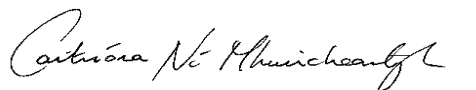


**An ethos or an afterthought? An exploratory study into the
educational inclusion of Gypsy/Travellers in a Local
Authority.**

UCL, Institute of Education

I, Caitríona Ní Mhuircheartaigh confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.



Caitríona Ní Mhuircheartaigh

Word count (exclusive of abstract, appendices and reference list):

34,970

Date

31st January 2015

Acknowledgements

Particular thanks to my participants for giving up your time to share your views with me.

Thanks also to my supervisors, Diana Tsokova and Frances Lee for your unending support and thought-provoking supervision.

Thanks a million to Helen Upton, Nicholas English and Ed Baines for your positivity and good humour throughout the Doctoral programme.

To my Mum for the babysitting and my Dad for the encouragement – thanks a million.

To Paul, for your patience, and to the dog for sacrificing her walks these past few months - thanks!

Abstract

This study explored the educational inclusion of Gypsy/Travellers (G/Ts) in a Local Authority (LA). Using a qualitative design, underpinned by a transformative ethos, it employed unstructured interviews to gather the perspectives of Irish Traveller (IT) parents and School Staff (SS) on the barriers and opportunities for inclusive education (IE) in the local context. Thematic analysis carried out separately on both data sets revealed that similar topics were raised by both sets of participants, which can be understood within three overarching concepts ('over-arching-concept's); Discriminatory Attitudes, Achieving Education for All and Creating Welcoming Communities. However, critical differences between *how* similar issues were understood emerged. These related particularly to understandings of equality and equity and the responsibility for inclusion. These 'over-arching-concept's are discussed in relation to how they create a story of exclusion from, rather than inclusion in education for these communities. The study concludes that in order to redress the historical and ongoing discrimination and exclusion experienced by these communities, a positive action approach to developing policies and practices, which complements a more equitable understanding of IE among educational services in this context is needed. Implications for Educational Psychology (EP) practice to support the development of IE in targeted areas within Bronfenbrenner's (1979) eco-systems are suggested.

Contents

1 Introduction	9
1.1 Theoretical underpinnings	10
1.2 Background to the research	12
1.2.1 Personal and professional background	12
1.2.2 Preliminary research project	15
1.2.3 Reflections on researcher positioning	17
1.3 A focus on the Travelling communities	17
1.3.1 G/Ts in the local context	19
1.4 Research questions	
<hr/>	
2 Literature review	23
2.1 Approach to review	23
2.2 Reflections on studies	24
2.2.1 Identifying good practice	24
2.2.2 Voice	24
2.2.3 Small, local Vs. larger studies	24
2.3 Organising framework	25
2.4 Exploring the exo and macro systems	26
2.4.1 Discrimination and social exclusion	26
2.4.2 Discrimination and exclusion in education	29
2.5 Exploring the microsystems	34
2.5.1 Impact of educational policy	34
2.5.2 Identity, relationships and exclusion from social relations	36
2.6 Exploring relationships in the mesosystems	44
2.6.1 Home/School relationships	44
2.6.1 TESS	45
2.7 The Current Study	47
<hr/>	
3 Methodology	50
3.1 Research approach	50
3.1.1 Research paradigm	50
3.1.2 Epistemological and ontological approach	51
3.2 Research Design	51
3.2.1 Transformative model	51
3.2.2 Transformative intervention study	52
3.2.3 Qualitative design	53
3.3 Pilot	54
3.4 Participants	55
3.4.1 Set 1: Parents	55

3.4.2 Set 2: School Staff	55
3.5 Materials	56
3.5.1 Interviews	56
3.5.2 Interview Guide	60
3.6 Procedure	61
3.6.1 Data collection	61
3.6.2 Data analysis	62
3.6.3 Dissemination and feedback	64
3.7 Further ethical considerations	65
3.7.1 Beneficence	65
3.7.2 Transparency	66
3.7.3 Confidentiality and anonymity	66
<hr/>	
4 Results	68
4.1 Data Set 1: Parents	71
4.1.1 Discriminatory Attitudes	72
4.1.2 Achieving Education for All	75
4.1.3 Creating Welcoming Communities	92
4.1.4 Reflections on Community	96
4.1 Data Set 2: School Staff	96
4.2.1 Discriminatory Attitudes	96
4.2.2 Achieving Education for All	102
4.2.3 Creating Welcoming Communities	113
4.2.4 Reflections on Community in Context	117
<hr/>	
5 Discussion	117
5.1 Emerging barriers	117
5.1.1 Exclusion from social relations	117
5.1.2 Exclusion from services	121
5.1.3 Summary and conclusion	125
5.2 Emerging opportunities	125
5.2.1 Targeting the micro level	126
5.2.2 Targeting the meso level	133
5.2.3 Targeting the exo level	134
5.3 Implications for EP practice	137
5.3.1 Micro	137
5.3.2 Meso	138
5.3.3 Exo	139
5.3.4 Managing the process of change	140
5.4 Reflections on study	142
5.4.1 Strengths	142

5.4.2 Limitations	143
5.4.3 Future Research	144
5.4.4 Conclusions	145

References	146
-------------------	------------

Tables, figures and appendices

Figure 2.1	49
Figure 4.1	69
Figure 4.2	70
Figure 5.1	141

Appendix A: Ethical Approval	160
Appendix B : Parent Consent Form	169
Appendix C : School Staff Consent Form	168
Appendix D : Interview Guide	169
Appendix E : Participant Characteristics	170
Appendix F : Stages of Braun and Clarke's (2013) Thematic Analysis	171
Appendix G : Sample Interview	172
Appendix H : Sample Coding	179
Appendix I: Formulation of 'over-arching-concept 1': Discriminatory Attitudes	180
Appendix J: 'over-arching-concepts' 4, for Parents and School Staff	187

List of Acronyms

'AEA' – Achieving education for all

AfA – Achievement for All

BPS – British Psychological Society

CRE - Commission for Racial Equality

'CWCs' – Creating welcoming communities

CYP – Child/Young Person or Children/Young People

CYPP – Children and Young People's Plan

'DAs' – Discriminatory attitudes

DCLG – Department for Communities and Local Government

DCSF – Department for Children, Schools and Families

DES – Department for Education and Schools

DfES – Department for Education and Schools

EG - English Gypsy

EMTAS – Ethnic Minority and Traveller Achievement Service

EP - Educational Psychologist

EPS - Educational Psychology Service

EWO – Education Welfare Officer

EWS – Education Welfare Service

FE – Further Education

GCSE – General Certificate of Secondary Education

GRT - Gypsy, Roma, Traveller

H/SC – Home/School Communication

IE - Inclusive Education

IT - Irish Traveller

KS – Key Stage

LA – Local Authority

LfA – Learning for All

MEG - Minority Ethnic Group

NATT – National Association of Traveller Teachers

NC – National Curriculum

NEET – Not in education, employment or training

'OAC' – Over-arching-concept

Ofsted – Office for Standards in Education

PMHT – Primary Mental Health Team

'RoC' – Reflections on community

SEN – Special Educational Needs

SS – School Staff

SSPs: School Staff Participants

TAT - Traveller Achievement Teacher

TEP – Trainee Educational Psychologist

TESS - Traveller Education Support Service

UNCRC – United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child

UNESCO – United Nations Economic, Social and Cultural Organisation

UNICEF – United Nations Children's Fund

YP – Young person/people

Introduction

International human rights organisations (UNICEF, 2006; UNCRC, 2008; UNESCO 2009) have identified that Gypsy, Roma and Traveller (GRT) children and young people (CYP) are at risk of educational disadvantage. Here in the UK, this historic issue (DES, 1967) has persisted (DfES, 2010). Poorer outcomes in terms of educational attainment and participation are reported for these CYP than for any other ethnic group (Ofsted, 2003; DfES, 2010). While there has been some recent evidence to suggest that the educational and economic success of Gypsy-Travellers (G/Ts) is growing (Kiddle, 1999; Ryder and Greenfield, 2011), concerns remain about the wide gap nationally between them and their peers (Wilkin et al., 2010).

When conceiving of this gap, statistics on educational participation and attainment are drawn upon. Educational attainment is the degree to which pupils achieve National Curriculum (NC) levels over time and in line with their peers. Educational participation can be quantitatively measured by looking at statistics relating to pupil attendance, exclusion and retention. Educational participation can also be qualitatively explored by looking at the degree of engagement pupils and their families have with the education system. Where there is more engagement, it follows that there is greater active participation in formal and informal school and school community experiences.

In each of the above quantitative measures, nationally, G/T pupils are not performing as well as their peers. Analysis carried out on the National Pupil Database revealed that Gypsy/Roma and Irish Travellers (ITs) had amongst the lowest levels of attainment and the highest rate of identified special educational needs (SEN) of any minority ethnic group (MEG) in the country. They are also four times more likely to be excluded from school, attend school less, and are less likely than peers to stay in school to complete GCSEs (Wilkin et al., 2010). These statistics highlight that G/T communities are a particularly vulnerable group when considering educational outcomes.

It is against this background that concerns about the education of GRT pupils were raised in a LA. Their 2009-2013 CYP plan (CYPP) called for a greater understanding of the issues affecting the education of these groups, in order to inform strategies to improve their educational outcomes. The current study aimed to contribute to this understanding by exploring the opportunities and barriers for the educational inclusion of these groups in the local context, as perceived by community members and educational professionals.

1.1 Theoretical Underpinnings

In exploring this issue a broad view is necessary, which seeks to understand the interacting systems and contexts at play. This study adopts a systemic or systems thinking approach, which recognizes that a complex array of inter-relationships located within multiple levels of society, impact upon the education of these CYP.

Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems model underpins the systemic approach of this study. His ecological paradigm emerged in psychology in the 1970s as an alternative approach to understanding human development, which at the time was heavily influenced by positivist, within-child deficit approaches. Contrastingly, the eco-systems model is grounded within an interactionist approach (Lewin, 1935), which acknowledges the impact of an individual's surrounding environment on their behaviour. Bronfenbrenner (1979) conceived of these environments as 'a set of nested structures, each inside the next, like a set of Russian dolls,' (p 3). The 'microsystem' relates to the most immediate set of relationships experienced by an individual in their immediate or key developmental settings, for example interactions between a CYP and their parents at home or their teachers at school. The 'mesosystem' describes a system of microsystems. It describes how two or more micro settings are linked, (for example home and school), recognising the impact of these relationships on the CYP's lived experiences. The 'exosystem' describes systems which impact indirectly on an individual through their influence on key microsystems around them, for example their

school, family or peer group. For example the exosystems might describe legislation set by Government, or educational policy set out by a LA, which is having an effect on the curricular content of an individual's school. The macrosystem consists of the 'overarching of micro-, meso-, and exosystems characteristic of a given subculture' (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, p 40). He describes how belief systems, bodies of knowledge, culture, hazards, opportunity structures and life-course options embedded within the other systems interact to create a "societal blueprint" for a given culture (p40), which ultimately impacts on an individual's micro experiences. In later work, Bronfenbrenner (1994) describes a fifth dimension to the eco-systems; the 'chronosystem.' The 'chronosystem' refers to key environmental transitions that occur for a CYP, for example changes in family structure, place of residence or transition from primary to secondary school.

Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems model can be understood alongside a constructionist paradigm as it enables an exploration of individuals within the social, historical, cultural economic and political systems around them. It suggests that these systems interact with an individual to create a unique world-view and lived experience or as described by Bronfenbrenner, a "highly differentiated reconceptualization of the environment from the perspective of the developing person," (1994, p39). Exploring the different systems that impact on the experiences of CYP, is central to the way in which Educational Psychologists (EPs) approach their work (Frederickson, Webster and Wright, 1991; Beaver 2011). Such a systemic approach based on systems thinking is described as "an organizing conceptual framework or metatheory for understanding," (Meyer, 1983 as cited in Friedman and Allen, 2011). Frederickson et al describe how employing such an approach enables EPs to identify and target particular parts of systems where a change in functioning will directly or indirectly result in positive changes for the CYP. Friedman and Allen suggest the use of systems thinking as an overarching conceptual framework, within which users are enabled "to draw on theories from different disciplines in order to analyse the complex nature of human interaction within a social environment," (2011, p3).

In exploring the educational inclusion of GRTs, Bronfenbrenner's eco-systemic approach enables complex interactions and relationships within and across systems to be identified and further unpicked. Applying this approach to the interpretation of the issues enables a holistic picture of the educational inclusion of GRTs to emerge. As will be seen in chapters four and five, closer examination of the interrelations within and across systems illuminates specific areas that present barriers or opportunities for inclusion. Specific social and psychological theories can then be applied to these areas to interpret findings and to plan for potential interventions within the identified systems, which can work towards addressing and overcoming these barriers.

1.2 Background to the research

As described above, this research takes place within a constructivist paradigm, which recognizes how the different systems, contexts and experiences of an individual impact their world-view. Therefore, it is important to understand the researcher's own background and the experiences and knowledge brought to the study as this impacts on the formulation of research aims and questions, the way these aims and questions are explored, and the conclusions drawn from data gathered.

A complex mix of factors contributed to the development of this research project. These included my own personal background as part of minority groups, my professional experiences working with marginalized and excluded minorities as a teacher, and my professional experiences as a Trainee Educational Psychologist (TEP) working with members of the English Gypsy (EG) community in the LA.

1.2.1 Personal and professional background

My own experiences growing up in an Irish language speaking family and attending an Irish language school in the predominantly English speaking city of Dublin in Ireland, developed my own very personal understanding of the experience of being part of a

minority group with a distinctive culture that was often undervalued or misunderstood by mainstream society. Against the background of an escalating conflict in Northern Ireland, 'membership' of this group in the nineteen eighties was marred by misunderstandings and stereotyping which led to experiences of marginalisation throughout my childhood and adolescence.

These personal experiences shaped my professional approach as a teacher to the inclusion of CYP and their families in my classroom, in the school community and in the wider local community. In my first years teaching in the early 2000s, I became involved in growing a different model of Irish language school in Dublin, where an inclusionary ethos aimed to attract a multicultural and multidenominational demographic to the school community. As part of this demographic, we attracted a number of refugee and asylum seeker children who were experiencing difficulties accessing primary school education. At that time in Ireland, the rights of these groups, particularly asylum seekers, were underdeveloped as the country had traditionally relatively little experience of accommodating families from abroad. The experiences of these families and my work supporting them to access and be included in education shaped my Masters dissertation. This looked at how national legislation and policy was addressing the needs of these groups, and the practice of their educational inclusion in primary schools in Dublin. My involvement with these issues contributed to a wider national debate about the rights of these CYP and their inclusion across the spectrum of Irish society. Around this time my interests also led to my involvement with Council of Europe research, aiming to develop the educational inclusion of minority language speakers in the former Soviet Union. Both of these experiences heightened my awareness of how exclusionary mainstream ideologies permeate through to the schooling of CYP perpetuating the marginalisation of minority values and culture. Furthermore, the usefulness in applying Bronfenbrenner's eco-systems model in order to unpick these interactions became apparent as it enabled me to target specific areas for change within a holistic conceptualization of the issues.

My interest in working in multicultural environments was a contributory factor in my move to London in 2006, where I worked as a Primary School Teacher until 2011. During that time I worked in schools in four different LAs across foundation stage, Key Stage (KS) 1 and KS 2. This was an interesting time to work in education as I experienced how the educational agenda of both New Labour and the current coalition was impacting on policy and practice in school. The influence of the local context of the LA also impacted on how the inclusion of minorities was played out in school communities. In particular it was interesting to note how LA targets for attainment and participation were communicated to schools, interpreted by senior leadership teams, directed to classroom teachers and transferred to the CYP through teaching and learning activities. This further reinforced my interest in applying Bronfenbrenner's framework to my understanding of the inclusion of minority groups in education and in many ways, the eco-systems framework shaped my practice as a teacher and nursery manager during these years.

It is against this background that the current research developed. I brought with me a broad interest in carrying out research relating to the educational experiences of minority ethnic groups (MEGs) to my EP training. In my first year, I was placed in the current LA, where two of my cases involved work with CYP from EG backgrounds. During this casework I observed how a number of factors appeared to be contributing to exclusionary experiences of education for these two families. Further exploration with the LA's Ethnic Minority and Traveller Achievement Service (EMTAS) highlighted that the educational outcomes of G/Ts in the LA were reflective of the poorer outcomes identified for these groups in wider national statistics. My casework with these families also highlighted to me that the visibility and consideration of these CYP as a distinctive community was not part of the professional discourse within the multiagency teams. In both cases the young people (YP) I worked with were being considered in terms of their within-child 'problems,' with a general lack of consideration as to how their cultural background interacted with the wider systems to impact on their experiences of school.

These experiences shaped my initial thoughts as to how research relating to the educational inclusion of G/Ts might be of particular value in the context of this LA.

1.2.2 Preliminary research project

As part of my professional training, I was required to carry out a research project that was to be completed within one academic year. I decided that an exploration of the views of professionals in the LA who aimed to support the educational inclusion of these communities would be a good place to start as it would develop my understanding and awareness of the extent of the inclusionary ethos of these services as well as helping to contextualize the educational experiences of G/TCYP. Analysis of the views of six local professionals suggested that G/TCYP and their families were experiencing exclusion in a number of ways. Firstly it was suggested that G/T parents experienced exclusion from social relations with non-G/T parents. One EP interviewed called this an *“unseen prejudice,”* where parents from non G/T backgrounds displayed a passive and at times an active hostility towards G/T parents.

