise. Data management will follow the 1998 Data Protection Act and the University of East Anglia Research Data Management Policy (2013).

Your information will be stored securely and your identity/information will be kept strictly confidential, except as required by law. Study findings may be published. Although every effort will be made to protect your identity, there is a risk that you might be identifiable in publications due to the nature of the study and/or the results. In this instance, data will be stored for a period of 10 years and then destroyed.

We will keep the information we collect for this study, and we may use it in future projects. By providing your consent you are allowing us to use your information in future projects. We don't know at this stage what these other projects will involve. We will seek ethical approval before using the information in these future projects.

(9) What if we would like further information about the study?

When you have read this information, Mrs Cator will be available to discuss it with you further and answer any questions you may have. If you would like to know more at any stage during the study, please feel free to contact Dr Spyros Themelis 01603 591733, S.Themelis@uea.ac.uk.

(10) Will I be told the results of the study?

You have a right to receive feedback about the overall results of this study. You can tell us that you wish to receive feedback by ticking the relevant box on the consent form. I will invite all participants in the study to meet with me for feedback. This feedback will be in the form of an informal presentation coupled with a brief written summary of the data collected. You will receive this feedback after the study is finished.

(11) What if we have a complaint or any concerns about the study?

Research involving humans in UK is reviewed by an independent group of people called a Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC). The ethical aspects of this study have been approved under the regulations of the University of East Anglia's School of Education and Lifelong Learning Research Ethics Committee.

If there is a problem please let me know. You can contact me via the University at the following address:

Angie Cator

School of Education and Lifelong Learning

University of East Anglia

NORWICH NR4 7TJ

A.Cator@uea.ac.uk

or at school,

ac@ech.org.uk

If you would like to speak to someone else you can contact my supervisor:

Dr Spyros Themelis

01603 59733

S.Themelis@uea.ac.uk

If you are concerned about the way this study is being conducted or you wish to make a complaint to someone independent from the study, please contact please contact the Head of the School of Education and Lifelong Learning, Dr Nalini Boodhoo, at n.boodhoo@uea.ac.uk.

(12) OK, I'm happy to take part – what do I do next?

You need to fill in one copy of the consent form and ask your child to return it to Mrs Cator. Please keep the letter, information sheet and the 2nd copy of the consent form for your information.

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM (1st Copy to Researcher)

I, ... [PRINT NAME], agree to take part in this research study.

In giving my consent I state that:

- ✓ I understand the purpose of the study, what I will be asked to do, and any risks/benefits involved.
- ✓ I have read the Participant Information Statement and have been able to discuss my involvement in the study with the researchers if I wished to do so.
- ✓ The researchers have answered any questions that I had about the study and I am happy with the answers.

My decision whether to take part in the study will not affect my relationship with the researchers or anyone else at East Coast High school or the University of East Anglia now or in the future.

- ✓ I understand that being in this study is completely voluntary and I do not have to take part.
- ✓ I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time.
- ✓ I understand that I may stop the informal interview at any time if I do not wish to continue, and that unless I indicate otherwise any recordings will then be erased and the information provided will not be included in the study. I also understand that I may refuse to answer any questions I don't wish to answer.
- ✓ I understand that personal information about me that is collected over the course of this project will be stored securely and will only be used for purposes that I have agreed to. I understand that information about me will only be told to others with my permission, except as required by law.
- ✓ I understand that the results of this study may be published. Although every effort will be made to protect my identity, I may be identifiable in these publications due to the nature of the study or results.

I consent to:

- **Audio-recording**

  YES ☐ NO ☐

- **Would you like to receive feedback about the overall results of this study?**

  YES ☐ NO ☐

If you answered **YES**, please indicate your preferred form of feedback and address:

☐ Postal: _____

_____

☐ Email: _____

.....

Signature

.....

PRINT name

.....

Date

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM (2nd Copy to Participant)

I, ... [PRINT NAME], agree to take part in this research study.

In giving my consent I state that:

- ✓ I understand the purpose of the study, what I will be asked to do, and any risks/benefits involved.
- ✓ I have read the Participant Information Statement and have been able to discuss my involvement in the study with the researchers if I wished to do so.
- ✓ The researchers have answered any questions that I had about the study and I am happy with the answers.

My decision whether to take part in the study will not affect my relationship with the researchers or anyone else at East Coast High school or the University of East Anglia now or in the future.

- ✓ I understand that being in this study is completely voluntary and I do not have to take part.
- ✓ I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time.
- ✓ I understand that I may stop the informal interview at any time if I do not wish to continue, and that unless I indicate otherwise any recordings will then be erased and the information provided will not be included in the study. I also understand that I may refuse to answer any questions I don't wish to answer.
- ✓ I understand that personal information about me that is collected over the course of this project will be stored securely and will only be used for purposes that I have agreed to. I understand that information about me will only be told to others with my permission, except as required by law.
- ✓ I understand that the results of this study may be published. Although every effort will be made to protect my identity, I may be identifiable in these publications due to the nature of the study or results.

I consent to:

- **Audio-recording**

  YES ☐ NO ☐

- **Would you like to receive feedback about the overall results of this study?**

  YES ☐ NO ☐

If you answered **YES**, please indicate your preferred form of feedback and address:

☐ Postal: _____

_____

☐ Email: _____

.....

Signature

.....

PRINT name

.....

Date

(iv) Adult Participant PIS Opt-in Form

11th April 2016

Faculty of Social Sciences

School of Education and

Lifelong Learning

University of East Anglia

Norwich Research Park

Norwich NR4 7TJ

United Kingdom

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT

Investigating the Aspirations of Traveller Young People from a Site in a Suffolk Coastal Town

(1) What is this study about?

You are invited to take part in a research study about East Coast High school Traveller young people's aspirations. You have been invited to participate in this study because I am trying to find out how the Travelling community's young people are located in the school community and whether this influences their aspirations. To do this I need to understand how the ethos of the school has developed, particularly as this is a new school. This Participant Information Statement tells you about the research study. Knowing what is involved will help you decide if you want to take part in the research. Please read this sheet carefully and ask questions about anything that you don't understand or want to know more about.

Participation in this research study is voluntary. By giving your consent to take part in this study you are telling us that you:

- ✓ Understand what you have read.
- ✓ Agree to take part in the research study as outlined below.
- ✓ Agree to the use of your personal information as described.

(2) Who is running the study?

The study is being carried out by the following researcher: Mrs Angie Cator.
Angie Cator is conducting this study as the basis for the degree of Doctor of Education at The University of East Anglia. This will take place under the supervision of, Dr Spyros Themelis, Senior Lecturer in Education, and Dr Esther Priyadharshini, Senior Lecturer in Education.

(3) What will the study involve?

You will be asked to talk about the development of the ethos of the school, particularly with regard to the issues of inclusion, British values and citizenship. This may be by questionnaire or interview. All contributions will be entirely voluntary.

(4) How much of my time will the study take?

Your participation is entirely voluntary and would take place at a suitable time for you. I expect to have finished the study by July 2016.

(5) Do I have to be in the study? Can I withdraw from the study once I've started?

Being in this study is completely voluntary and you do not have to take part. Your decision whether to participate will not affect your current or future relationship with Angie Cator, East Coast High school or anyone else at the University of East Anglia.

If you decide to take part in the study and then change your mind later you are free to withdraw at any time. You can do this by contacting me at the school by telephone number 01502 530750, or by emailing me at school ac@ech.org.uk or at the UEA A.Cator@uea.ac.uk. If you would like to speak to someone else you can contact my supervisors: Dr Spyros Themelis, 01603 591733, S.Themelis@uea.ac.uk or Dr Esther Priyadharshini, 01603 592858, E.Priya@uea.ac.uk.

During the informal intervews, you are free to stop the interview at any time. Unless you say that you want us to keep them, any recordings will be erased and the information you have provided will not be included in the study results. You may also refuse to answer any questions that you do not wish to answer during the interview. If you decide at a later time to withdraw from the study your information will be removed from our study records and will not be included in the study results, up to the point that we have analysed and published the results and this would include the submission of the thesis for assessment purposes.

If you withdraw from the study, we will not collect any more information from you. Please let us know at the time when you withdraw what you would like us to do with the information we have collected from you up to that point. If you wish, your information will be removed from our study records and will not be included in publications, up to the point that we have analysed and published the results.

(6) Are there any risks or costs associated with being in the study?

I do not expect that there will be any risks or costs associated with taking part in this study.

(7) Are there any benefits associated with being in the study?

My study will be used to inform the school so that the extent to which Traveller young people feel included can be determined. Consideration can be given to possible opportunities to help Traveller young people work towards achieving their goals.

(8) What will happen to information that is collected during the study?

The data collected will be recorded in a way which protects your identity. All participants in the study will be referred to by a pseudonym, but their gender will be recorded and used in the publication of the resulting data. All electronic copies of raw data, such as transcripts or notes of informal interviews will be kept in a password-protected file, accessible by me. All hard copies will be kept in a locked cupboard for ten years, in accordance with the UEA's ethics policy. Any of the data collected may be used for publication in anonymised form, so that you remain unidentifiable. This study will form part of a Doctoral Thesis but may be used in future publications.