Secondly, it was suggested that exclusion from services was occurring for these families. Professionals felt that G/Ts could often be overlooked for referral to local services by schools whose expectations of pupils from those backgrounds was sometimes formed by their general view of the community. For example, one EP spoke about how she was often not referred pupils from these communities who were struggling academically, as certain schools were under the impression that low performance in schools was a function of their G/T ethnicity, as opposed to interacting factors throughout the systems, which could be addressed by having access to the Educational Psychology Service (EPS). She spoke of the need;

“to raise the profile of those particular children as well, because I do find that they [schools] tend to say, “Oh, they’re just .. Well they’ll be travelling next term, or they’ve just come back.”

Thirdly, issues emerged about the degree of active engagement by LA services (including schools) with parents from the G/T communities. Certain processes demonstrated that there was a willingness to promote awareness of G/T issues, such as the LA multiagency meetings that occurred monthly to address any issues relating to these communities. However, it became apparent that opportunities for members of the communities to have their voices heard within these systems was lacking.

While to a degree this initial study did develop my understanding of the issues, it was limited as it included only the views of professionals and did not seek the perspectives of community members. Mertens (2009) cautions that those with 'power' can at times frame the problem in a way which might negatively impact upon those without. However, participants raised issues relating to social justice, critiquing an exclusionary ethos amongst the wider school community, and the equality of access for G/Ts to LA educational services, an issue particularly highlighted in reference to the EPS. Many of the professionals who participated in this study spoke about the power of actively engaging with G/T parents in an attempt to challenge negative perceptions of school they felt many of the parents held, based on past and present experiences with formal schooling. However, the focus of these professionals was on parents' lack of engagement with school and other educational services, rather than on how schools and services could modify practices to themselves reach out and engage with parents. Furthermore, the outcomes for these communities in terms of educational attainment as opposed to the educational inclusion of these communities appeared to be the dominant driver for professionals. This was important for me to recognize, as it influenced my perceptions of the issues and therefore the knowledge and understandings I was bringing to my exploration of G/T educational inclusion in the current study. It further highlighted to me the need to explore the views of community members which appeared not to be represented within the context of the educational institutions in the LA. Thus, a transformative focus for this study emerged, that was, to empower G/T parents to voice their views on education as a foundation for bringing about a more inclusive ethos to schools in the LA.

1.2.3 Reflections on researcher positioning

The current study therefore sought to gather community perspectives as well as the perspectives of school staff in local schools. As part of the TEP professional training contract, it was important that the research I carried out was approved and valued by the LA. As noted earlier, the 2009-2013 CYPP plan aimed to gather more information about factors contributing to the educational outcomes of these communities.

Therefore, members of the management of the LA were happy for me to carry out the work. For me, gathering and giving voice to community perspectives was the most important aim of the study. While I worked as a TEP for the LA who had endorsed this study, I was transparent about my role as an independent researcher for the purposes of the study. Difficulties engaging these groups with research has been identified in the literature and include a lack of trust amongst those in the communities of the dominant majority as well as a perception amongst community members that they will not be heard (Brown and Scullion, 2009). Communicating my independence to community members was a key part of how I negotiated their involvement, though being part of the LA system also provided me with the power to ensure that their voices could be more easily listened to and heard. This dual role as a researcher-practitioner also brought with it some tensions and challenges in terms of disseminating research findings. These are considered further in chapter five.

1.3 A focus on the Travelling communities

When working with GRT communities, it is important to consider them in light of their cultural distinctiveness, and to reflect on the diversity therein. Defining the concept of 'culture' can be problematic given the breadth and scope of its use to describe many aspects of human life, and indeed within psychology and anthropology, there is no one definition of culture (Matsumoto and Juang, 2012). However, it is important for a working definition to be adopted in the current study. Berry, Poortinga, Segall and Desen (2002) described culture as the shared way of life of a group of people. This definition is used in this study as it is broad in its scope and enables consideration of

the range of aspects of human life which contribute to defining and redefining cultural norms and understandings. Furthermore, the study recognises that culture is not absolute, but is a fluid construct, that is subject to constant reconstruction (Fernando, 2002).

Deuchar and Bhopal (2013) write that “there has been huge controversy surrounding the terms used to describe those from a nomadic or a semi-nomadic nature,” (p734). There are a number of groups in the UK for whom some form of nomadism is a prominent feature of their culture, either in a historical sense or as a continued part of their culture today. Bhopal and Myers (2009) identify these as English Gypsies/Roma, Irish Travellers, Bargees, Showmen, Roma/Gypsies from Eastern and Central Europe and new Age Travellers. However, Puxon (1987, in Themelis 2009) note that as time has gone by, nomadism is no longer a defining cultural feature of these communities and that it can often be more of a state of mind.

Many different groupings of Travellers have been presented, including understandings drawn along cultural and ethnic lines. Jordan (2001) draws on the divisions made by the European Parliament which conceived of two subgroups of Travellers – ‘Occupational Travellers’ and ‘Gypsy-Travellers’ which include the ‘Roma.’ She comments that the self-identification and personal construction of ethnic identity differs fundamentally for these two groups. Waterman (1985) defines identity as “having a clearly, delineated self-definition, a self-definition comprised of those goals, values and belief that the person finds personally expressive and to which he or she is unequivocally committed,” (p6). Identity is negotiated in a number of domains, including one’s ethnic identity. Tsai, Chentsove-Dutton and Wong define ethnic identity as “the degree to which one views oneself as a member of a particular group,” (2002, p). However, within the Travelling communities there can be different approaches to ethnic identity formation. Jordan (2001) writes that while ‘Occupational Travellers’ make “no claim for ethnic identity” (p116), G/Ts by contrast locate their ethnic identity from birth as central to their personal identity formation and community membership.

The unique ethnicity of these groups was not recognised officially in England and Wales until 1989 (English Gypsies) and 2000 (Irish Travellers). Gaining this status was an important step. It enhanced the rights of these communities, and enabled their culture to be recognised and protected. It also enabled statistics for these communities to be gathered, though difficulties relating to self-identification and nomadism remain (Bhopal and Myers, 2009). National census figures have enabled a more holistic understanding of the prevalence and nature of these groups in the UK, while school census data has helped to highlight equality issues such as educational disadvantage.

Cultural distinctions have also shaped understandings and constructions of Travelling groups. Jordan (2001) described G/Ts as including “all those who traditionally travelled within and between states, with a distinctive culture and life-style, including the maintenance of a language separate to that of the country of residence,” (p118). O’Hanlon and Holmes (2004) noted how cultural aspirations surrounding work and lifestyle choices traditionally impacted on the cultural value placed on education by G/Ts. She commented that formal education was not wanted by these communities, who traditionally pursued mobile work, which involved trading, dealing and selling skills. Bancroft (2005) distinguishes between two broad categories in this latter group; ‘Roma’ and ‘Gypsy-Travellers.’ Locating the former predominantly in Central and Eastern, and to a lesser extent in the UK and the Americas, he describes how nomadism is often no longer a way of life for them, attributing this mainly to assimilationist government housing policies. He notes that in comparison, ‘Gypsy-Travellers’ (G/Ts - comprising EGs, ITs, Scottish Travellers and Welsh Travellers) have been relatively successful here in the UK in maintaining their nomadic lifestyle. Brown and Scullion (2009) observe that the continued existence of caravan-based homes in the UK have helped to sustain this aspect of their culture.

1.3.1 G/Ts in the local context

This study focused on members of the two travelling communities, EGs and IT, living locally in the LA. These communities form a very small proportion of the demographic in this LA. At the time of data collection, nine IT families (living on a LA approved site) and three EG families living in houses, made up the known G/T population with school aged children in the LA. They form part of a relatively diverse population in the LA as a whole, where just over a quarter of residents (26.8%) in the LA identified themselves as 'non-white British,' compared with 17.2% nationally (Ref, 2011).

The LA in question is one of the least deprived areas in the country according to the Index of Multiple Deprivation (DCLG, 2011). It has a particularly large owner occupied sector, where 6% of all households own their home. Despite this general picture of affluency, pockets of deprivation within the LA exist. These include areas within which the Gypsy/Travellers live, which are amongst the second lowest 20 percent of deprivation in the country. Residents of this LA are more likely to be in good health (57% reporting to be in good health compared with 47% nationally. Residents also tend to be older, and there are significantly less young people between 20 and 34 in the LA. Taken together, a picture emerges of an affluent LA, where residents tend to be in good health, older and own their own homes. These statistics help to shape an understanding of the context within which Gypsy/Travellers live in this LA.

The national picture of educational disadvantage described for GRTs is evident in the local context. The size of both communities renders it inappropriate to draw on quantitative statistics. Viewing educational outcomes through the lens of statistics could be misleading. For example, in a recent year, 100% of G/Ts achieved a level 4 in Literacy and Numeracy at the end of KS2. However, that year, there was only one Year 6 pupil from these communities. This figure therefore is not an appropriate representation of the success of G/T pupils in KS2 that year, as it fails to account for and describe poorer attainment and participation statistics occurring for other pupils from these communities in years 3-5 across the LA. Furthermore, a focus on

attainment figures as the main marker for success is at odds with a core aim of this study, which is to understand the issue of underachievement in its full-bodied complexity as shaped by the contexts within which these CYP exist.

Therefore, it was more helpful for me to discuss qualitatively the attainment and participation of members of these communities with two professionals who had worked in the LA EMTAS for seventeen and five years respectively. From my conversations with these professionals including an educated analysis of individual pupil progress over the course of the last school year, it was suggested that similar issues to those reported nationally were evident locally.

Given the distinctions highlighted for GRTs earlier, it is pertinent at this stage to outline the range of terms that shall be used when describing these communities throughout this thesis. Terms will vary depending on the context within which they are being written. When referring to travelling groups as a whole, the umbrella term 'Gypsy, Roma, Traveller (GRT) is used, as recommended by Wilkin et al. (2009). When drawing on information gathered about or with members of EG and/or IT communities the term Gypsy/Traveller (G/T) is used. Alternatively, when referring uniquely to a particular community they will be specifically referred to, (e.g. EG or IT). When referring to research regarding members of the various travelling communities, their unique identification will be reported where it has been identified by the researcher/s. Where this is not the case, the umbrella term GRT is applied.

1.4 Research questions

The aim of this study was to add to the knowledge and understanding of the factors affecting the educational inclusion of G/TCYP in a LA. Two general, overarching questions were formulated. These were deliberately broad and exploratory in order to ensure the sensitivity to authentic voices in their authentic contexts.

- 1.** What are G/T parents' perceptions of barriers and opportunities to the education of their children in the current LA?
- 2.** How do school staff (SS) perceive the barriers and opportunities to the educational inclusion of G/TCYP in the current LA?

Literature Review

2.1 Approach to review

In order to develop my thinking about some of the issues which may affect G/T education as well as ways in which the research design might best be developed, I carried out a review of the literature on G/T education. Firstly I carried out a systematic review of peer reviewed research articles, case studies, books, book chapters, critical commentaries and dissertations. I searched through key educational and psychological databases including the British Education Index, the Australian Education Index, ERIC, PsychINFO, PsychARTICLES, PsycEXTRA, and PsychBOOKS. A number of key terms (Gypsy, Traveller, Roma, education, and inclusion) returned over three hundred results. After familiarising myself with literature relating to the inclusion of GRTs in other European countries, I applied exclusionary and inclusionary criteria to the articles. I limited my focus to apply the following criterion, that is, studies

- carried out in the last twenty years,
- carried out in the UK and Ireland,
- relating to G/T communities,
- focusing on community voice,
- with a local or contextualizing aspect to their design, (eg qualitative or mixed methodology),
- aiming to identify good practice for the educational inclusion of G/Ts.

As I read through this literature, I also employed an objective snowballing technique to identify further research papers, commentaries, and educational policy and guidelines which addressed or identified factors which purported to support good practice for the educational inclusion of G/Ts.

These techniques returned articles exploring aspects of findings from studies carried out by Derrington and Kendall (2003-2007), Jordan and colleagues (1999 and related studies), Bhopal and colleagues (2004- 2010), Levinson and Sparkes (2000, and 2005-6), and Wilkin and colleagues (2007-2010). Findings from other studies, (e.g. Padfield,

2005; Danaher, Coombes and Kiddle, 2007; Bowers, 2004 and Warrington, 2006) which generated fewer research papers, but were of no less importance are also drawn on, though less extensively in this literature review.

Government legislation and policy documents as well as reports by state and semi-state bodies on aspects of G/T lifestyle and living conditions are also drawn upon. These emerged from my own knowledge and understanding of educational issues as an educational practitioner, and as a result of the snowballing technique described earlier. Exploration of this literature was important in order to contextualise the issues faced by G/Ts in education within a wider understanding of human rights, social justice and the impact of the wider eco-systems.

2.2 Reflections on studies

It is important to reflect on the studies referred to in this chapter in relation to their adherence to the inclusionary criterion identified above. In particular, issues relating to the latter three criteria were identified.

2.2.1 Identifying good practice

While these studies each aimed to explore what good practice looked like in relation to G/T educational inclusion, the conceptualization of educational inclusion varied somewhat. At times it was bound up with the idea of maximizing educational attainment, which may be reflective of the educational agenda of the institutions funding these studies (for example the LA in the case of Bhopal and colleagues, and the DfE in the case of Wilkin and colleagues). As will be considered later in this chapter, the focus of educational institutions on raising standards may be at odds with the inclusion of MEGs whose culture and lifestyle is not bound up with the knowledge economy.

2.2.2 Voice

Ideological contradictions outlined above were often redressed by the inclusion of G/T voice in these studies. All of these studies employed a multiple perspectives design where views were gathered from the key stakeholders in G/T education including CYP, parents, school staff (SS), and in some cases TESS staff and other LA professionals. Levinson's study was particularly strong as it drew on data gathered during a three and a half year ethnographic study. However the perspectives of CYP and parents were gathered at different stages across the study, which may have limited the emergence of the holistic story of particular families at particular times.

The nature of how data was analysed and interpreted in these studies is also worth considering. A particular strength of the research carried out by Lloyd and Stead was that the views of community members were privileged and aimed to represent the uniqueness of the G/T voice. Other studies analysed community voice alongside the views of the other stakeholders. While this helped to consider the voice of the G/T as part of a holistic story, at times the particular message of the community voice was somewhat mitigated. Derrington and Kendall attempted to address this by applying an interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) approach to their analysis, which aimed to understand the individual experience so they would not "jump to generalisations," (2005). However, the use of this approach also has limitations as the double hermeneutic involved in IPA may dilute community voice, particularly where the researcher applies culturally insensitive values and theories to their analysis.

2.2.3 Smaller local Versus larger studies

Local, qualitative studies enable findings to be contextualized and understood within the relevant eco-systems. Two of the studies (Derrington and Kendall and Wilkin et al.) drew on data from across larger geographical areas, though they did build in strategies within their designs, which enabled a depth of understanding and contextualisation to be applied to their findings. For Derrington and Kendall, a longitudinal design where participants were revisited on three occasions across three years, helped to

understand the narrative of these CYP and their relationships with the educational institutions. Most other studies presented only a snapshot of G/T education at that time. Wilkin et al gathered large scale, quantitative data from over eight hundred schools through progress mapping and self-completed questionnaires carried out by Headteachers and Governors (2010). The general picture which emerged, was then explored in greater depth in twenty case study schools, which were selected on the basis of good practice as evidenced by the earlier questionnaires. Semi-structured interviews were then carried out with SS as well as focus groups with pupils, parents and teachers in order to further contextualise the findings suggested by the quantitative research. Despite their participation in the study, limitations with this design may have impacted on the ability for the G/T voice to emerge. The views of Headteachers and Governors were privileged, as good practice settings were identified on the basis of the stories they presented in their self-completed questionnaires. Furthermore the data and questionnaire answers they provided helped to shape the areas of exploration contained within the semi-structured and focus group interview schedules thereby further privileging the majority viewpoint.

Decisions about who participates in larger scale research can also cause difficulties. Smaller local studies often addressed particular communities living in particular circumstance in particular localities. Researchers could then unpick the impact of these particulars on education. Derrington (2005, p6) aiming to “reduce bias,” applied selection criterion to G/T communities across fifteen LAs. However this meant that important information about how the circumstances of these communities in context interacted to impact on education, was somewhat lost.

2.3 Organising framework

In order to contextualize G/T education within the broader experiences of G/Ts in society, Bronfenbrenner’s eco-systems framework is used as an organizing principle for this literature review. Applying this framework presents challenges. Given that the systems are nested, interacting and interrelated, identifying discrete contents for each

category is problematic. For example, 'local community,' can be a part of the micro or exosystems depending on how directly aspects of it interact with the CYP. Using Bronfenbrenner's definitions as a guide, figure 1 presents the organization of the differing factors which are explored in the systems. Factors are conceived in this manner for the purposes of clarity. However, the interactional nature of these factors in shaping the educational inclusion of G/Ts throughout the systems is fully acknowledged and is explored throughout this chapter.

Firstly, macro and exosystems are addressed. The ways in which past and present discrimination towards these communities, both by society and by the institutions that serve society, have perpetuated cycles of social exclusion and disadvantage is considered. The educational disadvantage of these communities is described, as is its link with the broader discrimination and exclusion in the macro and exosystems. Next, inclusive education (IE) as an ideological concept is explored. Its enactment at the exosystems level through legislation and policy formulation is critically considered. The literature on the micro school experiences of G/TCYP follows. While the concept of IE has been increasingly incorporated into national policy, its practice in schools has been noted to be limited (Glazzard, 2013). The impact of home/school interactions at the meso-systems level is explored. The chapter concludes with a rationale as to the value of the current topic as a research project.

2.4 Exploring the exo and macro systems

2.4.1 Discrimination and social exclusion

Historically, GRTs are considered to be among the most socially excluded and disadvantaged minority group in Europe (Puxon, 1987, as cited in Themelis, 2009). The cycle of poverty and exclusion was maintained by hostile attitudes, which manifested themselves in human rights violations and aggressive assimilation policies and practices at the exo-systems level (Acton, 1994). Today, across Europe, social

exclusion, poverty and disadvantage have persisted. GRTs are the poorest MEG in Europe (Themelis, 2009), with higher unemployment rates than any other (Hyde, 2007). Throughout Europe, social exclusion, poverty and disadvantage for these groups are part of a complex picture incorporating labour market exclusion (Zimmermann, Kahanec, and Constant, 2007), poor living conditions (Open Society Institute, 2001) and widespread hostility, stereotyping and racism (European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, 2008). In the UK, hostile attitudes have prevailed. One in three Britons reported feelings of prejudice towards these groups, highlighting that hostility continues to be widespread and acceptable (Stonewall, 2003). Some authors have suggested that this hostility is perpetuated by a negative, hostile media (Cemlyn, 2008) and by negative stereotypes portraying the culture as criminal and anti-social, (Ní Shuinear, 1997).

The literature describes how this hostility is played out in discriminatory policies and practices in the exo-systems in the UK (O'Hanlon, 2010; Themelis, 2009). In interpreting policy and practices, the definition of discrimination provided by the Equality Act (2010) is used by this study. The act describes how discrimination can be carried out by individuals, groups or institutions. Direct discrimination is when a person is treated less favourably than others because of a protected characteristic (e.g. ethnicity). Indirect discrimination is when "a criterion or practice is neutral on the face of it, but its impact particularly disadvantages people with a protected characteristic." 'Harassment' is defined as a further form of discrimination. This is where an "intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment" occurs for an individual.

Wilkin et al. note that GRTs lack access to housing, health and other key services to which they have a human right (2010). Assimilationist policies relating to education and housing, amongst others, contribute to this exclusion from services (O'Hanlon, 2010; Themelis, 2009; Clark and Cemlyn, 2005). An assimilationist approach to housing policy emerged from the 1994 Criminal Justice and Public Order Act when the duty

upon LAs to provide sites for G/Ts was removed. Instead, a “level playing field” which was to enable G/Ts to apply for planning to establish their own sites was purported. However, less than 10% of applications for permanent sites made by G/Ts have been approved compared with an 80% approval rating for applications made by the sedentary population (O’Hanlon, 2010). As a result, around a third of G/Ts live on unauthorized sites where the standard of living, including access to basic sanitary amenities, is poor. Poor living conditions impact on the health of these communities, who are reportedly the most at-risk health group, with lower life expectancy and higher rates of infant mortality than any other, (The British Medical Association, as cited in O’Hanlon, 2010).

Such discriminatory practices at the exo-systems level contribute to the social exclusion of G/Ts (Clark and Cemlyn, 2005). Social exclusion is defined by Gordan et al. (2000) as a multifaceted concept incorporating four key dimensions of exclusion; “impoverishment, or exclusion from adequate income or resources; labour market exclusion; service exclusion; and exclusion from social relations,” (p54).

The four dimensions described above are often interlinked and contribute to creating multiple disadvantage for some communities (Gordan et al, 2000). Clark and Cemlyn (2005) reviewed the literature on G/T inclusion in society. They noted, as did Lawrence (2005), that the widespread hostility described earlier can lead to an exclusion from social relations with non-G/Ts. Furthermore, they commented that these exclusionary experiences impacted on G/Ts sense of belongingness in society. They described how exclusion from social relationships interacted with other forms of social exclusion such as poverty and service exclusion. Noting that G/Ts lacked access to the “living conditions and amenities” customary to others in society (p3) they remarked that an ongoing history of discrimination prevented their engagement with services. A lack of voice and participation in local services, decision-making and political representation perpetuates this exclusion. The Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) reported that consultation processes targeting the inclusion of G/T voice were lacking in public bodies (2004). There is some evidence however of better practice evolving in more

recent years spearheaded by local support and advocacy groups (Cemlyn 2008). This highlights the importance of exploring the opportunities presented by local settings in addressing GRT issues.

A number of research projects have highlighted where good practice exists within the exo-systems. In Scotland, Padfield found that within some public services, good collaboration and communication between themselves and G/Ts had been established, reflecting an inclusionary ethos on the part of the local settings (2005). Derrington and Kendall (2004) also highlighted how the manner in which services communicated with G/Ts impacted on the latter's willingness to interact with and ultimately to access those services (2004). They reported on the valuable role played by key workers in LA agencies who have a special responsibility for working with G/T communities, for example Traveller Achievement Teachers (TATs). For parents particularly, specialist workers with a knowledge and understanding of the culture, priorities and needs of G/Ts were particularly valued. Danaher, Coombes and Kiddle (2007) found that LA practice was particularly effective in terms of supporting G/Ts when agencies worked within a multiagency framework. However, barriers to effective multi-agency work between different professionals have been noted Templeton (2005) looked at different examples of TESS in different LAs. She described how at times, TESS staff reported feeling marginalised by other services within the LA, especially when they acted as advocates for G/T families. The processes involved in how public services engage with each other and with the communities themselves in order to address issues affecting GRTs therefore appear to be important and can be context-dependent. Local studies are valuable, as they can examine the intricacies of practice as they play out in different contexts.

2.4.2 Discrimination and exclusion in education

Lloyd, Stead, Jordan and Norris (2003) describe how exclusionary experiences of G/Ts in Scottish society as "a marginalized group... (who) feel under threat from the settled

world, can be reflected in their experience of school,” (p152). Such a threat can be two-pronged (Jordan, 2001). Firstly, societal discrimination towards G/Ts is reproduced in school (Jordan, 2001; Myers et al 2010). This can lead to a rejection of schooling by CYP (Acton, 1985; Jordan, 2001 and Myers, McGhee and Bhopal, 2010) and has contributed to parent condoned self-exclusion (Jordan, 2001).

A second strand to the “essentially excluding school system” described by Jordan (2001, p117) is the way in which educational policy is centered around the promotion and reproduction of the values and aspirations of the privileged majority, (O’Hanlon, 2010; Deucher and Bhopal, 2013; Lloyd and McCluskey, 2008). It has been noted that the education system in the UK facilitates the opportunities of some and limits those of others such as G/Ts, through the maintenance and promotion of an education based on the knowledge economy, (Ball, 2012; Armstrong, 2005; O’Hanlon, 2010; Deucher and Bhopal, 2013). Over the past twenty years this has increased the focus on academia within the curriculum, limiting opportunities for a development of other skills more culturally valued by G/Ts (DCSF, 2009. p6).

Criticism has also been leveled at the preoccupation of successive governments with the standards agenda, where the notions of ‘achievement’ and ‘success’ are closely bound up with improving academic attainment (Glazzard, 2013; Armstrong, 2005). While it is important to maintain high expectations of the provision of high standards of education for our CYP, the means through which high standards are defined and pursued require careful consideration in order to provide an educational ethos and provision which is meaningful for all. Bowers (2004) notes that the concepts of ‘achievement’ and ‘success’ are culturally determined and may have different meanings for G/T communities. However, the dominant neo-liberal agenda shaping policy and practice is enforced by schools and practitioners (Ball, 2012). Central to this enforcement is performativity, a “policy and management tool, which is operationalized

through judgments and target setting,” (Ball, 2012, p31). Glazzard (2013) observed that as school effectiveness is predominantly judged by attainment figures, CYP whose values and aspirations differ to those of the majority are “inevitably marginalized,” as a “pathologising form of exclusion” is created (p183). Ball describes how a human capital as opposed to a human rights agenda shapes practice. He notes that “local economics of pupil worth,” have developed, where CYP from the dominant mainstream have a greater social and cultural capital than their underperforming peers, limiting school responsiveness to a wider diversity of pupils.

These ideologies and policies appear to be at odds with the ethos of inclusive education (IE), which has been the central discourse shaping educational policy in the UK over the last fifteen years. Defining IE has its difficulties. It can be an ambiguous concept, which can vary both across and within cultural and educational settings (Dyson, 1999 as cited in Polat; Booth, Ainscow and Dyson, 2006). Sikes, Lawson, and Parker, (2007) comment that understandings of inclusion are closely bound up with practice, as they change and develop “as they are articulated and lived,” (p367). While the idea of inclusion as a process is very much understood by the current study, it is important that it be operationalized as a concept so that it can be explored in this local setting. ‘Inclusion’ should be distinguished from ‘integration,’ as these terms have been used interchangeably (Polat, 2011). ‘Integration’ developed from the de-segregation movement of those with SEN or disabilities. It placed the responsibility on the CYP to adapt in order to fit in to fixed school systems. The IE ethos is fundamentally different. The focus on targeting and enabling systemic change in order to enable all CYP to learn and participate is central to its ethos. The systemic focus of IE is harmonious with the eco-systems framework as outlined by Bronfenbrenner (1979). Changes can occur throughout the systems, enabling inclusion. Changing values, and creating inclusive cultures, processes, practices and curricula, are all part of the IE agenda (Polat, 2011). Similarly, the Salamanca description of IE as a transformative force, which aimed to “combat discriminatory attitudes, create welcoming communities, and... achieve

education for all,” (Thomas and Vaughan, p128), indicates opportunities throughout the eco-systems where IE can be developed. IE can therefore be understood to be a transformative process. Booth and Ainscow (2000, p13) conceive of this process in two stages; an exploration of context to identify barriers and opportunities for inclusion, followed by transformative action on the part of the educational institutions to address the identified issues and develop strengths;

“Inclusion is seen to involve the identification and minimising of barriers to learning and participation, and maximising of resources to support learning participation.”

This study adopts this definition as it aligns with the key aims of the study, that is to better understand the issues for the educational inclusion (or exclusion) of G/Ts in the local context so as to outline key areas that can be targeted for change within the systems.

A number of policies and guidance have aimed to address the practice of IE in schools. ‘Learning for All,’ set standards by which schools could address issues of inequality in education, promoting an equality of opportunity and outcome for all pupils, regardless of their cultural or ethnic background (CRE, 1999). The promotion of equality of opportunity however, has been noted to be inconsistent with IE, where equality of opportunity is conceived of as equality of provision (Glazzard, 2013). The concept of ‘equity’ in education is more harmonious with IE. While both ‘equality’ and ‘equity’ relate to the provision of an egalitarian education system free from bias, Valli et al., (1997, p254 as cited in Gillborn and Youdell, 2000) note that equity “places more emphasis on notions of fairness and justice, even if that requires an unequal distribution of goods and services.” Gillborn and Youdell write that equity in education is best understood through the consideration of equity of outcomes which they define as “the result of educational processes: the equitable distribution of the benefits of schooling,” (2000, p3).

A focus on outcomes and how those outcomes can be impacted upon by issues of racism and discrimination by educational institutions was present in 'Aiming High: Raising the Achievement of Minority Ethnic Pupils,' which was published by the DfES in 2003. This included a focus on the role of teacher expectations, parental education and aspirations and the impact of institutional racism on pupil outcomes. This policy was a move in the right direction for IE as it also outlined a number of principles for success, which focused on a whole-school development framework to tackle inequalities emerging from cultural or ethnic backgrounds. However, as described earlier, a focus on developing outcomes within the existing narrowly defined curriculum can serve to cement the exclusion of some MEGs. Broadening the definition of what defines successful outcomes can widen the scope for CYP from all backgrounds to be successful. Recently, 'Achievement for All,' (AfA), a whole-school, systemic approach to supporting vulnerable children in school has been piloted. This, together with the draft SEN code of practice (DfE, 2014) highlights a need to widen outcome aims for vulnerable CYP, which is suggestive of a more equitable approach to educational inclusion. This guidance has currently only been directed and piloted towards CYP with SEN and disabilities. However, its principles of broadening outcomes, supporting the greater inclusion of parents, and developing systemic whole-school practices, could also be applied to MEGs. While it does represent some positives in terms of developing IE, a pathologising focus on 'meeting needs' and supporting attainment within narrowly defined curricula are maintained.

The British Psychological Society (BPS) note that "competing demands" of educational policy and guidance can be problematic for practitioners trying to cognize and put into practice a unified understanding of IE (2002). Where inclusion into the normalizing frameworks of success is encouraged, otherness is pathologised (Dunne, 2009) and assimilation or integration encouraged (Glazzard, 2013). Therefore, educational practitioners valuing high attainment over difference perpetuate an education system that is more akin to an integration rather than an inclusion ethos (Goodley, 2007 as

cited in Glazzard, 2013). Against this background, questions about the commitment of successive UK governments to IE have been raised (Armstrong, 2005; Glazzard, 2013). Despite the “policy rhetoric” surrounding IE (Glazzard, 2013, p187), the education system continues to be exclusionary for some. This has been noted when considering the education of G/TCYP. Reviews carried out by the UNCRC (2008) and the UNESCO (2009) have highlighted how genuine IE continues to elude particular groups in the UK, making specific reference to GRTs. This suggests as highlighted by commentators (e.g. O’Hanlon, 2010; Themelis, 2009), that while a discourse of inclusion may be occurring at an ideological level within the macro system, the process of its enactment through policy and practice has been slow and limited in terms of addressing the issues underpinning educational disadvantage for G/Ts.

2.5 Exploring the micro-systems

Research highlights barriers and opportunities within the microsystems, which impact on the education of G/TCYP. In order to contextualize these factors within the wider social disadvantage and exclusion of G/Ts, they are reviewed here within the framework of the two exclusionary factors identified (and outlined earlier) by Jordan (2001). Firstly, the implications of the integrationist educational policy for the inclusion of G/Ts in school is considered. Secondly, the impact of discriminatory attitudes on the school experiences of G/TCYP is explored.

2.5.1. Implications of educational policy

As outlined above and by Glazzard (2013), policy and practice in school does not always reflect legislative discourse. Ball highlights the key role local settings play in interpreting and enacting workable practice (1994). Struggles in LA’s over different values add to the complexity of this task (Armstrong 2003). The BPS have also highlighted the complexity involved (2002).

The current preoccupation with performativity impacts on the micro experiences of CYP. Rustheimer (2002, as cited in Thomas and Vaughan, 2004) described how this focus on raising standards puts “competitive exclusionary pressures” on schools in the form of national tests and league tables, manifesting itself in integration or assimilationist practices. Bhopal, Gundhara, Jones and Owen (2000) reported that there was a reluctance for some schools to have G/TCYP on roll as they felt that they would negatively impact on their statistics relating to attendance and attainment. G/TCYP with a poorer social and cultural capital are positioned within a problematic discourse and are at greater risk of marginalisation and exclusion (O’Hanlon, 2010), as schools and teachers may focus on those pupils likely to achieve within an increasingly narrow and limiting educational curriculum. As highlighted earlier, GRT pupils are four times more likely to be excluded than their peers (DfE, 2010). Derrington and Kendall found that at secondary school, one in three G/T pupils they followed over three years had been excluded on at least one occasion during that time.

The curricular opportunities available to G/TCYP in secondary school have been described as limited and irrelevant by G/T parents and their children. Derrington and Kendall (2004) found that in many ways G/Ts perceived the education system to clash with their lifestyle and culture. Bhopal (2004) also found that parents felt that the content of the school curriculum, particularly at secondary was irrelevant. They called for a “more hands on approach, perhaps based around practical stages that make a connection to G/Ts traditional lifestyle,” (p53). Bhopal described how this lack of cultural relevance led parents in his/her study to view school with a suspicion which was related to their fear that their children’s participation in school would contribute to the dilution of their cultural identity, a view also expressed by parents interviewed by Levinson and Sparkes (2006). Derrington and Kendall found that often, such a clash led to the experience of cultural dissonance for CYP, which Gordon and Yowell (1999) defines as “where dissonance between what is learned in personal interactions with the significant other may come into conflict with demands and expectations of the social

institution,” (p42). Harding (2014) commented that such cultural dissonance could result in the social exclusion of these CYP. A lack of potential pathways for education can compound the confusion felt by CYP trying to negotiate contradictory aspirations and expectations set out in home and school (Levinson and Sparkes, 2008).

The literature also refers to examples of where within the curriculum, attempts have been made to be more inclusive of G/T cultures. For example, Derrington and Kendall found that culturally relevant resources have helped new pupils to settle down quickly and increased their feelings of belongingness at school (2004). However, Levinson cautioned that such references need to be carefully thought through and managed within the curriculum, as tokenistic references to G/T culture can marginalise the cultural world of these CYP within the school setting (2007).

Hartas (2011) found that YP displaying limited participation and described by teachers as ‘disaffected,’ attributed this in part of a limited curriculum, which they felt did not provide them with the opportunities to develop their capabilities and to achieve their aspirations. She cautioned that participation did not always result in inclusion, as it had the potential to serve as a tool for social control when particular ageDiscriminatory - attitudes and values were privileged.

2.5.2 Identity, relationships and exclusion from social relations

Studies aiming to unpick the ‘problem’ of G/T attainment have often attributed this to within-culture features. Piper and Garrett (2005 as cited in Lloyd and McCluskey) describe how a reluctance to participate in education is a feature of G/T culture, while other studies describe a negative parental attitude to education and a general lack of appreciation among G/Ts as to its importance and value, (e.g Wilkin et al., 2010). However, when viewing the educational inclusion of G/Ts within the eco-systems

framework as this study does, it is necessary to interpret the research against the background of the wider context of discrimination and exclusion from social relations. Four key themes emerge from the literature, which are closely related to these broader issues and play out in the micro environments of home and school; peer relationships, relationships with staff, relationships with parents, and identity.