By providing your consent, you are agreeing to us ascertaining your relationship with or position within the school for the purpose of this research study, along with your views. Your information will only be used for the purposes outlined in this Participant Information Statement, unless you consent otherwise. Data management will follow the 1998 Data Protection Act and the University of East Anglia Research Data Management Policy (2013).

Your information will be stored securely and your identity/information will be kept strictly confidential, except as required by law. Study findings may be published. Although every effort will be made to protect your identity, there is a risk that you might be identifiable in publications due to the nature of the study and/or the results. In this instance, data will be stored for a period of 10 years and then destroyed.

We will keep the information we collect for this study, and we may use it in future projects. By providing your consent you are allowing us to use your information in future projects. We don't know at this stage what these other projects will involve. We will seek ethical approval before using the information in these future projects.

(9) **What if we would like further information about the study?**

When you have read this information, Angie Cator will be available to discuss it with you further and answer any questions you may have. If you would like to know more at any stage during the study, please feel free to contact Dr Spyros Themelis by telephone, 01603 592640,

or by email S.Themelis@uea.ac.uk, or Dr Esther Priyadharshini by telephone, 01603 592858, or by email, E.Priya@uea.ac.uk.

(10) Will I be told the results of the study?

You have a right to receive feedback about the overall results of this study. You can tell us that you wish to receive feedback by ticking the relevant box on the consent form. I will invite all participants in the study to meet with me for feedback. This feedback will be in the form of an informal presentation coupled with a brief written summary of the data collected. You will receive this feedback after the study is finished.

(11) What if we have a complaint or any concerns about the study?

Research involving humans in UK is reviewed by an independent group of people called a Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC). The ethical aspects of this study have been approved under the regulations of the University of East Anglia's School of Education and Lifelong Learning Research Ethics Committee.

If there is a problem please let me know. You can contact me via the University at the following address:

Angie Cator

School of Education and Lifelong Learning

University of East Anglia

NORWICH NR4 7TJ

A.Cator@uea.ac.uk

or at school,

ac@ech.org.uk

If you would like to speak to someone else you can contact either of my supervisors:

Dr Spyros Themelis

01603 591733

S.Themelis@uea.ac.uk

Dr Esther Priyadharshini

01603 592858

E.Priya@uea.ac.uk

If you are concerned about the way this study is being conducted or you wish to make a complaint to someone independent from the study, please contact please contact the Head of the School of Education and Lifelong Learning, Dr Nalini Boodhoo, at n.boodhoo@uea.ac.uk.

(12) OK, I'm happy to take part – what do I do next?

You need to fill in one copy of the consent form and ask your child to return it to Mrs Cator. Please keep the letter, information sheet and the 2nd copy of the consent form for your information.

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM (1st Copy to Researcher)

I, ... [PRINT NAME], agree to take part in this research study.

In giving my consent I state that:

- ✓ I understand the purpose of the study, what I will be asked to do, and any risks/benefits involved.
- ✓ I have read the Participant Information Statement and have been able to discuss my involvement in the study with the researchers if I wished to do so.
- ✓ The researchers have answered any questions that I had about the study and I am happy with the answers.

My decision whether to take part in the study will not affect my relationship with the researchers or anyone else at East Coast High school or the University of East Anglia now or in the future.

- ✓ I understand that being in this study is completely voluntary and I do not have to take part.
- ✓ I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time.
- ✓ I understand that I may stop the informal interview at any time if I do not wish to continue, and that unless I indicate otherwise any recordings will then be erased and the information provided will not be included in the study. I also understand that I may refuse to answer any questions I don't wish to answer.
- ✓ I understand that personal information about me that is collected over the course of this project will be stored securely and will only be used for purposes that I have agreed to. I understand that information about me will only be told to others with my permission, except as required by law.
- ✓ I understand that the results of this study may be published. Although every effort will be made to protect my identity, I may be identifiable in these publications due to the nature of the study or results.

I consent to:

- **Audio-recording**

  YES ☐ NO ☐

- **Would you like to receive feedback about the overall results of this study?**

  YES ☐ NO ☐

If you answered **YES**, please indicate your preferred form of feedback and address:

☐ Postal: _____

_____

☐ Email: _____

.....

Signature

.....

PRINT name

.....

Date

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM (2nd Copy to Participant)

I, ... [PRINT NAME], agree to take part in this research study.

In giving my consent I state that:

- ✓ I understand the purpose of the study, what I will be asked to do, and any risks/benefits involved.
- ✓ I have read the Participant Information Statement and have been able to discuss my involvement in the study with the researchers if I wished to do so.
- ✓ The researchers have answered any questions that I had about the study and I am happy with the answers.

My decision whether to take part in the study will not affect my relationship with the researchers or anyone else at East Coast High school or the University of East Anglia now or in the future.

- ✓ I understand that being in this study is completely voluntary and I do not have to take part.
- ✓ I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time.
- ✓ I understand that I may stop the informal interview at any time if I do not wish to continue, and that unless I indicate otherwise any recordings will then be erased and the information provided will not be included in the study. I also understand that I may refuse to answer any questions I don't wish to answer.
- ✓ I understand that personal information about me that is collected over the course of this project will be stored securely and will only be used for purposes that I have agreed to. I understand that information about me will only be told to others with my permission, except as required by law.
- ✓ I understand that the results of this study may be published. Although every effort will be made to protect my identity, I may be identifiable in these publications due to the nature of the study or results.

I consent to:

- **Audio-recording**

  YES ☐ NO ☐

- **Would you like to receive feedback about the overall results of this study?**

  YES ☐ NO ☐

If you answered **YES**, please indicate your preferred form of feedback and address:

☐ Postal: _____

_____

☐ Email: _____

.....

Signature

.....

PRINT name

.....

Date

(v) Notes to methods of data collection as discussed in the main thesis

Discussion of Data Collection – Traveller Families

I used various activities to facilitate discussion with the Traveller young people. Collectively I anticipated that they would facilitate the young people to explore their dreams and the influences on them from various perspectives, eliciting rich data and procuring deep understanding. I describe these activities and give my rationale for using them here.

Cameras

I invited participating young people to use a disposable camera provided by me to record what they regard as important to them at home and during their everyday lives. Participants were instructed not to photograph any other students for this activity to comply with the school's photograph policy and they were reassured that there are no "right" or "wrong" photographs, that they were intended to give an idea of what was important to them as an individual. Photographs were only obtained from one participant despite many conversations giving reminders and reassurances to the others. The photographs were printed and discussed.

My plan was that participants would be encouraged to make books, journals or 'mood boards' to explain their choices and the relevance of the choices to these, however the lack of response to this task, despite initial enthusiasm, made this impossible. An apparent eagerness to please or appease me by agreeing to whatever I ask for or offer followed by inaction is a repeating theme discussed in chapter 4. The only camera returned had numerous pictures taken by a younger sibling to the one taking part in the study who the young person reports snatched the camera and ran off with it. I realised that I was asking not only that the young people spend their time completing a task which they may have no interest in but that also they may not want me to have access to their lives at home. Added to this the cameras are clunky, unsophisticated and not particularly child friendly and therefore totally alien to the young people. Other forms of digital media were not acceptable to the School of Education's Ethics Board, "this way there is no potential for unwanted photos to be uploaded without consent and any photos of this type could be deleted at the time of printing" (EDU ethics application feedback 2014-2015).

Questionnaires

The first method I used with the young people and then with their families was questionnaires (appendix vi, appendix vii), they incurred discussion between the families and myself making them more akin to semi-structured interviews. The entire process including activities

completed at school covered some 34 weeks. I describe in chapter 3 how two of the parents chose to have the questions read to them and for me to scribe their responses on their behalf. All of the young people's questionnaires were completed in this way. Transcripts were revisited to allow for any retractions or changes to be made.

Young people's questions centred around their aspirations termed 'dreams', their perception of their parents', extended family and community's attitudes to these, their perception of the school's attitude to their aspirations and their knowledge of the aspirations and employment destinations of Travellers around the country. Along with eliciting the young people's career aspirations I wanted to discover their aspirations in an holistic sense, what they see as important more widely in their future. I also wanted to find out where they feel they 'fit' in the school, amongst their families and the wider Traveller community.

I wanted to give the Traveller parents the opportunity to record their views, their hopes and expectations for their children. I asked their opinions of the provision for their children by the school and its levels of support for them, and asked about their access to and levels of engagement with the school website. I gave parents the opportunity to talk about the Traveller Education Service, which has been almost completely disbanded in this county save for one Traveller Liaison Officer working through the whole region. I asked for their perceptions of the wider Traveller community in terms of what other Travellers do for employment and their perceptions of what other Traveller communities think of them and their children with regard to aspirations and expectations.

Careers Information Questionnaires

My next step was to find out the young people's interest in various career pathways (appendix viii). East Coast High school runs a series of careers information events, I listed those which have taken place during the academic year and asked the young people to state whether they are very interested in those careers, moderately interested or have no interest at all. They were asked to name other careers in which they would be interested to find more information. I did not ask if they attend the events, I wanted to discover their interests, not necessarily their commitment to events which are held during lunchtimes.

Family Trees

In order to uncover any family influence on the young people's aspirations I drew family trees with each of them (appendix ix), asking them to state the jobs the family members have. Where there are instances of occupations being repeated, I asked the young person why they

think they have family members doing the same thing, and whether they 'look up to' any particular family member and want to follow in their footsteps.

Male-Both-Female Venn Diagram

The young people were asked to list and classify any jobs as 'male', 'both', or 'female', they were presented with a Venn diagram and their perceptions were recorded on it (appendix x). This was designed to be cross-referenced with the family trees during analysis to indicate the level of family influence on the perceptions of the young people.

'Time Machine'

I presented the participants with a "Time Machine" activity in which they recorded what they will be doing in five, ten and fifteen years (appendix xi), I wanted to find out whether they think the aspirations and interests they expressed in previous activities are likely for them, and, particularly if they are different to their older family members' employment, whether they perceive them as real possibilities. It was made clear that this activity could relate to anything they thought they may be doing in the future, it did not have to relate to employment, there were answers given which relate to life in general as a result.

Vignettes

The final activity I undertook with each of the Traveller young people was to use vignettes (appendix xii, xiii, xiv) alongside a diagram of a snakes and ladder board (appendix xv) and a "Thoughts Board" (appendix xvi) which has headings for 'snakes', 'ladders', 'questions' and 'comments'. Barter & Renold (1999) claim that "vignettes provide a valuable technique for exploring people's perceptions, beliefs and meanings about specific situations, and are especially useful for sensitive areas of inquiry that may not be readily assessable through other means" (p4). I used the vignettes to tell the life stories of three Travellers who have become successful in their fields of art, boxing and through higher education at Cambridge to a career in journalism, they were taken from news articles and include a brief personal history along with a photograph which I showed the young people as I recounted the bibliography to enable them to visualise the individual being discussed. I was keenly aware that the telling of these should not convey a patronising (or surprised) 'look how well Travellers can do', but that they focus on the process of unpicking the perceived 'snakes' and 'ladders' through each journey.

(vi) Young Person's Questionnaire. Prior to this questionnaire the purpose of the study was explained and consent/permission for participation obtained both from the young person and their parent(s). The type and order of intended activities was discussed. In all cases the young people asked me to scribe their responses to the questionnaire on their behalf.

Young Person's Questionnaire

Name: **Thank you for taking part in this survey**

1. **What do you dream of doing?**

2. **Why? Who or what influences you?**

3. **What do you need to achieve your dream?**

4. **How do you think your parents feel about your dream?**

5. **How do you think your extended family (aunts and uncles, cousins and grandparents) feel about your dream?**

6. **How do you think your neighbours in the Traveller community feel about your dream?**

7. **How do you think the school feels about your dream?**

8. **Is anyone helping you to achieve your dream?**

9. **How do you feel that the school is supporting you to achieve your dream?**

10. **Could anyone else help you?**

11. **Do you know what Traveller young people from other parts of the country are doing?**

12. **Do you have anything else that you would like to say?**

(vii) Traveller Family Questionnaire. Prior to this questionnaire the purpose of the study was explained and consent to participation obtained. Three participants (representing four young people) asked me to scribe their responses to the questionnaire on their behalf, Christie was the exception.

Traveller Family Questionnaire

Name: **Thank you for taking part in this survey**

1. **What is your dream for your child?**

2. **Does your child share your dream for them or do they dream of something else?**

3. **Who supports your child in working towards achieving their dream?**

4. **Does the school support your child?**

5. **Do you feel included in the school as a Traveller parent?**

6. **Do you receive letters or email from the school?**

7. **Do you access the school website? What do you think of it?**

8. **Have you missed the Traveller Education Service?**

9. **Do you know what Travellers in other parts of the country are doing in terms of education and careers?**

10. **Do you have anything else that you would like to say?**

(viii) Careers Information Questionnaire

Careers Information Questionnaire

Name:

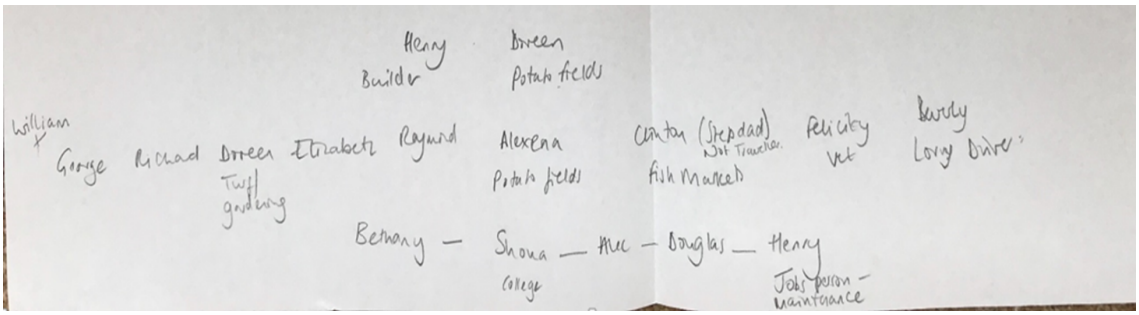
Which of the following would you be interested in?

Career Chat Show:	Not At All	Maybe	Definitely	Comments
PE Teacher				
Paramedic				
Social Worker				
Journalist				
Hairdresser				
Planning Engineer				
(Other) Teacher				
Beauty Therapist				
Police				
Army				
Nursery Worker				
RAF				
Firefighter				
Physiotherapist				
Navy				
Nurse				
Tattoo Artist				
Scientist				

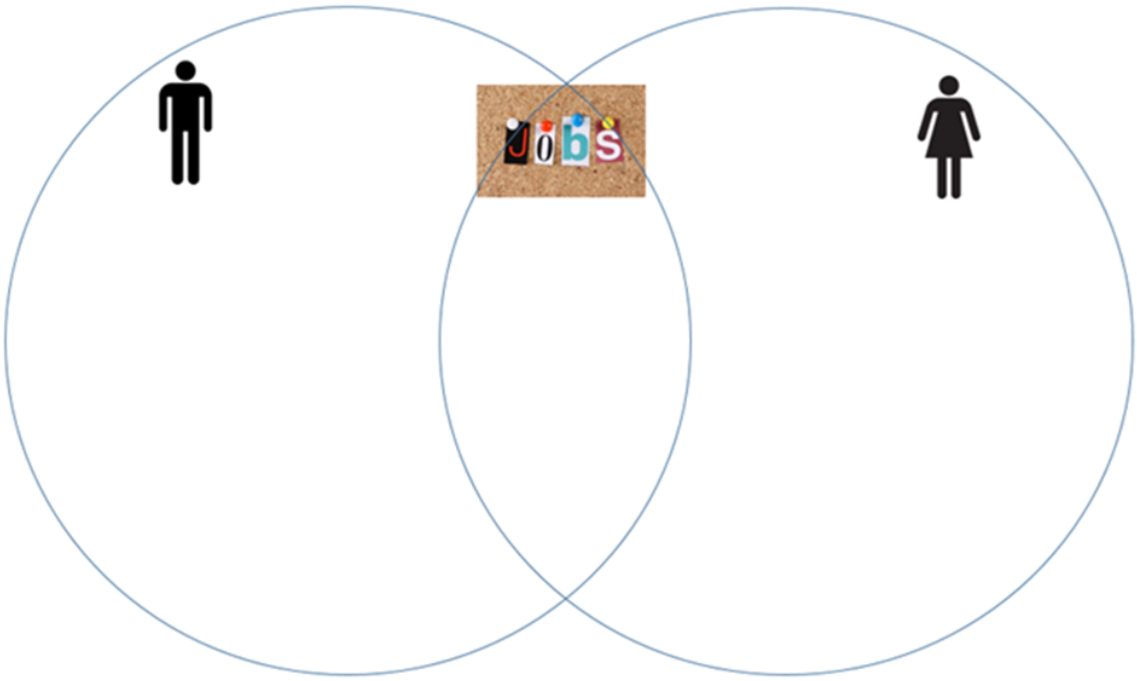
Please list any other careers you may be interested in learning about

Any other comments

(ix) Family Tree (example) – to discuss influence of family on aspirations



(x) Male/Female/Both Jobs Venn Diagram – to discuss perceptions of gender and employment



(xi) “Time Machine” – to discuss ‘real’ expectations for the future. I used this to gauge the young people’s expectations, rather than their dreams, for themselves.

What I will be doing in …

… five years

… ten years

… fifteen years

(xii) Vignette – Artist (Damian Le Bas Sr.)