2.5.2.1 Peer relationships

The nature and quality of social relationships are an important part of the school educational experience and a CYP's development. Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs highlighted how there is a central need for an individual to feel a sense of community or belongingness. Studies have identified how having a sense of school belonging is linked to a range of educational outcomes such as school enjoyment, school participation and academic motivation (see Biggart, O'Hare, and Connolly, 2013 for a review). While definitions of school belongingness have varied (Osterman, 2000 as cited in Biggart et al., 2013) this study understands it in terms of Goodenow's (1993) definition which describes it as "a sense of psychological membership in the school or classroom, that is, the extent to which students feel personally accepted, respected, included and supported by others in the school environment," (p80).

Many of the qualitative local studies which look closely at the experiences of G/TCYP at school, have found that their social relationships are often marred by experiences of racism, harassment and bullying, (e.g. Lloyd and Stead, 2001; Deucher and Bhopal, 2013, Myers et al., 2010), which has been linked to diminished levels of school belongingness for G/Ts (Biggart, O'Hare and Connolly, 2013). Both G/T and Show Traveller CYP (Deucher and Bhopal, 2013; Lloyd and Stead, 2001) and G/T parents (Bhopal, 2004) have described how the hostility which permeates social relationships in school, is reflective of a wider hostility which is present in the wider school community and local area. G/TCYP were often reported to segregate themselves from peers, forming tightly knit units of friendship in order to secure themselves against

bullying behaviour, (Derrington and Kendall, 2004, Myers and Bhopal, 2009, Levinson, 2007). Derrington and Kendall found that girls, in particular, tended to socialise with each other at school, as this provided them with a greater sense of security (2004). Derrington and Kendall's research was particularly informative, as they used a multiple-perspective approach. Their discussions with the parents of G/T pupils suggested that they often reinforced these in-group friendships. Commenting on their own negative experiences of discrimination at school, parents frequently reported that they felt that their children would be safer and happier in school if they formed friendships with peers from their own community. Derrington and Kendall also found that having segregated friendships impacted negatively on pupil outcomes, as pupils who had departed early from the school system had generally formed friendships solely with other Travellers. However, where G/T pupils formed secure social networks including members of both their own ethnic group and others, they were more likely to finish secondary school. Thus a cyclical picture emerges where the creation and maintenance of in-group friendships is a reactive strategy to prejudice, yet reinforces the social segregation and poor sense of school belongingness for G/TCYP.

2.5.2.2 Teachers

Kiddle (1999) reflects on how positive teacher attitudes support a better understanding of G/T culture, which helps build a more positive relationship with pupils and enables better engagement from the G/T community. However, a range of studies have identified how the attitudes of school staff, while often well-intended, present a barrier to the inclusion of these CYP in school. Lloyd and McCluskey (2008) reviewed a range of research relating to G/T education and reported that central to the negative educational experiences of G/TCYP and their families was a "denial of difference," (p343), where teachers failed to recognise the cultural differences of this group. Lloyd et al. (2003) found that in an attempt not to discriminate against G-TCYP, well-meaning Scottish teachers ensured that they were "never treated differently from anyone else." They found that where this is occurring, the focus of schools may continue to be on individuals, rather than exploring "the institutional response of the education system to

a marginalised community” (p168), thus implying the prevalence of an individualist deficit perspective rather than a transformative, social justice and equity perspective.

Derrington, (2007) reported that while some G/TCYP developed positive relationships with their teachers, others felt that their teachers had little or no understanding about their home culture and some reported teachers displaying racism towards them.

Deucher and Bhopal (2013) found a similar perspective amongst some of the CYP they interviewed, with some describing teachers as “openly dismissive and hostile towards traveller culture and traditions,” (p745).

An issue also emerged within the literature relating to the responsiveness of school staff to G/TCYP when they report racist incidents such as bullying and name-calling. Bowers (2004) explored the perspectives of sixty YP from G/T communities on their school experiences. He found that the single, most negative experience of school for many pupils interviewed, was name-calling by their peers. His research highlighted that often, pupils tended not to report these occurrences to teachers as they worried that they would not be believed. One of the pupils interviewed by Deucher and Bhopal (2013) described a “racism order” where teachers would not tolerate racist behavior towards pupils of colour, whereas the experiences of G/TCYP in this regard were often dismissed. Power (2004) reported similar findings from his research with CYP from IT communities. His research design was particularly strong in that it used an ethnographic approach within its’ qualitative design, which drew on culturally sensitive observation and focus groups to inform the development of his interview schedules and subsequently, their analysis. He reported that often, teachers did not make a connection between bullying, name-calling and racist behaviour. A similar pattern was highlighted by Lloyd and Stead (2001) who carried out interviews with G/T and Show Traveller CYP in Scotland. They noted that SS appeared not to locate the retaliatory behavior displayed by G/Ts as a result of name-calling within their wider experiences of bullying and discrimination. The literature has also indicated in places how these experiences impact on G/TCYP. Derrington (2005) noted that this experience of racism

or perceived racism had a directly adverse effect on CYP's confidence and well-being. He also noted, similar to Lloyd and Stead above, that a lack of awareness amongst staff of the direct communication style of G/T pupils often led to misinterpretations and avoidable conflict, which contributed to the high rate of exclusions for G/T pupils.

Parents in a number of studies described how often discriminatory attitudes and behaviours emerged within the wider school community at the periphery of the school (for example in the playground or on the journey from school), (Jordan, 2001; Lloyd and Stead, 2001). It emerged within these studies that SS did not appear to engage with these incidents, which were described as outside their "jurisdiction," (Jordan, 2001, p125) despite parents' concerns.

2.5.2.3 Identity

Cemlyn, Greenfields, Burnett, Matthews and Whitwell (2009, iv) described how the "pervasive and corrosive impact of experiencing racism and discrimination has led to the experience of "cultural trauma" for G/Ts". O'Hanlon (2010) notes that as a result, G/Ts often avoid identification within public contexts such as schools. Indeed G/T pupils regularly find themselves as part of a very small ethnic minority group in school. This is particularly so for the current study where they form a very small proportion of the population in the LA.

A review of the literature suggests that this can impact on the development of their identity in a number of ways. Having spent twenty five years working with these communities within TESS, Kiddle is well-positioned to comment on how personal and cultural identity develops for G/T pupils in school. Drawing on her wealth of action and ethnographic research with these communities, she writes that G/T pupils can find it difficult to build a cultural identity at school or to have a forum through which to express the identity they bring with them from their home lives (1999). Levinson's work, also drawn from ethnographic research describes how the differing values and aspirations

of the home and school contexts can cause identity confusion resulting in a compartmentalisation strategy being adopted by CYP (2008).

A number of other qualitative studies also explored this issue. While they did not have the benefit of drawing on ethnographic experience, these studies used face-to-face semi-structured interviews, which aimed to give G/T pupils a forum through which they could explore these issues in a confidential way. Warrington (2006) interviewed 148 pupils and found that they often displayed confusion about their own ethnic identity and what that meant. Padfield (2005) found that G/T pupils were often reluctant to identify themselves as 'Gypsy/Traveller,' as it could mean racist name-calling and exclusionary practices amongst peers. It must be noted here that Padfield's finding is based only on 17 pupils whom she interviewed, all within a few settings based in Scotland. While this could suggest that this finding may be indicative of only one or two school environments existing within the Scottish education system, Derrington (2007) reported a similar finding from his study carried out across secondary schools here in England. The DCSF have acknowledged that difficulties relating to identity create an "unfair and needless disadvantage," for the inclusion of these CYP in schools and encourage parents to state their ethnic identity upon admission (2009, p23). However, as identity is often bound up with issues of discrimination and bullying this advice has been criticized as an over-simplified institutional response to a complex issue (O'Hanlon, 2010).

Cultural identity has also been reported to contribute positively to G/T participation in education. Derrington and Kendall (2004) found that over the period of the longitudinal study, there was a positive association between a sense of bi-cultural belongingness among G/TCYP and their parents, and participation in extra-curricular activities. Furthermore, they found that when G-T pupils participated in extra-curricular activities, they were more likely to attend and to remain at school for longer.

While G/TCYP's identification with and understanding of their ethnic and cultural identity is an important factor in their inclusion in the school milieu, these terms are often undefined in the literature. Tsai, Chentsove-Dutton and Wong (2002) comment that terms associated with ethnic identity and culture can be used interchangeably in the literature, and that their meanings in different studies should be defined by researchers. In the current study, I adopt their definition of ethnic identity, which describes it as "the degree to which one views oneself as a member of a particular group," (in this case G/T, EG, or IT). While I acknowledge views that ethnicity is a fluid, socially constructed construct (e.g. Nagel, 1994), I understand ethnicity to be a relatively stable construct in relation to EG and IT groups, as these ethnic groups are named in law. However, *within* these named ethnic groupings, I am conscious that what ethnicity may mean to individuals and indeed groups and communities can be different (Tsai, Chentsove-Dutton and Wong, 2002) and can change over time. Given the references in the literature to the importance of cultural identity, as well as Nagel's (1994) view of culture and identity as being "two of the basic building blocks of ethnicity," (p152), I attach particular importance to how the identification with cultural markers can shape the development of ethnic identity and overall identity (as defined in chapter one). Therefore, identification with culture is understood to be a dynamic construct, which is formed and reformed based on one's cultural orientation, that is "one's feelings toward and levels of engagement with different cultures," (Tsai, Chentsove-Dutton and Wong, 2002, p42).

2.5.2.4 Relationships with parents

A number of studies indicate the importance of the micro level relationship between G/T children and their parents, with particular reference to the passing on of values and aspirations. Research carried out by the DfE on perspectives regarding the importance of education among different ethnic groups found that there was a difference between the values placed by different communities on education. It also found that where the education system was supported and valued by parents, children tended to do better at

school (Strand et al., 2010). While G-T communities were not included in this study, Derrington and Kendall (2007) found that when G-T pupils came from homes where there was a “sustained, positive attitude” about the importance and value of education, they were more likely to stay at school until they were sixteen. Recently, studies have noted that G/T parents are attaching more value to education than had previous generations (e.g Bhopal, 2004; Levinson, 2007; Myers et al, 2010). However, Myers et al. reported that while this presents a window of opportunity to engage with communities who traditionally have been identified as hard to reach, this opportunity is being undermined by the failure of schools and educational institutions to respond in a culturally sensitive way.

The literature also indicates that parental understanding and support of their CYPs future aspirations has an important part to play in attendance and retention at secondary level. While Padfield’s (2005) study represented a small population, all based in a small number of communities, it is interesting to note that she found that there were often strong similarities between parental and pupil employment aspirations. Vocational skills were valued more highly than educational qualifications, though some studies have found that more recently, this is changing as a result of an increased awareness amongst G/T parents of the importance of literacy as a life skill and a skill for employment (Lloyd and McCluskey, 2008; Levinson, 2007). A difficulty with many of these studies however, is that often the concept of ‘parents’ is not gendered, and therefore the difference between mothers and fathers perspectives in relation to lifestyle and career aspirations is not explored. Differing lifestyle aspirations for GRT male and female YP have implications for the value they place on education, though this as a concept appears to be relatively unexplored in the literature. Levinson and Sparkes (2006) recognized this difference amongst adolescent G/Ts. They reported on how the widening of aspirations for young Gypsy women reinforced different home school expectations and often led to feelings of anxiety and cultural dislocation for these YP.

2.6 Exploring relationships in the mesosystems

2.6.1 Home/School relationship

The interaction between the principal micro environments of home and school has been consistently highlighted in the literature as an important contributory factor to the educational experiences of G/Ts. Wilkin et al (2010) reported that the nature of the home-school relationship was particularly important for supporting better outcomes for G/TCYP. Developing trust between both parties was described by Kiddle to be key to supporting G/TCYP at school (1999), a view also expressed by G/T parents in other studies (e.g. Myers et al, 2010; Bhopal, 2004). Derrington, (2005) reported that at primary school, the quality of the home-school relationship was reported to be more positive than at secondary. Wilkin et al. (2010) found that teachers' knowledge and understanding of G/T culture can play a part, as teachers with limited understanding can experience cultural dissonance when dealing with parents, which can lead to conflict between them.

Parents' perceptions of how schools support their culture and their children's well-being is an important factor in determining their relationship with the school (Wilkin et. al, 2010). Probing into the reason behind this, Derrington (2007) found that for parents, their children's psycho-social well-being at school was more important than educational aspirations. This can be understood within the wider context of G/T social exclusion and cultural trauma resulting from a tradition of assimilative practices by public institutions such as schools (Cemlyn et al., 2009). Parents were often concerned that their children may experience racist bullying in school and encouraged their children to form friendships with peers from their own ethnic group as a protective factor against this (Derrington, 2007). Parents have also expressed fears that the immersion of their children in the education system would lead to a corrosion of their own cultural identity (Bowers, 2004; Bhopal, 2004, Levinson, Sparkes and Andrew, 2005), thereby locating a particular importance in the school's ability to preserve their children's social and

emotional well-being and cultural integrity and to communicate with them regarding any developing or ongoing concerns (Levinson, 2008).

Improving the home-school relationship through parental involvement with school has been reported to be an important means of managing some of the issues outlined above (Ofsted, 1999; Kiddle, 1999; Wilkin et. al 2010). Derrington and Kendall found that when G/TCYP engaged in extra-curricular activities such as after-school clubs, parents and pupils reported feeling more included in the school community. Cultural identity reportedly impacted on this dynamic, as those with a higher sense of bi-culturalism were more likely to engage in these activities and had greater levels of school attendance and retention than those who did not. However the literature suggests that G/T parents often face barriers when they attempt to become involved with their child's school. These include discrimination or perceived discrimination from school staff, inflexible communication systems on the part of the school, parents' own fears and limited or negative experiences of school and education, and a cultural dissonance regarding the role of parent versus teacher as principal educator (Bhopal, 2004; Lloyd and McCluskey 2008; Levinson, 2008).

2.6.2 Traveller Education Support Services (TESS)

TESS have been praised for playing a key role in in facilitating G/T education through the provision of support not only to pupils, but also to parents and teachers (Ofsted, 2001, 2003). Particular praise has been leveled at the role of TESS in the meso-system as "cultural mediators," supporting relationships between schools and families (Wilkin et. al., 2010, Derrington and Kendall, 2004, 2007; Bhopal and Myers, 2009). In her report for 'The Education Network' on good practice for G-T attainment, Templeton (2005) drew on case studies of TESS services and outlined a number of ways in which the TESS services provided parents with valuable support with issues such as school admissions, school transport and secondary transfer. While these examples of good

practice are valuable places from where to start, in her report, Templeton provides little contextual information on the different LAs, which presents issues for the application of these practices successfully.

However, concerns have been raised about how this mediation role may in itself, serve to maintain the communication and interaction gulf between home and school. Bhopal and Myers carried out qualitative, interview-based research exploring best practice in Traveller education in a London LA (2009). They noted that schools did not always communicate appropriately with TESS, often relying too heavily on them to communicate with G-T families, resulting in less interaction and communication between the families themselves and the schools. Therefore, it is important that the role of TESS is critically explored in the context of the current research in relation to how current practices act as protective or precipitating factors in terms of advocating more inclusive school communities.

However, in recent years, cutbacks and restructuring of LA children's and educational services have directly impacted on the ability of LAs to support the inclusion of G/Ts through TESS and other services. As of April 2011, the Ethnic Minority and Traveller Achievement Grant (EMTAG) was no longer ring-fenced, with funds being mainstreamed into the overall dedicated school grants, further focusing on the standards agenda at the expense of inclusion. Large cuts to Ethnic Minority services have occurred as a consequence. TESS were directly hit. Doherty (2011) found that out of 30 London LAs, 10 TESS' have closed since 2007, with most of these closures happening in 2010-2011. Remaining staff working directly to support Traveller education has more than halved between 2007 and 2011. However, other Governmental initiatives such as the Ministerial Working Group on Tackling Inequalities experienced by Gypsy, Roma and Travellers are focusing on employing a holistic approach tackling issues of health, housing, employment, discrimination and

rehabilitation, which also includes piloting a virtual Headteacher to champion the interests of G/T pupils across their LA, (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2012).

2.7 The current study

The review of the literature suggests that at each level of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems, barriers and opportunities for the educational inclusion of these communities occur. Adapting this approach also highlights how G/T education is better understood within a holistic conceptualisation of the interacting systems in society, as seen in figure 2.1 below. The involvement of as many stakeholders as possible in unpicking potential barriers and opportunities of IE complements this systemic approach. Soresi, Nota and Wehmeyer (2011) also note how in research relating to IE, consideration of a range of perspectives enables traditional educational practices to be challenged and change to come about. A transformative ethos underpinned the current study. Firstly, it aimed to empower parents to express their views regarding their children's education. Secondly, a multiple perspectives approach was used in the hope that this would strengthen the foundations for change. The views of influential school staff on G-T education were sought. Thirdly it hoped, through a process of dissemination of parent views within the EPS, the LA and the schools, to enable those voices to be heard in a way which clearly identifies how schools and educational services can be more inclusive. As outlined in chapter one, these aims were explored through two research questions, which sought to explore barriers and opportunities for G/T education within the framework of IE. The operationalisation of these aims is described in chapter three.