Damian was born in 1963 in Sheffield

His family are Irish Travellers

He grew up in a large extended family of 40 people

They were labourers, flower sellers, builders, animal trainers, and artists

Damian went to the Royal College of Art

He became an artist and married another Traveller artist

They had a son

They stayed with their large family while their son was growing up

Damian became famous

His work is shown all around the world

(xiii) Vignette – Boxer (Billy Joe)

Billy Joe was born in 1989

His family are Travellers who live in Hertfordshire

His grandad (Absolom Beeney) was a bare-knuckle boxer who was famous in the community

Billy Joe trained at Cheshunt Amateur Boxing Club

He won his first 49 amateur fights

He went to the Beijing Olympics in 2008

He was the first British Traveller ever to take part in the Olympic Games

He won his first fight but lost his second fight

He became a professional boxer

He has won the Commonwealth Middleweight title, the European Middleweight title and the WBO Middleweight title

(xiv) Vignette – Journalist (Zoah)

Zoah was born in 1993

She was born into a Travelling family in Suffolk

Her family could not read or write

She lived with her mum and sister in a caravan

She went to school from September to Easter but spent the summer term and all of the summer holidays travelling with a fair

She worked on her mum's food van selling burgers, toffee apples and candy floss

She did well at school and got GCSEs and started A'levels

She went to a Summer School to find out about university

She got a place at Cambridge University to study History

She has finished her degree with a First (the highest grade)

She is staying on at university to do a one year journalism course

(xv) Snakes and Ladders Board – used to discuss the vignettes

(xvi) Thoughts Board – used to discuss the vignettes and record responses to them – ‘snakes’, ‘ladders’, questions and any other thoughts, comments or suggestions

(xvii) Notes to methods of data collection as discussed in the main thesis

Discussion of Data Collection – East Coast High School

I used various sources to obtain rich data giving different perspectives, and procuring deep understanding. I describe these activities and give my rationale for using them here.

School Website

I scrutinized the school website (appendix xviii) in my preparation of the questions asked both of the founding governors and Senior Leadership Team (SLT) and for the staff survey, focussing particularly on sections relating to the issues of diversity and British Values, and I considered the apparent juxtaposition between the two. The website is the first view of the school by many outsiders including prospective parents, current parents, prospective employees and any other interested party. It provides a window to the school, the views and attitudes expressed on it are fundamental in placing the school in the community, representing the structure and ethos of the school.

Questionnaires

I sent questionnaires along with a covering letter to each of the founding governors and founding members of the Senior Leadership Team (SLT) of East Coast High school, along with the Special Educational Needs and Disabilities Coordinator (SENDCO), Special Educational Needs and Disabilities Manager (SENDM) (appendix xix) and a slightly amended version to Enrichment Coordinator (EC) (appendix xx). Six of the seven founding governors, all four founding senior leaders and three other key personnel, the SENDCO, SENDM and EC completed the questionnaire.

Staff Survey

I conducted a staff survey using 'Survey Monkey' (appendix xxi). The survey was sent electronically to all 123 staff at the school with a school email account, including teaching staff, teaching assistants, technicians, ICT support staff and all other office staff, finance officers, the attendance officer, exams officers and others. 42 responded. Some staff have been with the school since its foundation, others have been employed in the intervening years. The survey comprised four short questions, I wanted to garner as much information from as many respondents as possible by impinging as little as I could on the time constraints of those willing to take part. The first two questions (appendix xxii, appendix xxiii) were designed to discover the respondent's position in the school and their year of joining so that I could establish whether there is any correlation between the following answers and either of the first two

categories. The third question (xxiv) was designed to gauge the level of awareness of the Traveller young people in the school and the final question (appendix xxv) was quoted directly from the school website on the issue of diversity in the school.

Governor Meeting Minutes

For greater understanding of the position of the school with regard to Travellers I read through the minutes of governors' meetings from the beginning of the planning of East Coast High school into its first year starting in September 2011. I particularly looked for mention of the young people from the Travellers site within the school catchment to see whether their requirements were considered in issues such as transport to and from school and with regard to other needs. This was used to triangulate the data obtained particularly with regard to school provision for the Traveller cohort and the awareness of the founding governors, senior leaders and other key personnel of the Traveller cohort present from the inception of the school.

(xviii) The School Website (01.04.2016) – The origin of the questions I posed to school staff to examine inclusion at East Coast High school

The School Website

"At East Coast High school British values are central to our school ethos and are promoted not only through the curriculum and its content but also through every aspect of school life. We understand the vital role that we must play in ensuring that groups or individuals within the school community are not subjected to intimidation or radicalisation by those wishing to unduly or illegally influence them.

The government has defined core British values as being:

- *Democracy*
- *Individual liberty and freedom of speech*
- *The rule of law and equality of opportunity*
- *Mutual respect*
- *Tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs and the rights of all men and women to live free from persecution of any kind*

We believe that it is the duty of every member of staff to support and promote these fundamental values which form part of our Spiritual, Moral, Social and Cultural Policy. This duty also falls under the current Teacher Standards Part Two: Personal and Professional Conduct."

Each of the government-defined core British values are listed with examples of the way in which each of them are addressed at the school given. The final British Value, *"Tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs and the rights of all men and women to live free from persecution of any kind"* is addressed as follows:

"At East Coast High school we do not believe that a diversity of faiths and beliefs is something to be tolerated but rather celebrated. ***We are emboldened and strengthened by our diversity.*** *We promote the importance of learning and working together with those with different faiths and beliefs through:*

- *Celebrating and learning about different faiths and cultures through CCBV lessons taught to all pupils.*
- *A zero-tolerance policy to bullying.*
- *Our partnership and exchanges with the Sir Padampat Singhania Education Centre in India and regular trips abroad to Spain and France.*
- *The work of the REactions group who promote tolerance and diversity across school.*
- *A curriculum which helps pupils to learn about a wide range of people, cultures and beliefs and so develops pupils' ability to make informed decisions, form and be confident in their own identity and understand and respect that of others.*
- *Assemblies which celebrate and draw inspiration from festivals and teachings from a range of different faiths.*

- *The annual Open Space event where pupils spend reflective time in a quiet area of the school, take part in self-exploration activities and learn from a range of visitors from different faiths."*

(xix) Founding SLT and Governor Questionnaire

Prior to this questionnaire the purpose of the study was explained and consent to participation obtained. Participants were invited to respond by completing a paper copy of the questionnaire, an electronic copy or to email me and I would arrange a time to discuss the questions in a telephone or face-to-face conversation. Two were completed by a telephone conversation during which I scribed answers and read them back to the participant, all others were completed either on paper or electronically.

East Coast High School Founding SLT and Governor Questionnaire

Name (optional)

1. **When setting up the school, were you aware of the demography of the catchment?**
2. **How was the demography of the catchment factored into the development of the school ethos?**
3. **How was the Traveller community within the catchment area considered in the setting up of the school?**
4. **When setting up the school, how were extra-curricular activities decided?**
5. **When establishing the curriculum was the local economy the primary factor or was a wider view taken?**
6. **When establishing the curriculum were the specific needs of the Traveller community explored? How?**
7. **How is the school successful in its drive to be, "a school at the heart of the community, an extended school with a focus for community learning and development"?**
8. **How are we, "emboldened and strengthened by our diversity as a school"?**
9. **Are you aware of any particular contact that we, as a school, have with the Traveller community at Romany Lane particularly following the demise of the Traveller Education Service?**
10. **Do you have any other comments?**

Thank you for your contribution to my research. Your input will be entirely anonymised, if you include your name it will only be used to enable me to ask further questions if they arise from your answers.

(xx) Enrichment Coordinator Questionnaire

East Coast High School Founding Enrichment Co-ordinator Questionnaire

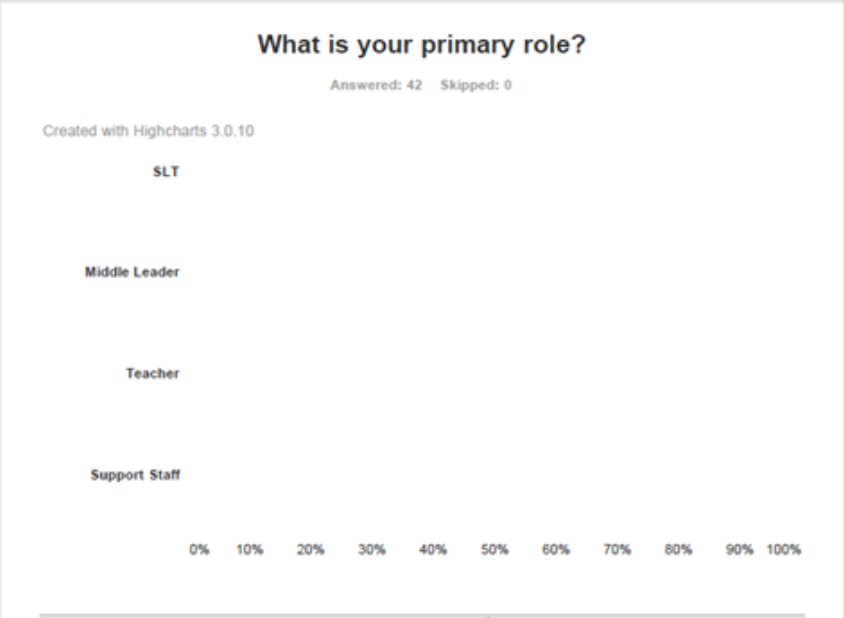
The Enrichment Co-ordinator was a non-teaching, temporary member of staff who organised the first year's enrichment activities. I was interested to discover how inclusive the activities were, particularly to the Traveller children.