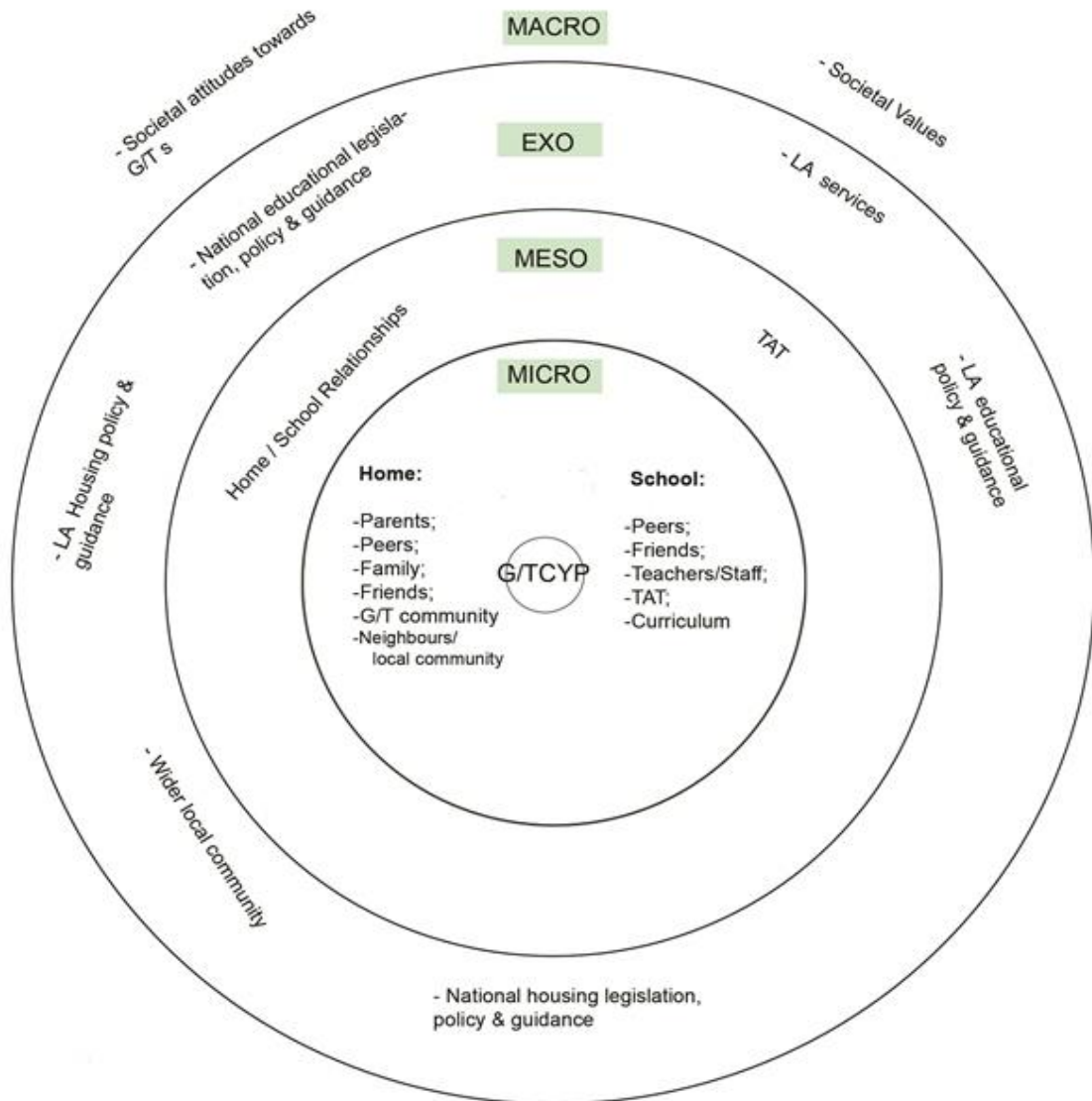


Figure 2.1: Factors impacting on G/T educational inclusion

Methodology

This chapter describes the methodology I employed to address my research questions by describing my research approach, research design, participants, materials, and procedure. Brown and Scullion (2009) describe how research with hard-to-reach populations such as G/Ts can be fraught with difficulties. Consideration of a range of ethical matters throughout the research process is important, and guides the methodological choices faced by the researcher along the way (Garland, Spalek and Chakraborti, 2006). This was the case during the current research, and is reflected in the write-up of the methodology in this chapter. While a section on ethical considerations in their own right is included at the end of the chapter, reflections on ethical choices and the ways in which they shaped the research process intercept the sections which follow, as appropriate.

3.1 Research Approach

3.1.1 Research paradigm

A research paradigm is a philosophical framework or a way of viewing the world which underpins how a researcher designs a research project. Mertens (2009) describes the debate in social research regarding the necessity of stating and exploring one's paradigm and suggests that it is vital to do so. She writes that it has "implications for every decision made in the research process, including the choice of method," (p7) a view I share given that my chosen paradigm has strongly impacted upon how my research was designed and carried out at each stage. As described earlier, I approached this research through the lens of a transformative paradigm.

Transformative research aims to promote social justice, inclusion and equity for those who traditionally, and/or currently experience oppression, (Mertens, 2010). It emerged as a result of "dissatisfaction with research conducted within other paradigms that was perceived to be irrelevant to, or a misrepresentation of" such communities (Mertens, 2010, p21).

3.1.2 Epistemological and Ontological Approach

The epistemology and ontology applied in transformative research is similar to that found in constructivism. Both world-views recognise that reality is not singular, but rather that realities are multiple and socially and culturally constructed (Mertens 2010). Both paradigms have a similar epistemological approach, understanding knowledge to be socially constructed and historically situated, and highlight the interactive link between the researcher and the participants in co-constructing meaning.

However, a transformative approach expands on both the ontology and epistemology of the constructivist paradigm, exploring how the dominant understandings of reality and knowledge can impact on social justice. Ontologically, it emphasises the role of social positioning in determining various realities. It recognises how knowledge is maintained and reproduced by the powerful majority. It consciously recognises that there can be consequences as a result of privileging particular realities, in terms of human rights and social justice and aims to promote these issues for under or misrepresented groups. Brown and Scullion (2009) describe how research that addresses this power imbalance by enabling voices to be heard is valued by G/Ts, and as such, this is at the heart of my research design.

3.2 Research Design

3.2.1 Transformative model

Mertens (2009) describes how transformative research generally takes place within one of two models. Where the researcher is able to develop and build on a prolonged, ongoing relationship with participants, a cyclical, participatory model is used. A second model of transformative research has developed where it is not possible to carry out such a participatory approach. Such research aims to be transformative in so much that it is research that actively engages with individuals or communities who may be disempowered or who may not be very visible in the research world. Through this engagement, the research hopes to apply the transformative spirit to communities where a full participatory approach is not possible due to difficulties in terms of time or

funding constraints, or where participants are particularly hard to reach or relatively invisible. Bamberger, Rugh and Mabry (2006) describe some of the key elements of this second model. They involve using culturally appropriate ways of engaging with participants in order to maximize the possibility of gathering their views; the use of appropriate tools to ensure that community views are represented as validly as possible; clear dissemination of findings to key stakeholders; and making clear recommendations for future changes and/or further research which could have a transformative impact on the research problem.

In the current study, I followed the second model of transformative research. The principle motivation for my making this decision was a consideration of time constraints. Traditionally, G/T communities are particularly difficult to engage in research, and the time required to build a relationship with community members which would enable a full cyclical model to take place was not available to me due to the constraints of the DEdPsych course. Therefore, the current research design employs the second model of transformative research outlined above. This is represented through my research aims and questions; the ways in which I engaged with community members to seek their interest, participation and consent; the way in which I collected and analysed data; and the way in which I member- checked my results. The transformative spirit was further applied through dissemination of the results to schools participating in the study, as well as the LA, including EPs linked with the schools and geographical multiagency team, EWOs, the Ethnic Minority and Traveller Achievement Service and Family Support Workers.

3.2.2 Transformative intervention study

This study was designed originally as a transformative intervention study. Mertens (2009) describes how transformative interventions can be either prescribed (defined by those funding the intervention or study), or emergent (where the intervention develops as a response to community needs). The original study was designed to bring about transformation in two ways. Two interconnected interventions were planned. These

were based on enabling marginalised voices to be heard in their authenticity, and acting on the views of those marginalised voices through further intervention with schools. However, as I became more familiar with community members and the complexity of some of the issues emerging, I realised that carrying out a school intervention within the limits of the time available to me may not facilitate positive change to occur. Therefore, I decided to focus on the first intervention, that is to enable the voices of the parents to be heard, and on this basis, to plan for future transformative work in the local context.

To meet this aim, parents were recruited to engage in unstructured interviews to discuss their perceptions of their children's educational experiences. The process of reflection and engagement with the interviews aimed to be transformative in itself. In one sense this was a prescribed intervention as, as the researcher, I decided that these interviews were appropriate. However, in another sense the interviews were emergent interventions as I employed lots of flexibility in how they were designed and carried out (see below). While an explicit and bounded intervention was not then carried out with schools, the interview process itself enabled school staff with the time and space to reflect on G/T education, thus providing the opportunity for the foundations for change to be laid.

3.2.3 Qualitative Design

Draper describes qualitative research as being concerned with "the quality or nature of human experiences and what these phenomena mean to individuals," (2004, p642). It enables the researcher to explore the subjective realities of participants, rather than imposing an objective or dominant version of reality. It facilitates a deeper understanding and insight into the worlds of participants to emerge (Gillham, 2000), which may not be possible in quantitative approaches (Smith, 2007). In this study, a qualitative design was particularly pertinent, as it aimed to enable the underrepresented voices of G/Ts in the context of a specific LA to emerge and to be heard. Furthermore, data collection was not done with the sole aim of gathering

information. The process of engaging with the interviews was hoped to be transformative in itself for participants. A qualitative approach, which clearly showed respect for and valued participant perspectives, would enable them to engage more with the research process, heightening the transformative potential of the data collection stage.

A key limitation commonly associated with qualitative research is that it limits the external and sometimes the internal generalisability of study findings (Robson, 2002). However, external generalisability is not a key aim for this study. This study aims to understand the specific issues impacting on the educational inclusion of G/Ts in the context of one LA. Qualitative research, which can capture these issues in more detail, can enable a greater understanding of potential areas where change can be explored. Reflections on the internal generalisability of this study as well as its potential for analytic generalisability, which can help to develop understanding in other settings (Ragin, 1987 as cited in Robson, 2002) are included in chapter five.

3.3 Pilot

Given the small number of targeted participants, I decided that targeting one of these participants for a pilot study, without including their views in the final study would be exclusionary. As I was drawing on a broad interview guide for my data collection, I also felt that a pilot might have impacted on the formulation of the interview guide and my approach to the questions in the research.

However, my experience carrying out consultations with two EG families in the context of my professional role, as well as my informal observations on-site helped me to prepare for the interview process and guided some of my thinking in terms of refining my interview guide and my approach to the interviews.

3.4 Participants

3.4.1 Set 1: Parents

Brown and Sullivan (2009) reflect on the difficulties with defining who should be targeted for participation when “doing research” with G/Ts, noting that “accurately establishing a base population of Gypsy-Travellers from whom to draw a sample, is particularly difficult (p175). They consider how issues of cultural notions (Richardson, 2006, as cited in Brown and Scullion) and transitory and malleable self-identification common amongst marginalised and excluded groups (Robinson, 2002) compound a recruitment process already complicated by accommodation issues associated with unauthorised and transient ‘roadside’ encampments, (p175). They suggest employing a pragmatic approach to defining and sampling participants, based on the focus of the research.

As such a purposeful sampling technique where “a case is selected because it serves the real purpose and objectives of the researcher of discovering, gaining insight and understanding into a particularly chosen phenomenon,” (Burns, 2000, p465) was used. Participants were recruited from EG and IT parents who had school-aged CYP in the LA. It was important to talk to these parents given that their children were experiencing some success in terms of inclusion, and a strengths discourse might remain.

3.4.1.1 Access and engagement

Relationships between the researcher and the participants are very important in transformative or in constructivist research, where the interactive link between both is important in terms of recognising the power dynamic and also in terms of the co-construction of knowledge (Mertens, 2010). Greenfields (2007) describes how understanding and being transparent about issues relating to empowerment is fundamental to accessing G/Ts in a meaningful way. Smith (2003, as cited in Brown and Scullion, 2009) notes that communities who have experienced oppression can be suspicious of research. Indeed, establishing trust between myself the researcher and potential participants was particularly important for those who participated, given

emerging stories within the community of experiences of discrimination and even manipulation by power groups. Therefore, throughout the recruiting process I reflected continuously on my dual position as an independent researcher, but also as somebody who worked in the LA. During my rapport building with parents on site, and in introducing my research, I explained this positioning to parents. These transparent discussions helped me to build relationships with families to a point that they felt comfortable sharing their experiences with me through the interview process. An informal, non-directive, calm approach to recruitment as recommended by Adler and Adler (2003, as cited in Levinson 2008) also helped me to engage with families and build trust.

At the time of data collection, all nine IT and three EG families in the population were targeted. Brown and Scullion describe the need to seek “multiple and innovative ways” to access and engage with participants from these communities (2009, p177). As such, I explored a number of avenues. As a first step, I used a ‘gatekeeper’ approach, whereby the TAT personally introduced me to parents. While Brown and Scullion describe this as a good initial way of making initial contact with community members, Robinson (2002) cautions against relying solely on this form of recruitment, as it provides gatekeepers with the power to influence who participates in research, and as a consequence, the story presented. Therefore, a number of other strategies were employed to engage participants. These included ‘snowball’ sampling which can be very effective for hard to reach populations (Bloch, 1999), opportunistic sampling (Home Office, 2003 as cited in Brown and Scullion, 2009) and more ‘traditional’ engagement methods such as phoning.

Levinson (2008) cautioned that given the suspicion G/Ts can have in relation to those in power, the process of recruitment of participants and collecting data could take considerable time. After a process of recruitment that lasted from June until the end of September 2013, I recruited six parents, (two fathers and four mothers) from four IT families who lived on the caravan site in the LA. While one of the EG families agreed to

participate, they appeared to disengage from the process after repeated cancellations and no-shows, and therefore, no data from this community was gathered. Further reflections on this in terms of the research process are included in Chapter 5.

3.4.1.2 Characteristics

Six participants all describing themselves as 'Irish Travellers' were recruited. All of the participants apart from one were over thirty years old and had over ten years of experience sending their children to local schools. The eldest mother was also a grandmother whose grandchildren were trying to access schools in the LA. Further participant details are included in Appendix F.

3.4.2 Set 2: School Staff participants (SSP)

SSPs were recruited from the four schools attended by G/Ts in the LA. These included a secondary academy school, a primary school, an infant and a junior school. Typically, the ITCYP have attended the primary school, though in the past they attended the infant and junior schools. The EGs in the LA attend the infant and junior school. CYP from both communities attend the secondary academy. SENCOs and/or Inclusion Managers at the schools were contacted to participate. They were also asked to circulate the information about the research to other colleagues within the school to invite them to participate. Of the six participants, five were in one or other of these roles. Another worked as a support teacher for G/TCYP. See Appendix F for more details.

3.5 Materials

3.5.1 Interviews

Qualitative interviewing was used to gather data. There is debate between researchers of different epistemological approaches about the ability of interviews to provide information about social worlds. Positivists and Social Constructivists argue at the opposite poles of this debate, with the former aiming for a 'pure' interview, which

provides a 'mirror reflection of the reality of the social world,' (Miller and Glassner, 1997, p99), while the latter posit that knowledge about what is 'out there' in the social world cannot be reflected in an interview. Their view is that the interview is a narrative construction of the social world, resulting from the interactions between the interviewer and the interviewee. This study adopts a position somewhere in between these two poles, as described by Miller and Glassner (1997). They argue that qualitative interviews enable the researcher to explore "the points of view of our research subjects, while granting these points of view the culturally honoured status of reality," (p100) This conceptualisation shapes my epistemological approach to the planning, delivery and interpretation of my interviews in this study.

Robson (2002) outlined three main types of interviews used as research tools; fully structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews. He describes how the latter two are used in flexible, qualitative study designs, such as that of the current study. King (1994) elaborates on where specifically semi- and unstructured interviews should be used. His guidelines suggest that they are an appropriate and effective means of data collection in studies where the focus is on understanding the meaning of particular phenomena to participants, and in studies aiming to understand individual perceptions of processes within organisations such as schools. A crucial issue for me in this research was to decide on whether the use of a semi or an unstructured approach to my interviews was most appropriate for my parent participant interviews. While much of the studies carried out with these communities have focused on using semi-structured interviews, to understand quite specific and pre-defined categories of inquiry, I felt that unstructured interviews best suited the current study.

In making this decision, the epistemological approach of the transformative paradigm, which underlies this research, was at the heart of my reasoning. While semi-structured interviews have been effectively used throughout the literature to gather the views of these communities, the pre-definition of specific questions to ask of participants ensures that the researcher's agenda is at the core of the interview process. Powney

and Watts (1987) address this issue in their conceptualisation of interviews as 'respondent' or 'informant' interviews. Commenting on this conceptualisation, Robson (2002) describes how in 'respondent' interviews, 'interviewers rule... (and) their agenda is what matters,' (p271). As such, fully or semi-structured interviews are respondent interviews, as the agenda has to a large degree, been pre-defined by the researcher. In this way, the power to define the knowledge, which emerges as an outcome of the interview, lies with that person composing the interview schedule and/or conducting the interview.