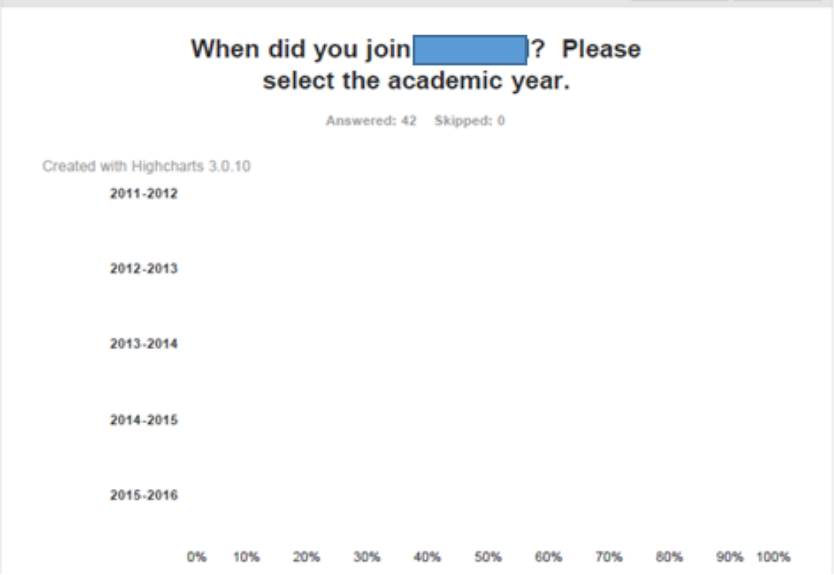
Name (optional)

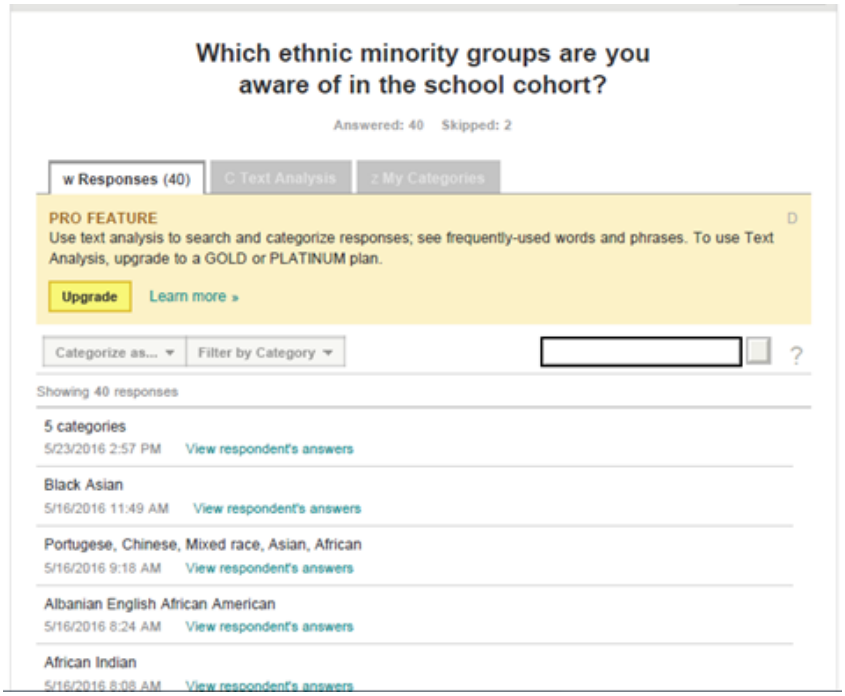
1. **When involved in setting up the school, were you aware of the demography of the catchment area?**
2. **How was the demography of the catchment factored into the development of the school enrichment programme?**
3. **How was the Traveller community within the catchment area considered in the setting up of the school enrichment programme?**
4. **When setting up the school, how were extra-curricular activities decided?**
5. **How is the school successful in its drive to be, "a school at the heart of the community, an extended school with a focus for community learning and development"?**
6. **How are we, "emboldened and strengthened by our diversity as a school"?**
7. **Do you have any other comments?**

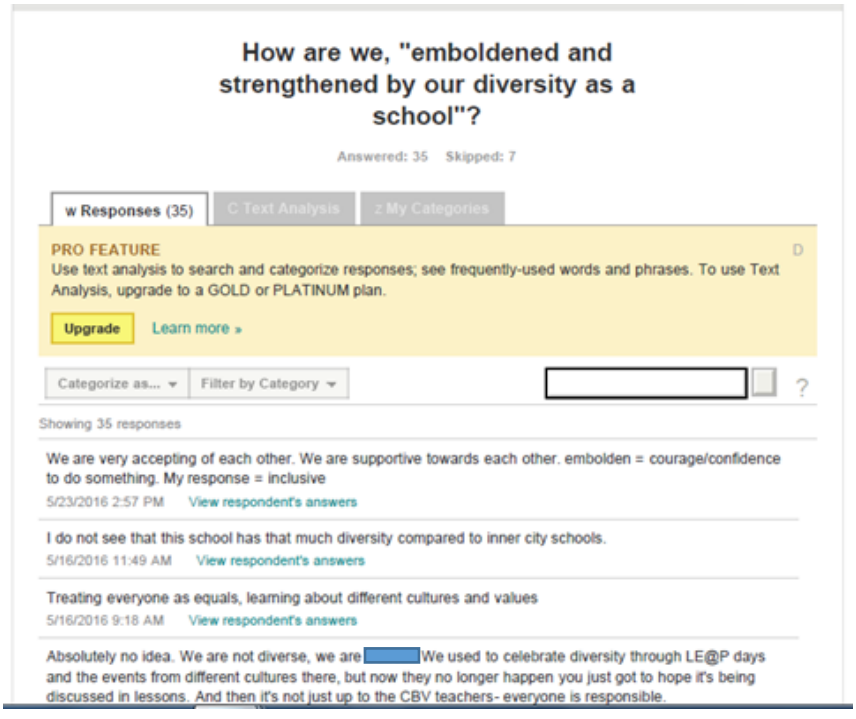
Thank you for your contribution to my research. Your input will be entirely anonymised, if you include your name it will only be used to enable me to ask further questions if they arise from your answers.

(xxi) 'Survey Monkey' Survey – sent to all staff at East Coast High school to gauge awareness of the Traveller young people in the cohort and to explore responses to the (website) claim that "we are emboldened and strengthened by our diversity as a school"






Which ethnic minority groups are you aware of in the school cohort?
Answered: 40 Skipped: 2
w Responses (40)
C Text Analysis
z My Categories
PRO FEATURE
Use text analysis to search and categorize responses; see frequently-used words and phrases. To use Text Analysis, upgrade to a GOLD or PLATINUM plan.
Upgrade
Learn more »
Categorize as...
Filter by Category
Showing 40 responses
5 categories
5/23/2016 2:57 PM View respondent's answers
Black Asian
5/16/2016 11:49 AM View respondent's answers
Portugese, Chinese, Mixed race, Asian, African
5/16/2016 9:18 AM View respondent's answers
Albanian English African American
5/16/2016 8:24 AM View respondent's answers
African Indian
5/16/2016 8:08 AM View respondent's answers


How are we, "emboldened and strengthened by our diversity as a school"?
Answered: 35 Skipped: 7
w Responses (35)
C Text Analysis
z My Categories
PRO FEATURE
Use text analysis to search and categorize responses; see frequently-used words and phrases. To use Text Analysis, upgrade to a GOLD or PLATINUM plan.
Upgrade
Learn more »
Categorize as...
Filter by Category
Showing 35 responses
We are very accepting of each other. We are supportive towards each other. embolden = courage/confidence to do something. My response = inclusive
5/23/2016 2:57 PM View respondent's answers
I do not see that this school has that much diversity compared to inner city schools.
5/16/2016 11:49 AM View respondent's answers
Treating everyone as equals, learning about different cultures and values
5/16/2016 9:18 AM View respondent's answers
Absolutely no idea. We are not diverse, we are [redacted] We used to celebrate diversity through LE@P days and the events from different cultures there, but now they no longer happen you just got to hope it's being discussed in lessons. And then it's not just up to the CBV teachers- everyone is responsible.

(xxii) Staff Survey Q1 – Primary Role Held at East Coast High school

Table 1 - Staff on roll at East Coast High school

Role:	Number:
SLT	6
Middle Leaders	16
Teachers	32
Support (all)	69
Total	123

Q1. What is your primary role?

This question was asked to enable an analysis of responses based on role to be conducted whilst allowing respondents to remain anonymous. Analysis of data from the questionnaire given to founding governors and senior leaders at East Coast High school had shown a relationship between the position held and the awareness of and consideration awarded to the Traveller cohort. Additionally, the position held brings differing levels of power in terms of strategic decision making and direct contact with the young people concerned, these are seemingly diametrically opposed to each other, the more power a particular position holds the less contact the individual in that position has with those affected by that power and vice versa. A breakdown of the 42 respondents is shown (see Table 2).

Table 2 - Breakdown of respondents by role

Role:	Number:	Percentage:
SLT	3	7.17%
Middle Leader	8	19.05%
Teacher	8	19.05%
Support	23	54.76%

The Breakdown of Respondents by Role shows the spread of actual respondents to the survey. It is also useful to see the percentage of respondents by role out of the total possible respondents by role (see Table 3). 42 out of a total staff body of 123 responded to the survey, 34%. It could be argued that one group have more time than another for such a survey or that one group feel more responsible than another, however this is speculation and open to interpretation.

Table 3 – Actual Respondents out of Total in Category

Role:	Total in Category:	Respondents:	Percentage of Total:
SLT	6	3	50
Middle Leader	16	8	50
Teacher	32	8	25
Support Staff	69	23	33

(xxiii) Staff Survey Q2 – Year of Joining East Coast High school

Q2. Which year did you join East Coast High school?

As East Coast High school is a new school formed as part of the school reorganisation from a three tier to a two tier system it is somewhat peculiar as it started with years seven and eight only and added a year group each year until it reached capacity in 2014. Because of this the experience of staff is very different depending on the year in which they joined the school. Each new academic year added 180 students and additional staff to the school. Roles changed, during the early stages of the school teaching staff were expected to teach multiple subjects due to the low numbers of staff feasible with the size of the school, and senior leaders had a spread of responsibilities, somewhat unusually for a High school leadership team. As the school grew the separation into specialisms became more pronounced and an increase in middle leaders allowed senior leaders to assume more strategic and less operational roles. This was accompanied with the change in dynamic of a school which grew 150% in three years, and a student body which started with 11 to 13 year olds and finally reached 11 to 16 2014. In addition to the changing dynamic of the school community the old building was demolished and the new school built in three stages over three of these years. The year in which one joined the school therefore may have a profound effect on the experience of and perception of the school by the staff responding to the survey (see Table 4). For the purpose of the survey the whole academic year was considered to allow for respondents who joined mid-way through the year to indicate the academic year of joining.

Table 4 – Year of joining East Coast High school – total respondents

Year of Joining:	Actual:	Percent of Respondents:
2011 – 2012	14	33.33%
2012 – 2013	4	9.52%
2013 – 2014	6	14.29%
2014 – 2015	9	21.43%
2015 – 2016	9	21.43%

A breakdown is given of respondents by year of joining and role (see Table 5). The percentage shows the percent of respondents in that role joining each year, so 66% of SLT respondents joined East Coast High school in the academic year 2011 – 2012, while 33% of SLT respondents joined East Coast High school in the academic year 2015 – 2016, for example.

Table 5 – Breakdown of respondents by year of joining and role

Year:	SLT actual	SLT %	Middle actual	Middle %	Teacher actual	Teacher %	Support actual	Support %	Total:
2011-12	2	66	2	25	3	37.5	7	30.4	14
2012-13	0		1	12.5	0		3	13	4
2013-14	0		2	25	2	25	2	8.7	6
2014-15	0		2	25	1	12.5	6	26.1	9
2015-16	1	33	1	12.5	2	25	5	21.7	9
Total:	**3**		**8**		**8**		**23**		**42**

(xxiv) Staff Survey Q3 – Awareness of Ethnic Minority Groups at East Coast High school

Q3. Which ethnic minority groups are you aware of in the school cohort?

East Coast High school is not an ethnically diverse school and this question was designed to gauge awareness amongst staff of the Traveller cohort. The term "ethnic minority" was used as the "Google" definition, one which I consider many staff would access if they needed a definition, is

"a group within a community which has different national or cultural traditions from the main population".

Middle leaders stand out as the group most aware of Travellers as an ethnic minority group at East Coast High school (see Table 6).

Table 6 – Respondents who listed "Traveller" as an ethnic minority group at East Coast High school by role

Role:	Actual/Total Respondents in category:	Percentage of Respondents in Category:
SLT	1/3	33.3%
Middle Leader	5/8	62.5%
Teacher	2/8	25%
Support Staff	7/23	30.4%
Total	**15/42**	**35.7%**

Further analysis was completed to establish whether this data shows that middle leaders as a whole are more aware of the Traveller cohort or whether the year of joining is related (see Table 7). This set of data indicates that the respondents who joined East Coast High school in the academic year 2013 – 2014 are more aware of the Traveller cohort. It must be noted that such a small sample cannot be considered statistically significant. Further investigation revealed that these staff were given the same induction and training as new starters in other years, and that this was delivered by a manager and the Special Educational Needs and Disabilities Coordinator (SENDCO), whose role was also Inclusion Manager[81], as had been the case previously. The SENDCO left East Coast High school at the end of that academic year,

[81] SENDCO is a nationally recognised role which demands specific, statutory training. Inclusion Manager is a role which encompasses inclusion across the school, not only those with special educational needs and disabilities.

induction and training has since been carried out by the same manager working alone. This indicates that the induction and training were not reasons for the difference in awareness of the Traveller cohort seen in the data, no other reasons have been found for this.

Induction includes a talk, a tour, some 'getting to know you' activities (where there is more than one new member of staff at the induction) housekeeping activities such as activating internet access and having photographs taken for badges and fingerprints for access, and each new member of staff is given an induction handbook. The handbook contains a checklist of 54 activities to fulfil independently such as reading the dress code, meeting the line manager and meeting the Inclusion Manager and submitting declarations of pecuniary activities, all with spaces for dates and signatures to be inserted. It is required that new staff provide a completed copy of the checklist by the end of the first half term. The handbook contains a variety of information pertinent to East Coast High school including a section entitled "Equal Opportunities". This sets out the ways in which the school will ensure "Equal Opportunities for all, regardless of race, gender, creed, circumstance, age or disability", qualifying that "this is in line with [Local Authority] guidelines on Equal Opportunities and the Equality Act 2010". A "General Philosophy" is given, bullet-pointed statements "to achieve equal opportunities for all" including to "Acknowledge and value the contributions of different cultures to British society and to celebrate these achievements through a multi-cultural approach to learning and teaching". Under the subheading "Gender and Race", "Thought will be given to appropriate role models within the School structure", "Staff will seek to reflect fairly the cultural diversity of the School in resources, display work, events organised, and achievements acknowledged", "Pupils will be encourage (sic) to maintain contact with their community languages and languages teaching in the School will reflect pupils' needs within the scope of the School's resources".

Table 7 – Respondents who listed "Traveller" as an ethnic minority group at East Coast High school by year of joining

Year:	**Actual/Total:**	**Percentage of total respondents:**
2011 – 2012	7/14	50%
2012 – 2013	1/4	25%
2013 – 2014	3/6	50%
2014 – 2015	2/9	22.2%
2015 – 2016	2/9	22.2%

The pattern seen in the responses from support staff, that their awareness of the Traveller cohort was at its highest at the start of the school and has reduced since (see Table 8), suggests that the comment made by the founding SENDCO, that "the Traveller community were taken into consideration in the setting up of the school by my Inclusion faculty but perhaps not so thoroughly by the whole staff" may have some bearing. However, the comment raised by the Assistant Head Teacher – Data (AHTD), that "maybe communication across the school was lacking. Whatever came in may not have got across the school to help the kids (i.e. information gained from the Assistant Head Teacher – Pastoral (AHTP) and SENDCO was kept close, not really shared)" may indicate a different perspective for the same sentiment, that not everyone was aware of the Traveller cohort. While the induction information purports to ensure "Equal Opportunities" the lack of specific guidance to alert staff to the Traveller cohort gives rise to question of how useful the information given is in the context of the school and its particular demographic framework.

Table 8 - Respondents who listed "Traveller" as an ethnic minority group at East Coast High school by role and year

Year:	SLT:	Percent%	Middle Leader:	Percent:	Teacher:	Percent:	Support Staff:	Percent:
2011-12	1	100%	1	20%	1	50%	4	57%
2012-13							1	14%
2013-14			2	40%	1	50%		
2014-15			1	20%			1	14%
2015-16			1	20%			1	14%

Table 9 - Respondents who listed “Traveller” as an ethnic minority group at East Coast High school against total of that group who joined in that year, Actual/Total Respondents in that category and Percent of that category of respondents

Year:	SLT Actual:	SLT Percent:	Middle Leader Actual:	Middle Leader Percent:	Teacher Actual:	Teacher Percent:	Support Staff Actual:	Support Staff Percent:
2011-12	1/2	50%	1/2	50%	1/3	33%	4/7	57.1%
2012-13							1/3	33.3%
2013-14			2/2	100%	1/2	50%		
2014-15			1/2	50%			1/6	16.7%
2015-16			1/1	100%			1/5	20%

(xxv) Staff Survey Q4 – How are we "emboldened and strengthened by our diversity as a school?"

Q4. How are we "emboldened and strengthened by our diversity as a school"?

This question comes from a statement on the school website which makes the claim and was used as a question posed to founding governors and SLT (Q8). Of the 42 respondents six gave affirmative responses to this question (see Table 10) answering the question 'Are we "emboldened and strengthened by our diversity as a school?"' rather than '**How** are we "emboldened and strengthened by our diversity as a school?"'. These include one member of SLT, one middle leader and four support staff. Affirmative responses to this question indicating that the respondent perceives that we are "emboldened and strengthened by our diversity as a school" are as follows (all data presented here is in the order in which the responses were sent to the survey) (an asterisk indicates this respondent listed Travellers as an ethnic minority represented in the East Coast High school cohort).