'Informant' interviews on the other hand, are primarily concerned with capturing the perceptions of the interviewees as they relate to a particular situation or context. Thus, interviews are much less structured, enabling the interviewee's particular perspective to emerge as the dominant voice from the interview, thus shifting the power dynamic and the nature of information emerging from the interview from interviewer to interviewee. In this study, enabling social justice through the representation of marginalised voices was a core aim. A more unstructured approach to interviewing parent participants respects the transformative paradigm. It is a more appropriate tool to redress the power dynamic as it shifts the power of the creation of knowledge to the underrepresented group. As well as the ethical underpinnings, I felt that the use of unstructured interviews was more culturally appropriate for parents. Such an approach has been used in previous studies, though is less dominant in the literature. Lloyd, Stead and Jordan (1999) found that G/T participants responded better to these than to semi-structured interviews, as the former enabled participants' greater freedom to express their views. Levinson (2008) described how greater flexibility in relation to the interview process was a more effective way of enabling participants to overcome barriers and speak more freely and fluidly about their experiences. This is also reflective of my own experience of meeting, consulting and talking with families in my current and previous professional roles. Therefore, in this study, I employed some flexibility in how I carried out my interviews. While five of the six parent interviews followed the format of unstructured interviews using the interview guide below as a

framework, one of the interviews (carried out with the youngest parent) incorporated more structure. This was done in order to prompt a very quiet young Mother to reflect on the educational experiences of her young children.

While the ethos of unstructured, non-directive interviews was employed by Lloyd and her colleagues, they found it useful to incorporate an element of structure to them by introducing topics at the end of the interview, which had been highlighted by the review of literature as a potential area worth exploring. During the planning stage, I reflected on how unstructured my interviews could actually be. I was very aware through personal reflections and reflections and discussions in supervision of my own personal and professional experiences with Traveller education, as well as my accumulated understanding of the issues through my engagement with the literature. Thus I brought some pre-existing knowledge and perceptions to the interview context, which I was interested in exploring. Lofland and Lofland (1995) describe how the use of an interview guide can be helpful to acknowledge this when carrying out unstructured interviews. They describe how a guide can facilitate interviewees to *“speak freely in their own terms about a set of concerns you (the researcher) bring to the interaction, plus whatever else they might introduce,”* (p85).

3.5.2 The Interview Guide

I constructed an interview guide for use with parent participants. This guide was focused around wide and exploratory questions as I was interested in enabling parent's perceptions to emerge. It was shaped against the background of Bronfenbrenner's eco-systems framework to facilitate a holistic understanding of Traveller education.

Three key areas of potential exploration were identified in the guide;

- General perceptions of things that parents perceive to be going well within primary, secondary and further education
- General perceptions of things that are presenting challenges for participants within primary, secondary and further education
- Relationships within the school community (including peers, staff and parents).

- Exploring meaningful change

The first two aimed to enable participants to describe their views on education in their own terms. Asking broadly about perceptions enabled discussions about wider issues relating to macro views and policies at the exo level, which were important for participants. The third area of interest was based around exploring relationships, as these were dominant in the literature on G/T education. Finally, the interviews aimed to focus participants' thoughts on what might constitute meaningful change for them and what a useful avenue for meaningful change might look like. Techniques from solution-focused interviewing were used where appropriate to facilitate this. Reflections on the effectiveness of this form of interviewing in the context of this research are included in chapter five.

As I was also interested in understanding how SS perceived the barriers and opportunities for the educational inclusion of G/TCYP, I also used unstructured interviews with this population. Again, I opted for very broad categories of exploration in my interview guide, which would enable a picture to emerge of SS conceptualisation of the education of G/TCYP.

- Schools perceptions of what's going well in terms of the educational inclusion of Travellers
- SS perceptions of barriers to the educational inclusion of Travellers
- Relationships within the school community (pupils, staff and parents).

3.6 Procedure

3.6.1 Data Collection

Data collection took place during October and November 2013. Face to face interviewing was carried out at a time and place of participants choosing. Interviews with parents were carried out in October, as this was a time when community members were likely to be back from travelling. They had also had time to settle back into school

by then, thereby enabling reflection on current educational experiences from the heart of the context.

Parents were offered the option of having the interviews in the portacabin adjacent to the site. However they all preferred to be interviewed at home. MacDonald and Greggans note that home interviews enable participants to feel safer and more relaxed, encouraging them to “open up” more to researchers, (2008, p3123). Time spent in the lead up to the interviews building trust with participants on the site helped me feel comfortable visiting the homes of participants for the purposes of interviews and I was conscious (as pointed out by MacDonald and Greggans) that as a guest in people’s homes, I was in a privileged position. Plenty of time was allowed for the interviews, as interviewing in home environments can be chaotic and can be fraught with issues such as multiple interruptions and consent and confidentiality (MacDonald and Greggans, 2008). Four of the interviews lasted around 30 minutes. A fifth interview lasted around an hour and a half, while the final interview lasted only twenty minutes. This final interview took place with the youngest interviewee, who had relatively little experiences to reflect and draw upon than the others. Four interviews were recorded and transcribed immediately afterwards. Two interviewees preferred not to be recorded and extensive notes were taken instead, which were member-checked afterwards.

Interviews with SSPs followed over the course of November. The interviews took place in the school settings, enabling me to further contextualise the data. They each lasted around 30 minutes. Parent interviews were prioritised so that any understanding I brought with me as an interviewer to the schools was shaped by Traveller perspectives rather than by the educational institutions. All of these interviews were audio-recorded.

3.6.2 Data Analysis

3.6.2.1 Process of thematic analysis

Thematic analysis involves “searching across a data set... to find repeated patterns of meaning,” (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p86). It was an appropriate method of analysis for the current study as it focuses on capturing and describing the participants’ perspectives in as authentic a way as possible. I followed the six steps described by Braun and Clarke; transcription, reading and familiarization, coding, searching for themes, reviewing themes, and defining and naming themes (2013, p202). The process of transcribing interviews helped me to fully understand and familiarise myself with the data, enabling the first step of my immersion in it. The two interviews recorded in shorthand note form were also fully transcribed by myself immediately after. Coding was descriptive in order to honour and to provide a vehicle through which the voice of the participants was enabled and heard. Furthermore it aimed to be an inductive rather than a deductive analysis in order to minimise the influence of my knowledge, thoughts and feelings on emerging themes as well as complementing the transformative approach. Analysis focused on what was distinct (to individuals and to groups) but also, particularly in searching for and reviewing themes, tried to balance this with shared commonalities of perspectives (across individuals and groups).

While I tried to employ a descriptive and inductive approach to coding and searching for themes, it must be acknowledged that my research questions and interview guide impacted on the outcomes of the analysis as they influenced the data content.

Inevitably, analysis was also somewhat impacted upon by the theoretical frameworks I explored in my literature review. The development of my emergent and superordinate themes (through stages 2-5) followed the inductive approach. However, during stage 6, when I was defining and naming themes, I felt that the data reflected the key elements in the Salamanca framework for inclusive education and thus this framework influenced how I constructed and named my overarching concepts.

3.6.2.2 Validity

Miller and Glassner caution that the language of interviews can lead to the “fracturing of stories,” particularly during the analysis stage, where “coding, categorisation and

typologising” of stories can dilute their wholeness. Establishing validity was of critical importance for me given that I was representing the voice of a marginalised community. Maxwell (1996) identifies the need to have validity in terms of description, interpretation and theory. This was addressed through peer-review and member checking.

I carried out a peer-review exercise where research colleagues carried out a thematic analysis on a one page of data from both data sets. This was at a descriptive level, to ensure that my understanding of what participants were saying was without significant bias. Similar initial codes emerged from their analysis.

Secondly, I carried out a member-checking exercise with participants. This was done to check for testimonial validity in terms of data description and analysis. Member checking for validity of description was carried out with the two parents whose interviews were recorded through note taking. Member checking for the validity of analysis was carried out with parents on-site. After sharing overarching concepts, super and subordinate themes, no issues emerged, as participants were happy that the findings captured their views. In one case, one of the fathers was keen to point out that he did not agree with positive views about home/school communication (H/SC) expressed by some parents, though was glad to see that his views were also incorporated into the analysis. This was a positive exercise as well as strengthening validity; it reengaged parents with the research process, helping the transformative aim of the study. I approached SSPs and offered them the opportunity to meet with me to authenticate the results of the thematic analysis. Out of the six participants, those in the infant and primary settings asked me to meet with them later in the summer term to discuss the summary and implications of the research while those in the junior and secondary settings asked me to forward a written summary to them once the research had been completed. The responses of the two sets of participants to member checking is reflected on further in chapter five.

3.6.3 Dissemination and Feedback

The dissemination of research findings is an important part of any piece of research, and particularly so for transformative research. Bamberger et al., (2006) describe how the dissemination of research to all key stakeholders is important if the transformative spirit is to be kept alive. As well as feedback at the analysis stage as described above, feedback to key stakeholders is planned for autumn 2014. The timing of this is planned to maximise the possibility that members of the community will be back from summer travelling. The research will be fed back to the appropriate stakeholders as highlighted through the data analysis and described in the discussion chapter. These will include members of the community, schools, the EPS, EMTAS the EWS, Housing and the PMHT. The findings will also be presented at the monthly multiagency team around the Travellers meeting. Given the original hope to carry out a transformative intervention study within the LA, the aim is to collaborate with families, schools and LA services further to build on some of the pathways for inclusion identified by this research.

3.7 Further Ethical Considerations

This study was carried out in line with ethical considerations outlined by the BPS code of professional practice and in line with the ethical approval sought and gained through the Research Ethical Approval Board at the Institute of Education, which outlined pertinent ethical issues (see Appendix A). As well as the ethical reflections described throughout this chapter, a number of other considerations of note are described here.

3.7.1 Beneficence

Beneficence relates to how a study can be carried out so that it minimises possible harm to participants and maximises the potential benefits, which can occur as a result of the research. Beneficence is particularly important in transformative research. Mertens (2009) writes that when no transformation occurs, participants can be left

feeling in a worse position than they did prior to their participation in the study. I addressed this issue through my research design and materials. By engaging in the process of interviewing, participants had the opportunity for positive transformation to occur through reflection. The outcome of this aim is further described in the reflections section of Chapter five. A further consideration related to the dissemination of research findings and their potential to bring about change in terms of educational policies and practices in educational institutions in the LA. In my discussions with parents prior to the data collection, I described my commitment to sharing their views with the appropriate LA officials and schools. As recommended by Brown and Scullion (2009), I was very transparent in discussing with them how this feedback was not guaranteed to bring about immediate changes in the status quo. Indeed it was in consideration of beneficence that I changed my transformative intervention design half way through the research process. As described earlier, once some issues relating to the educational inclusion of Travellers (described in the next two chapters) came to light, I felt that the preparation and formulation of change would have to take place at a much slower pace if it was to be meaningful and long lasting.

3.7.2 Transparency

As commented out throughout this chapter, participants were fully informed about the aims of this research project. Research aims were described in face-to-face meetings with SSPs prior to carrying out interviews. Their written informed consent was then sought (see Appendix B). For Parents, the process of transparency and consent was slightly different, given that they are consistently described in the literature as a vulnerable group. Mertens (2009) describes how securing informed consent is “a process, not a form,” (p221). In this study, this was the approach employed for ensuring transparency and informed consent. While written consent was gathered as outlined in the procedures of the Institute of Education, some elements of consent were gained via verbal agreement to participate, so as to be culturally sensitive. Please see Appendix D for a summary of the process of obtaining consent used in this study.

3.7.3 Confidentiality and Anonymity

Caldwell, Davis, Du Bois, Echo-Waek, Erikson and Goins (2005) describe how confidentiality and anonymity can be difficult to ensure in small communities.

Therefore, confidentiality and anonymity were conceived of in two ways in this study.

Firstly, through the *process* of data collection and analysis, and secondly in the *dissemination* of the research project and data outcomes. During the data collection and analysis phase, transcripts and consent forms were kept in a locked cabinet and stored in accordance with the data protection act. Digital recordings were kept on a password-protected computer. All data will be destroyed following completion of the research. The dissemination of findings require careful consideration to honour the principles of confidentiality and anonymity. In academic research papers, the anonymity and confidentiality of participants will be assured, as research papers will take care not to include any information, which may identify the LA in question.

However, confidentiality and anonymity need to be conceived of differently when disseminating information to LA stakeholders. While individual identification will be protected, the nature of this study as a transformative intervention requires for the educationalists to know that the perspectives being presented to them are those views of members of a particular community within the LA. This was explained at the outset to participants before seeking their consent and addressed again in March 2014, when feeding back the findings of the thematic analysis.

Results

This chapter presents the results of the thematic analysis. Both sets of data were analysed separately in order to maintain the authenticity of each voice. While an inductive approach was applied to the analysis, this was done with the broad, exploratory research questions in mind. Therefore, while the emergent themes do not directly correspond with barriers and opportunities to IE, they do present a story of the challenges present within the LA for IE as well as the strengths that exist.

Four 'over-arching-concept's shape the themes in both data sets. The first three 'over-arching-concept's; 'discriminatory-attitudes,' 'achieving-education-for-all,' and 'creating-welcoming-communities,' are based on the aims for IE set out by the Salamanca statement. While I was aware of these aims prior to the analysis, I did not set out to apply them to my interpretation of the data. However, as the themes emerged, it became apparent that as a whole the data could be understood within the framework of these three aims. They are described below for each dataset, along with the superordinate and subordinate themes, which shape their formation. Many of these super and subordinate themes reappear across both data sets as similar issues emerged for both groups. However, as is borne out in the quotes included in the reporting below, key differences in the perspectives on these issues can be seen, both across and within the data sets. A number of super and sub-ordinate themes unique to each data set also emerged and are also discussed below. A fourth 'over-arching-concept' for each group also emerged. These 'over-arching-concept's were much shorter, containing comments made by a limited number of participants in both data sets. Though these both related to reflections on community and context, they were different in composition and this is reflected in how they are named. The results for both data sets are represented visually in figures two and three.

4.1 Data Set 1: Parents

Four ‘over-arching-concept’s shape the findings of the thematic analysis carried out with parents; ‘creating-welcoming-communities,’ ‘discriminatory-attitudes,’ ‘achieving-education-for-all,’ and ‘reflections-on-the-community.’

While presented separately, the first three are intrinsically linked. For example, tackling ‘discriminatory-attitudes,’ and ‘creating-welcoming-communities’ are important features of achieving education for all. However, as the data emerged, it became apparent that each of these ‘over-arching-concept’s was important in their own right, and presented a clear conceptualised framework upon which IE for G/Ts in this LA could be mapped and understood. The links between these ‘over-arching-concept’s and their implications for the holistic conceptualisation of the practice of IE are reflected on in chapter five.

4.1.1. Discriminatory Attitudes (Discriminatory -attitudes)

A broad conceptualisation of ‘discriminatory-attitudes,’ based on the categories outlined in the Equality Act (2010) was used to identify attitudes or behaviours relating to ‘prejudice,’ ‘direct’ or ‘indirect’ discrimination. ‘Discriminatory-attitudes,’ were spoken about terms of participants’ experiences of ‘discriminatory-attitudes,’ and the impact they had on themselves, their children and their community. Three superordinate themes emerged.

4.1.1.1 Experiences of discrimination

Parents referred to their experiences of discrimination, both locally and in wider society, reflecting experiences of discrimination within the macro, exo and meso spheres of society.

4.1.1.1.1 *Discrimination in wider society and the media*

Three parents commented on experiences of discrimination in the wider community. Two participants specifically referred to the negative impact of media attention on society’s perception of Travellers. There was a suggestion of unethical media

practices, where the media did not honour community wishes when one of the families took part in a television programme;

“And it’s awful the telly. Have you seen it? It’s a disgrace. And people here saying they don’t want their children on the telly and then you sit down and watch it and there they are.”

4.1.1.1.2 Institutional discrimination

Parents spoke about ‘discriminatory-attitudes’ and behaviours at the exo-systems level of society in public services. One mother described experiences of direct discrimination where members of the community were unfairly targeted by police;

“Yes but I don’t think it’s fair then for residents on the site to have to allow people coming and going, because we’re the ones that’s targeted with the police- there’s been bullying on the streets, there’s been such a crime here or whatever... know what I mean? And it’s the residents actually left on the caravan sites that really get the name from the community... So I don’t think it’s fair.”

Experiences of indirect discrimination were discussed. Participants mentioned a lack of accommodation of Traveller culture by Government services;

“But to be honest with you, I don’t think the Government provide... It’s up to you how you want to live. It’s up to us how we want to live. It’s up to next door how they want to live, so to speak. But I don’t think the Government’s doing enough for the Travelling community.”

Experiences of indirect discrimination were felt through what could be described as an assimilationist approach to LA services such as housing and education, where Travellers had to compromise their cultural lifestyles and priorities to fit in with the mainstream ethos on education and living. These policies and their implications for Traveller lifestyle and education are discussed in greater detail in the second ‘over-arching-concept’, ‘achieving-education-for-all.’

4.1.1.1.3 Voice

An issue around voice – giving voice and hearing voice – emerged. Participants described how they do not feel listened to by the LA;

“Well, I know it’s a big thing for the Government to just turn around and listen to the Traveller – uneducated person like me, saying this is what we need to do – and they’ll say there are so many reasons why we can’t do it, and that’ll be the end of that.”

There was a tone of frustration among participants, especially the two fathers, one of whom felt that Traveller views were often ignored by the council, or that action on their views took a long time;

“Ah people got fed up of it. Someone would go but you’d get fed up of it. All their side, their side and people would say, you’d waste time going - you’d just be there for a shadow, for a cover up for them. They can do what they want.”

4.1.1.2 ‘Discriminatory-attitudes’ in the local community

Parents described discrimination in the local community, with one describing neighbours as “prejudice” towards Traveller children.

“And here. They’d play here. But then there were complaints if the children looked over the wall. They haven’t been complaining. If you don’t complain so you get in all sorts of trouble. They’re prejudice.”

The relationships between parents was described by one participant who was keen to emphasise that differences existed between the Travelling families in terms of the friendships they had with people from outside the community. She described how despite the existence of friendships between herself and ‘outsiders,’ many non G/Ts maintained feelings of fear towards other Travellers;

“I’ve got a lot of non-traveller friends. But I do know some of them [my non-Traveller friends who come] here on the site that haven’t mixed with them [the other Travellers on site], and are actually a bit scared to mix with them.”

4.1.1.3 Impact on CYP

Parents commented on the impact of ‘discriminatory-attitudes’ on their children in school in relation to peer and staff relationships.

4.1.1.3.1 Peer relationships

One mother and father referred to bullying their son experienced at secondary, and another mother and father described how their daughter was bullied at college. These experiences led to parent-condoned self-exclusion from secondary and FE;

“But then another time, another fella pulled out a knife down there... So I say, I’m taking this child out, I fear for his life, I’ve enough of this prejudice and all this.”

The presence of such ‘discriminatory-attitudes’ impacted on the friendship choices G/TCYP made. Three parents mentioned how their children stuck together in order to stand up for each other.

4.1.1.3.2 Relationships with staff

According to four parents, ‘discriminatory-attitudes’ held by staff impacted on their children’s experiences of school. A sense of frustration around the responsiveness of staff was evident with parents feeling that blame was automatically placed on G/T children when incidents of conflict arose;

“It’s like your child could be pushed first, or hit first, or called names first. But that doesn’t matter. It’s just all about what your child has done. I think she [local Headteacher] is a bit prejudiced about Travellers. I dunno, you can just... you just get that vibe off her when you’re talking to her.”

4.1.2 Achieving Education for All

Four superordinate themes relating to parent perspectives on the barriers to and opportunities for 'achieving-education-for-all' emerged.

4.1.2.1 Practicing inclusion in school

Parents' perceptions of school practices were based around exploring inclusive practices in school, and the relationship between inclusion and space.

4.1.2.1.1 Inclusive practices in school

Parent references to educational practices in school were limited, representing a significant silence on their part. Two participants described positive practices, which indicated times when G/TCYP were valued for who they were and given opportunities to achieve;

"Well they [teachers] never put you lower. They'd always pick you up."

4.1.2.1.2 Physical exclusion

A second subtheme emerged relating to the interaction between physical spaces and the educational inclusion of G/TCYP. Examples of the physical exclusion of G/TCYP were described. One mother recounted how at school, being taken out of class upset her son;

"At the moment his teacher's making him go out of class and if he does his maths once, she's making him do it again and the third time so he'll be ready [for exams]. And obviously he doesn't understand that, obviously he's only ten, he doesn't understand that, so he's sorta thinking, 'Why's she picking on me?' It's the first time I've ever seen him unconfident like he doesn't want to go to school. He just can't understand why he's held back. He thinks he's doing something wrong."

Four parents spoke positively about the educational facilities offered in a portacabin on their site. Alternative education curricula was offered by the TAT for secondary aged

girls, as was support with homework and GCSE course work. The girls often accessed education here instead of going to school locally. Parents commented that their children were more motivated to go there and learned more there than at school.

“But it was only through the scheme in the portacabin that I was able to push her every morning.”

They located the success of the portacabin in the teaching and learning style of lessons, the social aspect of it for G/TCYP and the lack of distraction from difficult peer relationships that may be present in school;

“They’re not distracted looking at this fella and looking at that fella, with all that fighting and arguing and bullying.”

4.1.2.2 Aspirations and Opportunities

Parents commented on the interplay between career and lifestyle aspirations and the available opportunities to achieve these within the education system. Four subthemes emerged.

4.1.2.2.1 Aspirations

Four parents spoke about the interplay between the career, lifestyle and educational aspirations of G/Ts.

(i) Traditional educational aspirations

Three parents spoke about how traditionally, little value was placed on education;

“Going back to my time, when I was a child, when you were travelling, there was no such thing as education.”

Another spoke about how early completion of education, which was common in the past, was still part of Traveller culture today;

“The young fellas come out of school at 12 or 13. And that’s from the generation that’s past. The generation today – a lot of them do it, especially here.”

(ii) Interplay between career, lifestyle and educational aspirations

Educational aspirations were linked with lifestyle and career aspirations held by the G/T community. Three parents including both fathers spoke about the traditional career aspirations to carry out sales or vocational trade work still held by members of the Travelling community, while career roles which may not have been traditionally followed by Travellers (nursery teacher, psychologist and movie director) were referred to by two parents.

There was general consensus among parents that the G/T community placed a value on learning the basics; reading, writing and maths, and that this complemented their career aspirations;

“Yeah – the basic skills is very important. The first steps – reading and writing and maths and all that there you know. And if he know that, there you are, away with you, you can do what you want to.”

This related to poorer aspirations to stay in education through secondary. One father spoke about the opportunities for learning in primary school

“while their brains is young.”

A mother described how now, as her son reached Upper KS2, he was losing interest in education.

Career aspirations were not referred to in isolation. Three parents, including one father, spoke about how lifestyle aspirations influenced the careers G/TCYP aspired to. They described how Traveller girls often aspired to marriage, and even if they had had alternative career aspirations, that these were not as valued as getting married;

“M was longing to be a Nursery teacher before she got married. She done the training and then she was doing the college part. But as soon as em, the husband came on the scene, she dropped all that.”

The aspirations of young Traveller men were also linked to the lifestyle choice of an early marriage and having the ability to support a family;

“And then once they’ve learnt how to read and write, they’re pulled out of school to actually learn how to physically work and provide for themselves and their wife and children when they get married, because they get married at a young age.”

(iii) Changing aspirations

There was a sense that within the community, a gradual shift in the attitude towards education was occurring. Three parents expressed a desire for their children to stay in secondary education as long as possible, identifying the potential benefits that education offered, with the father displaying a degree of frustration towards members of the Travelling community who held what he saw as a narrower view;

“I mean I can read and write...but education’s not that. Education’s a big wide thing, isn’t it? But they (Travellers) don’t further that education.”

However, the same participant and his wife both felt that further education (FE) was too grounded in academic work and that it did not provide YP with the skills they required for practical work;

“We had a fella here working with us. Wealthy. Went to Oxford. And he knew about the stars. But he couldn’t get a job- not even driving a van!”

There was some evidence of a similar shift occurring for some families regarding lifestyle and career aspirations. One husband and wife described how they encouraged their children to have *“an open mind.”* The mother described how her daughter had gotten married and kept working despite pressure from the Travelling community;

“But obviously her husband was able to provide for her, but she just had her open mind of, ‘I’m not just going to sit around all day and wait for my husband to come back and do the washing or whatever. This is something that I want to do this. And who cares if you don’t like it – this is something I want.”

Her husband attached value to traditional career aspirations, which would enable his son to provide for his family, though remained open-minded about the possibility of exploring other options once he had this security;

“Later on in life, if he’s sorta, if he’s got it in him to be a broadcaster or something, very good, he’s going to find that out. But when he’s leaving school, which a high percentage of college leavers do, they have no jobs, like working in bars or driving a van. Whereas if he has that skill behind him at an earlier age, he can always turn to that.”

4.1.2.2.2 Barriers to Aspirations

Parents highlighted factors which they felt impacted negatively on G-TCYP’s ability to have successful experiences at school enabling them to enjoy and achieve in line with their aspirations for the future. Barriers presented in both the home and the school contexts emerged.

(i) Limited curriculum

Three participants spoke about how the narrow view of the curriculum impacted negatively on the retention of G/TCYP in education, due to the mismatch between it and their lifestyle and career aspirations. Both fathers and a mother voiced their concerns about this, with one mother describing it in the context of the right of Travellers to be provided with an inclusive education;

“And it should be down to the Government. Obviously it’s down to the parents as well, but it should be down to the Government to provide a scheme where kids of that age are actually physically shown how to do something rather than writing it down on paper.”

For these parents, staying in school was seen as presenting a barrier to traditional G/T lifestyle and career aspirations as it did not enable the CYP to explore educational choices which complemented those aspirations.

(ii) Vulnerability of NEET

Parents described the resultant disillusionment with education as a contributing factor to CYP leaving school early and being neither in education, employment nor training (NEET). Three parents expressed concern about the impact of NEET, describing how the resultant boredom and lack of direction at a vulnerable age could result in the development of anti-social behaviours, including drug and alcohol abuse and criminal behaviour;

“For instance with those young fellas down there ... they’ll be sitting down at home, causing agro to the police, causing agro to everyone, not having any money, being really stressed out of their heads because of all of those hardships.”

(iii) Bullying and self-exclusion

A number of other factors were highlighted by parents, which contributed to self-exclusion and NEET. Three parents described the impact of peer relationships on their children’s learning and social school experiences. Both fathers spoke about how bullying behaviour impacted negatively on their children’s learning, with one describing how it impacted upon his daughter’s ability to stay in college and complete a FE course;

“So she tried and tried for a few weeks, and then the peer pressure got so much and intimidation, in a humorous way; but making fun of her and all sorts.”

(iv) Parent protectiveness

Parents displayed feelings of protectiveness over their children. This resulted from the poor peer relationships described above as well as parent fears that their children would be exposed to anti-social behaviour such as drinking and smoking at school, which they perceived to be a part of mainstream culture. This impacted on parents' willingness to advocate school retention as well as their willingness to encourage cross-cultural relationships with non-Traveller peers.

(v) On-site issues

Issues within the IT community itself, which presented barriers to CYPs attendance and retention in school, were mentioned by two mothers. Transient families who travelled through the site and did not attend school were said to impact negatively on attendance for the rest of the community. This impacted in two ways on ITCYP. Firstly, it impacted on their ability to focus on schoolwork at home when they were constantly being distracted by other children;

“And then mine will get put to bed for school, but they're not sleeping. Even with the PJ's on they're in out, in out. I just want to get this, I just want to tell this one that. They're not sleeping. And the other children, they're coming to the windows and the door, saying 'Is your one coming out, is she coming out?!'”

Furthermore, it impacted on peer relationships on the site. One mother spoke at length about how her son and daughter had both experienced lots of bullying as a result of remaining in school;

“With my oldest son, he did have an education and did go to school, but it came to a stage where he was getting bullied and intimidated with other travelling communities because he was still in school at nearly fifteen.”

(vi) Parenting challenges

Parenting style, skills and expectations emerged as having an important impact in terms of children's retention in secondary school. Different families thought in different ways about their children's futures. One husband and wife appeared to have more traditional aspirations for their children, while another mother, the youngest participant (in her early twenties) had not yet given thought to anything beyond primary education for her two children. A third couple described how they tried to be broad minded with their children in terms of their choices for the future, with the husband expressing frustration towards the more traditional view taken by others in the community; *"It's very hard for parents to change because they're from a past culture, they don't understand what it is for the kids to have a better world etc and easier."*

One parent described how she found it difficult to support her children's learning: *"I can't do it – I can't help her and she needs it – she can't read cat... And I can't do it, we don't know how."*

Two parents described how managing YP in their teenage years was difficult; *"And when they come to a certain age, with teenagers, you'll know yourself anyway, they seem to get over-aged, like they're an adult and 'You can't tell me what to do no more,' and kinda thing like that."*

4.1.2.2.3 Available Opportunities

Five parents highlighted factors which may impact positively on G/TCYP's ability to have successful experiences at school enabling them to enjoy and achieve in line with their aspirations for the future.

(i) Enjoyment

Three mothers spoke about how their children enjoyed primary school, recognising the importance of enjoyment as a foundation for learning. Elaborating on this, one mother spoke about how building positive relationships with staff and peers had helped her little girl to settle in to primary, while a second described how one of the teachers at

secondary valued the YP's voice, which she thought important. All four mothers interviewed described how they felt that their children were achieving well at school, though there was an element of uncertainty about how this compared with others; *"They're doing fine. Well I think they are. They're doing ok."*

(ii) Supportive peer relationships

There was general agreement amongst mothers that having supportive peer relationships helped their children to enjoy and achieve at school. Two described how the ITCYP supported each other in the face of bullying from non-Travellers, as well as providing positive role models to each other in terms of attending and achieving in school. However, all four mothers also described how having cross-cultural friendships helped their children to feel included in school, combat bullying behaviour as well as to learn how to communicate and interact within the wider society;

"Yeah, no – I think it's important for them to mix. And it's not only that, it's when they're older as well and they are going to work, that they know how to speak to people."

(iii) Parental support

Parents' attitudes to school as well as their parenting style emerged as a further category which enabled aspirations to be pursued. One husband and wife and another mother displayed a keen interest in supporting their children to stay in school as long as possible. They described the effort and persistence involved in achieving this; *"It has to be trained into their heads that they have to get up in the morning and have to work not doss around with their friends."*

One mother described the importance of actively engaging with the school in order to address any emerging issues;

“I didn’t want my child coming home and crying and not wanting to go to school and this and that. Because if a child’s not happy in school and doesn’t want to go, then the parent got to build up the pressure [on the school].”

Open communication between parents and their children about issues relating to their school experience and their future aspirations, was referred to by three parents. One mother described how having these conversations helped to motivate the children *“from within;”*

“So within that, even having that chance to talk about and think about their futures and even like [my husband] saying with the lads, saying that this is how school can help you. But you’re actually asking the kids and motivating them from within themselves.”

She also described how adapting an *“open-minded”* approach to exploring aspirations with her children, adapting a more bi-cultural ethos where value was placed on both cultures;

“Even though we live within the Travelling community and get on with their cultures, we’d sort of be a bit more open with our kids about what they’re going to do when they’re older.”

This participant and her husband described how they adapted what can be seen as a bi-cultural approach to their children’s education. During the week, they tried to keep their children in school as long as possible, and at the weekend, the father taught his son trade skills to prepare him for working life;

“Yeah, well here now, my son is 10. And on the weekends... he’s sorta observing, or if he has to put leaflets through a door, he’s basically getting prepared for when he is older, to go out.”

(iv) Alternative curricula for girls

Notably, in terms of describing opportunities for enhancing the successful school experiences for these CYP, there was a general silence around the curriculum offered by schools. Two mothers did however speak about the alternative 'hair and beauty,' programme offered to girls by the TAT in the on-site portacabin;

"She used to do fashion, design and hair and make-up and stuff like that. And it was only because of that that I was able to keep her right in school until she was at the age of leaving school."

However, these alternative options do not appear to be available to the boys.

Addressing this imbalance shaped the following subtheme.

4.1.2.2.4 Exploring Alternative Opportunities

Three parents described how they felt that the education system did not provide G/T boys with the opportunities to prepare for their futures in line with their career and lifestyle aspirations. One husband and wife explored alternatives.

(i) Window of Opportunity

Both spoke at length about how a window of opportunity existed to develop alternative opportunities, which would enable G/TCYP to engage more with an education system that made sense to them;

"My little boy now, he's very good at maths and all the rest of it. Could he do either carpentry or bricklaying or something like that, some form of physical skill that they're going to use for their livelihood."

The father described how there is a window of opportunity to support G/TCYP, particularly boys between the ages of twelve and fifteen;

"And it's only them 2 to 3 years to have that little window to actually get them to do a skill and to get them on the treadmill... But at that age I think you have them where you want them. And they have that motivation then."

He felt very strongly that by providing these opportunities, the Government would reduce the incidents of anti-social behaviour among G/TCYP and, as mentioned below, that they could be given the opportunity to contribute to society;

“But if they’re set up that way, they’re going to work, benefit the country, pay a bit of tax, do a bit of work and have a life.”

(ii) Safer spaces

Both parents were of the opinion that providing such educational skills in the portacabin may encourage some of the other parents to show a more active engagement with their CYP’s education instead of being *“left in limbo land, getting trouble with the education, also worrying about their kids... and basically fell unpowered about dealing with it.”*

Both participants spoke about how they visualised such a programme operating. They both mentioned the importance of having a building accessible to the YP as well as the importance of having someone with the skills and understanding of the abilities and aptitudes of the YP involved;

“And basically, because they can’t go to school because they are getting bullied and intimidated, there should be a scheme, like a building, there’s loads of big buildings around here, and someone in there that knows all the tricks of the trade.”

(iii) EP support

The father saw a role for EPs here;

“I’d have some form of a building, with someone that has a bit of interest and someone that can see into people, a bit like yourself, look at the kids, what they’re good for – carpentry, electric and that – see what they’re good at you know and then leave them at that.”

(iv) Voice

Despite speaking very enthusiastically about his vision for alternative opportunities within education, the father in question also displayed frustration as he felt that his views would fall on deaf ears;

“Well, I know it’s a big thing for the Government to just turn around and listen to Travellers – uneducated person like me – saying this is what we need to do. And they’ll say there are so many reasons why we can’t do it, and that’s be the end of it.”

4.1.2.3 Attendance and Admissions

This theme explores the issue of attendance and admissions in schools. Three subthemes emerged.