Two of the six respondents to this question (33%) recognise Travellers as 'ethnic minorities' but do not refer explicitly to this or any other group in their response. The other 67% indicate that the school is "strengthened by its diversity" but either failed to recognise the Traveller young people in school as part of an 'ethnic minority' or are unaware of their heritage.

This particular group of responses reiterate 'understanding' and 'accepting' and they are supported in their assumption that proximity to, and knowledge of, people different to oneself increases the likelihood of assimilation, which can be argued to demonstrate how a community can be "strengthened by our diversity". Responses such as "The diversity at East Coast High strengthens the ethos of the school" is unsubstantiated and as such may be vacuous, an example of the respondent saying what they think is either wanted or expected of them.

Table 10 – Affirmative responses to the question 'How are we "emboldened and strengthened by our diversity as a school?"'

Staff Category:	**Year of Joining:**	**Comment:**
Support Staff*	2011 – 2012	By having pupils from different backgrounds we can learn from. We can foster a culture of diversity and tolerance.
Support Staff*	2014 – 2015	The school staff and students are more open to new cultures and beliefs. The students feel more accepted and show understanding towards others.
SLT	2011 – 2012	Our school isn't the most diverse through different cultures as we have the majority of white British pupils. However, having pupils and staff from different ethnicities and backgrounds encourages questioning and understanding.
Support Staff	2014 – 2015	Students from a younger age are being introduced to different ethnic minority groups, which is important as (the town) is changing – and the ethnic diversity within the locality has changed significantly. This helps the students to be more accommodating and accepting within the school.
Support Staff	2014 – 2015	The diversity at East Coast High strengthens the ethos of the school.
Middle Leader	2011 – 2012	We are very accepting of each other. We are supportive towards each other. Embolden = courage/confidence to do something. My response = inclusive.

Seven respondents answered the question by giving examples of how they have seen evidence of being "emboldened and strengthened by our diversity as a school" (see Table 11) as opposed to answering the question in terms of their agreement or otherwise to the statement (an asterisk indicates this respondent listed Travellers as an ethnic minority represented in the East Coast High school cohort).

Of these seven, four (57%) named Travellers as an 'ethnic minority' represented at East Coast High school. However none of them made any reference to Travellers in their response. Proudly stating that "All individuals are treated equally" demonstrates the desire to be fair and equitable. What is lacking is the realisation that in fact they are not, the majority culture is taught to all and, while other cultures are studied to an extent, there is no place in the curriculum for Traveller culture, this is alluded to but not recognised by the first respondent.

Table 11 – Evidence as a response to the question 'How are we "emboldened and strengthened by our diversity as a school?"'

Staff Category:	**Year of Joining:**	**Comment:**
Teacher*	2011 – 2012	We teach Shadow to year 7 (about an asylum seeker from Afghanistan) so having pupils with EAL helps with pupils' ability to accept other cultures and nationalities. Diversity brings different experiences which can be shared in the classroom and outside, leading to children from this area broadening their thinking.
Middle Leader*	2014 =- 2015	School values, British values, SMSC, all lessons.
Support Staff*	2011 – 2012	We take positive action to combat stereotyping, prejudice, bullying, unjust discrimination and racism.
Teacher	2015 – 2016	We have a sense of belonging in our school community. All individuals are treated equally.
Support Staff	2014 – 2015	Good.
Middle Leader*	2013 – 2014	Pupils are exposed to different cultures, which is important experience for them when they live in such an ethnically homogenous area.
SLT	2015 – 2016	SMSC, assembly, positive messages, History and CCBV on culture.

Eight respondents (see Table 12) answered in a way in which they qualify why being "emboldened and strengthened by our diversity as a school" is desirable (an asterisk indicates this respondent listed Travellers as an ethnic minority represented in the East Coast High school cohort).

Three out of the eight responses (38%) listed Travellers as an 'ethnic minority' represented at East Coast High school, again no direct reference at all was made to the Travellers in any of the responses to this question.

All of these responses talk of the benefit of being "emboldened and strengthened by our diversity" but none, including those three who listed Traveller as an ethnic minority at East Coast High school, equate that to the Traveller young people in the school. The final respondent talks of "Treating everyone as equals, learning about different cultures and values" but there appears to be a 'blind spot' which prevents staff from recognising the missed opportunity to learn about Traveller culture from the young people and their families who are part of the school community.

Table 12 – Responses to the question 'How are we "emboldened and strengthened by our diversity as a school?"' which qualify why being so is desirable

Staff Category:	**Year of Joining:**	**Comment:**
SLT*	2011 – 2012	Broader outlook, consideration for others, links with other nationalities.
Support Staff	2015 – 2016	Allows us to develop in our attitudes towards ethnic minorities, so that as a generation we can move on and fit into most other places in the UK of whom are far more diverse than we are in (this town).
Middle Leader	2014 – 2015	In a predominantly white British area, it is good for our students to experience life in or from another culture.
Support Staff*	2011 – 2012	It helps to increase tolerance and awareness.
Teacher	2015 – 2016	We can learn from different cultures, e.g. religious views, family values, work ethics. The diversity in the school represents the community we support.
Support Staff	2011 – 2012	Made aware of different cultures and beliefs.
Support Staff*	2012 – 2013	Open minded and aim to educate students about various ethnic beliefs through lessons and extra activities.
Support Staff	2015 – 2016	Treating everyone as equals, learning about different cultures and values.

Thirteen respondents (see Table 13) state clearly that they do not believe that we are "emboldened and strengthened by our diversity as a school" (an asterisk indicates this respondent listed Travellers as an ethnic minority represented in the East Coast High school cohort).

Five of the thirteen respondents in this group listed Travellers as an 'ethnic minority' at East Coast High school but none referred either directly or indirectly to Travellers in their response to this question.

This set of responses gives rise to various points. "We don't seem to have any bullying issues specifically related to ethnic groups" is an incorrect assumption which may have arisen for different reasons. It may be that the number of racist incidents is low but the number of students from ethnic minorities is low, so proportionally the number may not be low at all. Additionally, the member of staff to make that assumption is a middle leader and may not deal with racist incidents at all, so may be unaware of them. Racist incidents are dealt with by the pastoral team, some non-teaching and five teaching Heads of Year. Heads of Year are categorised as middle leaders but the majority are Heads of Department or Heads of Faculty, which specific role the respondent has is unknown but will have bearing on their perception of the volume and extent of racist incidents at East Coast High school.

The response given by a member of support staff, "I do not feel that the school embraces these opportunities" is a perceptive analysis which supports the discussion of the previous question, where the fact that Traveller young people are invisible in terms of their ethnic and cultural status when many staff consider the appreciation of ethnic minorities. The respondent continues "I think the majority of the population is quite racially naïve". This may be considered an insightful interpretation of the community, however the fact that this particular member of staff failed to state Traveller as an ethnic minority represented in the school community casts doubt over their recognition of the Travellers within the cohort as such, and consequently highlights their own racial naivety.

A middle leader who does recognise Travellers as an ethnic minority represented in the cohort states "Often empathy and understanding on issues such as migration is lacking in pupils at East Coast High school". This may refer to the current situation where there are thousands of displaced people globally but there is a similarity here with the historical migratory patterns of Travellers from all heritages and the persecution which often accompanies displace or migratory people. Damian Le Bas Jr. spoke of the historical persecution of Travellers from every background, the consequential feelings of torment of which are inherited through the

generations to the extent that it is considered to be almost a genetic memory of traumatic events. Whether the middle leader who highlighted migration as an issue is aware of the significance of it to the Traveller population is unclear.

A teacher pertinently points out that "everyone is responsible". Arguably the ethos pervades from the top, the Governors and Senior Leadership Team, and some, such as the founding link governor to the Traveller community, the founding Head Teacher (HT), Assistant Head Teacher – Pastoral (AHTP) and Special Educational Needs and Disabilities Coordinator (SENDCO) are aware of and have tried to support the Traveller young people and their families. However, others, such as the founding governor who states "I wasn't aware of a significant travellers (sic) population in the East Coast Town despite, being a governor and member of the community so don't have a strong view on, or knowledge of their issues". Others, too, are unaware of the Traveller cohort, the Enrichment Coordinator (EC) states "There were no Traveller children in the first year" reiterating, when asked "**How was the Traveller community within the catchment area considered in the setting up of the school enrichment programme?" (Q3)** "I wasn't aware of any – only of who was at the school. There were no Travellers at the school. (AHTP) would have made me aware". This links to the statement by the Assistant Head Teacher – Data (AHTD) who raises the concern "Maybe communication across the school could be lacking. Whatever came in may not have got across the school to help the kids (i.e. information gained from the AHTP and the SENDCO [also head of the Inclusion faulty] was kept close, not really shared)".

The AHTP is descriptive about building links and generating trust with the Traveller families prior to East Coast High school opening but does not state if or how information gained regarding the Traveller families was disseminated. The SENDCO (and Head of Inclusion) talks at length about working with the Traveller families in their homes and with the Traveller Liaison Officer. When discussing how staff were made aware of the Traveller young people she states "Learning Support Assistants (LSAs)[82] were all made aware of the Traveller pupils' needs and appropriate staff were selected to work with them […] At one of the first PD[83] days a session was led by the Assistant Head teacher with responsibility for Pupil Development and Support [referring to AHTP] when he went through a handout that I had prepared together with my SEND Manager to make all staff aware of the needs of the all the pupils on the SEND register which included the Traveller pupils. The handbook was given to every member of staff

[82] Learning Support Assistants are currently referred to as Teaching Assistants at East Coast High school.
[83] Professional Development.

for reference". Further detail is given as to how LSAs were directed to work with the Traveller young people but it seems that the claim that information was "not really shared" cannot be rejected, the sharing of information appears to have been patchy (to LSAs only) and generally about Special Educational Needs, not explicitly relating to either the Traveller status of individual Traveller young people or to the group as a whole. Additionally, the volume of information given at PD days defies attempts to make it particularly pertinent, information loses importance when there is too much of it, and giving staff a handbook "for reference" becomes a token gesture, a 'box-ticking exercise' amongst the other materials delivered at staff training days. LSAs, those made most aware of the Traveller young people in the cohort by the Inclusion Manager are not required to attend PD days, they are attended by teaching staff and some technical support staff, so their expertise cannot be utilised at such events.

It must be noted that when asked "**How was the demography of the catchment factored into the development of the school ethos?" (Q2)** the AHTD explains "we knew the school we wanted to build and the values – very leadership-driven rather than community-driven" which is completely opposed to the HT's vision for a community based school. He talks of "values that we'd like to impose upon it" illustrating his view of the setting up of the school, and when asked **"How was the Traveller community within the catchment area considered in the setting up of the school?" (Q3)** his view was "At no stage during the development. [We] became more aware of the kids whose parents didn't write, the Traveller community. A community issue rather than logistical/social. [We] built links through the SENDCO, reactive rather than proactive". Stating that the Traveller community was considered "at no stage" is at odds with the recollections of the other founding senior leaders discussed, the Head teacher, AHTP and SENDCO, along with the link governor. Additionally, while some Traveller parents "didn't write", two of the four sets who provided data for this study, the other two sets of parents are literate. The third statement which forms this response, that the links were "reactive rather than proactive" is again at odds with the information provided by the HT, AHTP, SENDCO, link governor to the Traveller community, the retired Traveller Education Service teacher and the families themselves.

Table 13 – Responses which oppose the assumption underlying the question 'How are we "emboldened and strengthened by our diversity as a school?"'

Staff Category:	**Year of Joining:**	**Comment:**
Support Staff*	2015 – 2016	Probably, but in reality, no.
Support Staff	2014 – 2015	The mix could help students to understand different cultures and beliefs, but I do not feel that the school embraces these opportunities. I think the majority of the population is quite racially naïve.
Support Staff	2012 – 2013	It doesn't feel recognised, only in a negative way, i.e. issues of racism.
Middle Leader*	2013 – 2014	I have no idea what this means.
Teacher	2011 – 2012	We are not.
Teacher	2014 – 2015	We are not! It's difficult when we have so few.
Middle Leader*	2011 – 2012	Diversity allows for discussion and a deeper awareness and understanding of different cultures and experience. Often empathy and understanding on issues such as migration is lacking in pupils at East Coast High school.
Middle Leader	2012 – 2013	We don't seem to have any bullying issues specifically related to ethnic groups so this is positive. The MFL team's work with regards to improving international links I feel helps acceptance. With regards to being emboldened and strengthened, I'm not sure …
Teacher	2013 – 2014	I don't feel we are.
Middle Leader*	2015 – 2016	Not well.
Teacher*	2013 – 2014	Not really.
Teacher	2011 – 2012	Absolutely no idea. We are not diverse, we are (East Coast County). We used to celebrate diversity through Le@P[84] days and the events from different cultures there, but now they no longer happen you just got to hope it's being discussed in lessons. And then it's not just up to the CBV teachers – everyone is responsible.
Support Staff	2011 – 2012	I do not see that this school has much diversity compared to inner-city schools.

[84] East Coast High school's off-timetable Learning Experience days.

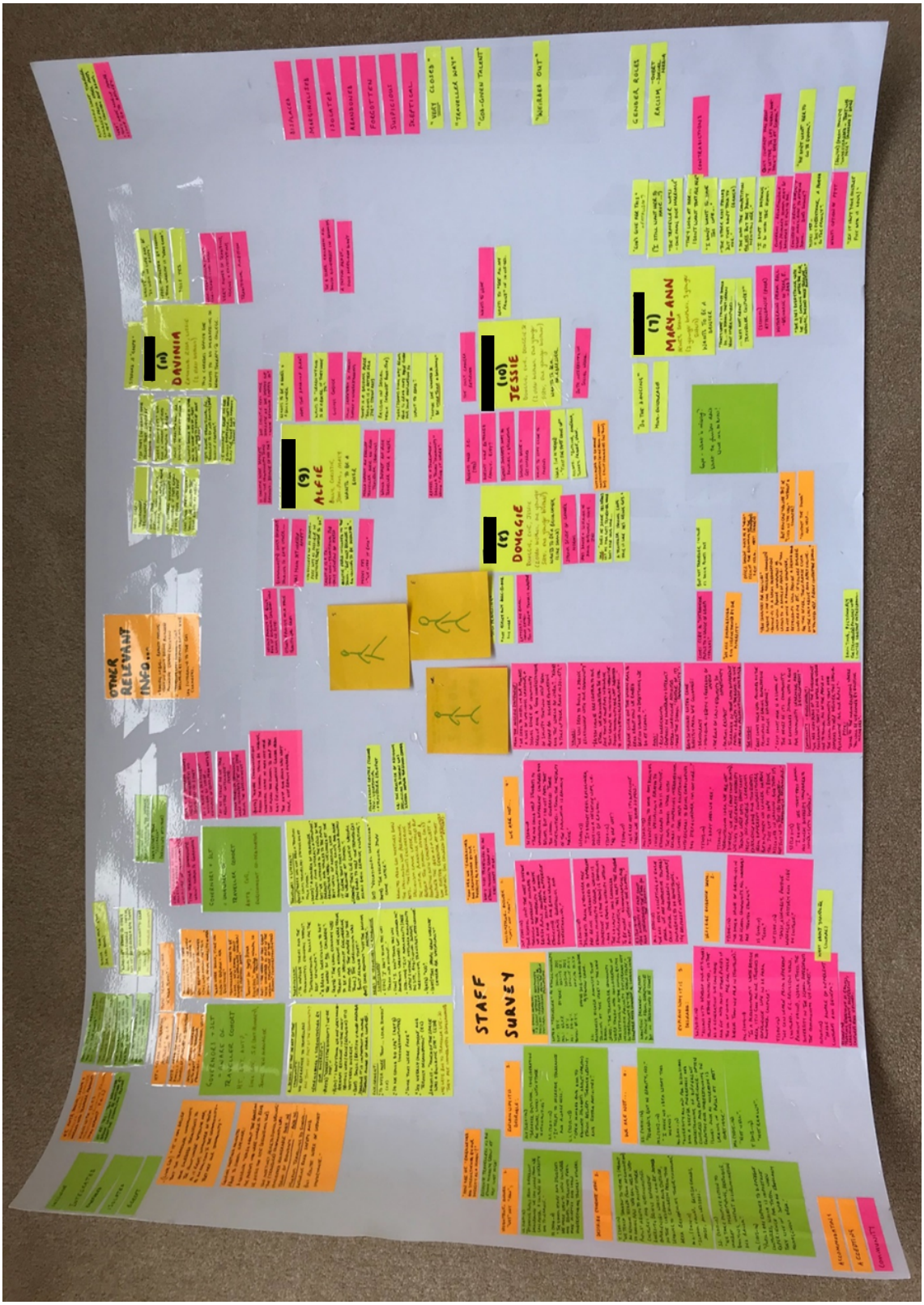
There was no response offered by seven respondents, all support staff (see Table 14). One of these seven (2011 – 2012) had recognised Travellers as an 'ethnic minority' represented at East Coast High school.

Table 14 – responses without comment to the question 'How are we "emboldened and strengthened by our diversity as a school?"' by year of joining

2011 – 2012	**2012 – 2013**	**2013 – 2014**	**2014 – 2015**	**2015 - 2016**
2	1	2	1	1

One member of Support Staff (who joined East Coast High school in 2014 – 2015) simply responded "Don't know".

(xxvi) Visual Representation of the Data - showing school related responses on the left and Traveller young person and family responses on the right, note the gaps around the Traveller data. 'Stick people' were used to position myself in the research at various stages.



(xxvii) Visual Representation of Themes Arising from the Data – I visualised the data as a 'web', such was the crosslinking. The volume of data for each theme is used to ascertain its importance. Themes are 'What sustains the commonality?', 'Not meaning what (they) say', 'Not saying what (they) mean', 'What to keep and what to let go of', 'How to keep/let go of', 'What are … getting out of …?' and 'At arm's length (fringes) (margins)'.