4.1.2.3.1 Legal Pressure

Three participants spoke about the legal implications of non-attendance. They appeared frustrated at the enforced participation, assimilationist agenda, which presumed that the school was able to provide an appropriate education for their children. One father spoke about how his children were not able to work with him to learn skills to carry out trade work. His wife told the story of how she felt forced to send her teenage son to Ireland to learn a vocational skill, as she was being put under pressure by the council to have him attend secondary school;

“They (LA Education) were going to take us to court and fine us when we had no other choice than to send him to Ireland and to live with my mother for his uncle to learn him how to do his skills, to stop us from getting into trouble.”

4.1.2.3.2 Reasons for non-attendance

All four mothers made reference to reasons why their CYP have not been in attendance at school, citing cultural and lifestyle priorities. Two described how they had to go away and care for sick elderly family members. Another spoke about how she found it difficult to manage bringing the children back and forth to school at different times with a small baby. Another referred to times when the family went travelling.

Issues around admissions were cited by two mothers as reasons for non-attendance. They discussed the interplay between travelling, attendance and school admissions in some detail, expressing frustration with the long, paperwork centered processes in the LA. They both described how the old system of having a 'green card' enabled G-TCYP to access school much more readily when they were on the road;

“Before you would be able to – when you were travelling – the minute you’d go, the council would be down, you’d give your name. In a matter of a few hours the education people would be there. And you’d have a school – you’d be in in 2 days time. Now we’re here and coming here 23 years and we can’t get them in.”

One mother commented that this was at odds with the rights of Travellers to follow their culture and to receive an education

“As a traveller you are entitled to go away travelling. Those kids want to go to school too, but now it’s all this paperwork and now they can’t get a place... And they’re asking, ‘Why can’t I go to school? Am I going to school today?’”

As described earlier, parents also feel that having non-attending G/TCYP who are transient on the site has implications for the ability of the more settled families to attend school.

4.1.2.3.3 Housing and attendance

Drawing on her own experiences of living for seven years in a house, the experiences of her friends and the experiences of her older children, one mother spoke at length about the interplay between the housing policy for Travellers, with travelling and education. While she was the only participant in this dataset to speak about this, I felt that it highlighted some important issues in terms of looking at the educational inclusion of G/TCYP within Bronfenbrenner’s systemic framework and thus warranted inclusion in the data analysis as a distinctive subtheme in itself.

(i) Assimilationist policy

This participant expressed frustration at what she described as an assimilationist housing policy, where an already limited number of sites was decreasing, as the preference of the council was for housing;

“Through the years that we’ve lived here – twelve or thirteen years – they’ve built loads of apartments, loads of flats, loads of houses for people that are on the housing list so to speak. But they’re building no sites.”

She felt that this assimilationist policy was discriminatory as it broke up G/T communities, while the sedentary population was provided with appropriate accommodation near family.

“The lady here in the corner house – her kids are the same age as my older ones. They’ve grown up and got married and they’re still in the borough. They’re still able to see their families so to speak. My child gets married and she’s got to move a 100 miles away for a site to accommodate her.”

(ii) Community, isolation and mental health

She commented that this enforcement policy was impacting negatively on G/Ts in a number of ways. She described feelings of isolation she had when living in a housing estate where she was missed the sense of community on-site accommodation offered. As well as maintaining community support, she spoke of the importance of site living to G/Ts in terms of maintaining identity;

“It’s keeping your lifestyle and your culture and that kind of thing, whereas in a house you seem to lose all of that.”

Furthermore she commented on the impact that living in a house had had on her own and others mental health;

“And I think there’s a couple of the IT community that I know actually in houses through the years. And I’d say the majority of them are suffering with depression kinda thing, because of it.”

As a result of these issues, she described how being in houses actually resulted in families travelling more to seek out aspects of their culture and community they were missing;

“So basically, they’re living probably in rented accommodation for the Winter, and then probably getting in their caravan around about March, or May or April and just travelling right up until November, until the weather gets really desperate.”

(iii) Housing, travelling and school attendance

The impact of this sort of a lifestyle on the educational experiences of these G/TCYP was explained by this mother. She described how IT families living on sites would be *“more settled, and it’ll make education at a young age a lot better to be honest.”*

She spoke about the added pressure for these families from education welfare officers who often pursued legal action when the families were off for extended periods of time;

“Then they won’t stay in houses, because for the simple reason why, if they go away for the Summer then they have the education on their back, sending them to court.

Because they haven’t been in school?

Because they’re away travelling because they will not stay in a house.”

She felt that the lack of sites forced families to make a choice between going into housed accommodation or leaving their community in search of sites elsewhere;

“So if she wants to provide and stay here and be near her family, she’s no other choice than to move into a house.”

4.1.2.4 Accessing SEN support

The issue of receiving extra support for learning was raised by one mother, who spoke about her twelve-year-old grandchild who was waiting to be admitted to a local school. She described her as “SEN,” as she was unable to read or write, and had difficulties with speech and language when she was younger. She commented that this young person had not received any specialist support and felt that this was because she had moved around a lot of schools and had not been prioritized. She said that in each school there was a long wait as they tried to decide whether or not to pursue extra support and that often she would have moved on before anything had happened; *“And then waiting for being in the school for so long to be able to do the tests for SEN and she needs help now.”*

There was a sense that there was a stigma attached to the label of SEN, as the mother lowered her voice when speaking of it, and changed the subject when another community member knocked on the door.

4.1.3 ‘Creating-welcoming-communities’

Participants spoke about how they felt that schools welcomed, sought, included and addressed their views. This is closely linked with both the first and second ‘over-arching-concepts’ as combating ‘discriminatory-attitudes’ and ‘achieving-education-for-all’ are by their very nature, central parts of creating a welcoming school community. This ‘over-arching-concept’ specifically explores the barriers and opportunities identified by parents in relation to their own enablement to participate in the school community. The data related primarily to H/SC and engagement. It is included as an ‘over-arching-concept’ itself given its very strong presence as an issue throughout the interviews as well as the persistent presence in the literature of good H/SC and parent engagement as an enabling factor for Traveller pupils’ education. H/SC is defined as any communication between home and school (oral – by telephone, or written). Home/school engagement is defined as incidents whereby members of staff go and visit parents at their homes or where parents go physically to the school for the purposes of communicating with members of staff there, or engaging in other school

based activities. Two subthemes; barriers and opportunities for 'creating-welcoming-communities' emerged.

4.1.3.1 Barriers

Three subthemes relating to the barriers to H/SC and engagement emerged.

4.1.3.1.1 Negative Experiences (past and present)

Three parents described having negative experiences of communication with their children's schools. One father described how he felt unwanted when he went to the school. Two mothers commented on a lack of communication from school regarding learning and social emotional issues.

For one mother, there was a sense that her own negative experiences of school impacted on how she communicated with her children's school. She illustrated a defensive approach to H/SC as she felt that she had to battle to be heard;

"I hated school. And this is why I think now, with my kids, I'm not going to allow that to happen. I'd just come out with it with the teachers and if they don't like it, tough luck. I'll find someone that will like it."

4.1.3.1.2 Staff Unresponsiveness

Parents raised concerns about the responsiveness of school staff to issues they raised.

For three parents, including both fathers, there was a sense that they were not being listened to as school staff seemed too busy or appeared not to be that interested in what they had to say;

"There's a lot of people that are just doing their jobs for themselves to get paid to pay the mortgage and they couldn't be interested in so far as they don't turn up, or I can't see you today, I'll get back to you tomorrow."

Another father described how he felt that the school was more concerned with their reputation than with addressing issues of bullying being experienced by his children; *“Ah look love. It’s they don’t want to get the school a bad name. I know how it works. I can see right through them. I’m not an idiot. I can see right through it. I can see what is going on – they don’t want the school’s name. Then there’s these two kids. And it’s up to them (the teachers). They’re the watchers of the children in the school.”*

Parents also expressed frustration with *how* SS responded to concerns once they had been heard. Two parents perceived staff to respond negatively to their communication about behavioural incidents, attaching blame to the G/TCYP.

“If anything happens with the Travelling children in the school, all about what the other child has done is irrelevant. It’s just about what our child has done.”

One father was particularly frustrated with his experiences of the secondary school. He described how the school would engage with him if his son had been involved in an incident where they felt he had been the perpetrator, despite having not listened or responded when he had approached them about bullying behaviour towards his son; *“And the minute these young fellas open their mouths back, they’re down here, down here straight away, saying this fella done that, done this.”*

4.1.3.1.3 School Processes

For three parents, including both fathers, a sense of frustration around a rigid use of formal, paperwork driven processes emerged. They felt that this *“red tape”* was a barrier to meaningful communication and to prompt and meaningful action being taken following parental engagement with the school to relay concerns;

“And they were no help whatsoever, they just pushed away, this way and that way. The same auld, same auld, red tape and all that. So look, we went back home.”

4.1.3.2 Opportunities for ‘creating-welcoming-communities’

Opportunities for ‘creating-welcoming-communities’ were mentioned. Three subthemes emerged.

4.1.3.2.1 Positive experiences and responsiveness

Positive experiences of H/SC and engagement were described, suggesting that there are opportunities to build on to develop welcoming communities in the schools. Five parents described how they have felt supported by SS in the primary school, describing them as “friendly” and “nice;”

“Mrs. B is very nice. She wants the kids to go in too, to school. All the teachers are nice down there. They always welcomed the Travellers in that school.”

One mother whose children attended the primary school felt listened to and heard by the school when she addressed them with concerns;

“(Teachers) that will listen, that’ll respond, that’ll try. But touch wood all’s been good now since these have been in this school.”

4.1.3.2.2 Active Engagement

Two of the parents gave examples of when they had approached and engaged with the schools in order to discuss concerns they had, indicating an active role in engaging with their children’s education;

“I didn’t want my child coming home and crying and not wanting to go to school and this and that. Because basically, if a child’s not happy in school and doesn’t want to go, then the parents got to build up the pressure.”

The same mother described how she had approached the school to discuss broader concerns about behaviour she had noticed in other children;

“Yes [I was trying to be community-minded]. But to me, it didn’t matter to me, cos I knew my child wouldn’t have done it, because it’s out of our culture for our children to do something like that.”

Two parents described positive experiences of where engagement of the school with them was helpful. For one mother, the willingness of a staff member to come to the site to engage with her about her children had impressed her;

“Even if the kids was late, or they got into trouble, the Headmistress she used to drive them down home and she’d explain, which was really nice. The children loved her. And she’d say, she’d explain properly, like it wasn’t their fault, or this happened, or if it was their fault, she’d tell you what they’d done.”

Another mother spoke about how she had found an induction meeting at the school very supportive and helpful;

“I had a meeting – what do you call it – an induction meeting. They told us everything there and that.”

4.1.3.2.3 Relationships over time

Three parents, referring to the primary school, commented that they felt like they established a relationship of trust by virtue of building relationships over time with the local primary school;

“The school’s ok. The families here have been going there for years. We’ve been going there... The school’s are ok. They know the culture.”

4.1.4 Reflections on the community

In this fourth, small ‘over-arching-concept,’ two of the parents interviewed, reflected quite a lot on the ever-shifting identities of G/Ts. For further comment on this ‘over-arching-concept’, see Appendix J.

Data Set 2 – School Staff Participants (SSPs)

The perspectives emerging from the thematic analysis carried out on SSPs can also be understood within the first three ‘over-arching-concept’s describing parent perspectives (e.g. ‘discriminatory-attitudes,’ ‘achieving-education-for-all,’ ‘creating-welcoming-communities.’ Many of the superordinate themes within these ‘over-arching-concept’s are similarly named as those emerging for parents. Within these superordinate themes, there are also many subordinate themes which SSPs have in common with the parents interviewed. However, as can be seen below, SSP’s perspectives on these same issues often differ critically to those expressed by parents. A number of superordinate and subordinate themes unique only to SSPs are also presented within this section, as is the fourth ‘over-arching-concept;’ ‘Reflections-on-community-in-context.’

4.2.1 Discriminatory -attitudes

The presence and impact of ‘discriminatory-attitudes’ were described. SSPs also commented on how ‘discriminatory-attitudes were combatted in school.

4.2.1.1 Perceiving ‘discriminatory-attitudes’

SS spoke about the presence of ‘discriminatory-attitudes’ towards G/Ts. These were described as occurring at the macro level, the meso level and the micro level as outlined below:

4.2.1.1.1 Discrimination in wider society and the media

Four SSPs referred to ‘discriminatory-attitudes’ in wider society and in the local community. One participant relayed stories of having experienced ‘discriminatory-attitudes’ based on both outright prejudice and a negative conception of difference.

“I said I work in H. He said, oh, H – such a nice place, it’s beautiful.’ And then he said, ‘It used to be, but since the Travellers site... And then he started to complain about the dogs and so on.”

F

Four SSPs spoke about the impact the media had on societal perception of G/T culture, which at times resulted in a negative conception of difference;

“I think those documentaries, ‘My Big Fat Gypsy Wedding’ and all that – didn’t help whatsoever. I think it got worse – things got worse for them. People all said – ‘But they are rich – they spend so much money on the weddings!’ I heard a lot of comments. So it’s a perception about them.”

Three SSPs felt that there was a degree of manipulation or unethical media involved in how G/Ts were portrayed;

“I think the media do play a big part in manipulating the way that they do portray these communities because it is within their power to do something different with that.”

4.2.1.1.2 ‘Discriminatory-attitudes’ in the local community

Four SSPs across the secondary and two primary settings felt that ‘discriminatory-attitudes’ also existed within the local and/or wider school community. Historical, intergenerational discrimination in the local community, which was passed on to CYP in school was indicated. SSPs felt that these ‘discriminatory-attitudes’ led to a separation between both communities within the local community.

“There is still, well, we are the community and then there is the outside community,’ and I think it is on both sides; there is that kind of, I’m not sure how to put it, not lack of trust, but I think that understanding that well, this is what they do, this is what we do. So it kind of works both ways in a way.”

4.2.1.2 Impact on CYP

All six SSPs described the impact of ‘discriminatory-attitudes’ on G/TCYP experiences in school. Three subthemes emerged.

4.2.1.2.1 Student-staff relationships

A lack of cultural awareness can result in stereotyping or a denial or negative conception of difference. Five SSPs displayed potential for having 'discriminatory-attitudes' towards G/TCYP as a result of uncertainty regarding the identity and culture of these communities or a negative conception of difference;

"I don't know, probably...no...no, I perhaps feel personally that perhaps I don't know that much about it [Traveller culture]."

It may be that this lack of awareness and understanding affects the ability of SS to respond to 'discriminatory-attitudes' and/or bullying incidents towards G/TCYP in their schools. As described by parents earlier, it emerged that at times there was a discrepancy between the views of home and school regarding bullying and peer conflict. This relationship between SS and parents is discussed further in the third 'over-arching-concept,' as it emerged as a barrier to 'creating-welcoming-communities' in schools.

4.2.1.2.2 Peer relationships

'Discriminatory-attitudes' appeared to impact on peer relationships. Three SSPs commented on how G/TCYP tended to stick together. Two highlighted how intergenerational prejudices passed on from parents to the children underpinned this separation between G/T and other pupils.

Two SSPs noted that often there was a negative perception of difference amongst CYP at school, which impacted on G/TCYP and their understanding of their own identity, especially as they got older;

"I look at so many of our children and I think they've had such a lovely experience here, but that that's not going to carry on being that lovely because they're slightly different and everyone wants to be the same. It's hard if you're slightly different."

The secondary SSP reported a decrease in prejudiced attitudes amongst pupils, noting an increase in cross-cultural relationships amongst pupils at the school. However she attributed this to the formal and self-exclusion of G/TCYP who had created conflict among peers. This impacted on the remaining number of G/TCYP in the school who were often left with little options than to form relationships with other peers.

The portrayal of Travellers in the media increased the visibility of Traveller pupils amongst their peers in school, with two SSPs describing how it gave the children something of a “*celebrity status*” amongst their peers.

4.2.1.2.3 Identity and Defensiveness

Three SSPs described how there could be an element of defensiveness amongst Travellers which manifested itself in aggressive behaviour. These participants worked with CYP at Upper KS2 and Secondary school. The secondary SSP commented;

“He fought the whole time. He was defensive before it started. He was presuming it was going to happen before anything happened. Or if anything happened, it was because he was a Traveller.”

One SSP felt that for one child, this aggressive behaviour was a defense mechanism;

“So he’s not aggressive to other kids because he was like...It was the way he protected himself you know, to be aggressive.”

4.2.1.3 Combatting ‘discriminatory-attitudes’

Four subthemes relating to the school’s role in combatting ‘discriminatory-attitudes’ emerged. Three related to school’s management of ‘discriminatory-attitudes’ in school. A fourth looked at their role in addressing this issue beyond the school gates.

4.2.1.3.1 Developing ethnic identity

Four participants, across each of the settings, spoke about how opportunities for G/TCYP to develop a sense of their ethnic identity, was a supportive factor in terms of having successful experiences in school. One primary SSP described how increased awareness of their heritage and ethnic identity helped G/TCYP respond more positively to bullying.

“We did a project just before summer break, which was “What is it to be a Traveller – Roots and Routes... So we talked about – ‘Well, what if they call you ‘Pikey?’” They don’t understand. Tell them your history - that you’re proud to be Pike, you know. You’re different, how beautiful is that, to be different. So all of this, I think, helped them a lot, to you know, not be so offended you know, and to understand more who they are and where they come from”

The secondary SSP spoke about how similar work had been cut out of their secondary curriculum in recent years and that the responsibility for that lay with the TAT.

4.2.1.3.2 Reframing cultural visibility

Five participants across all of the settings spoke about how celebrating difference provided the opportunity to reframe the visibility of G/TCYP in a more positive light. This occurred through curriculum learning and visual displays. One participant spoke about how she would like to do more to celebrate the culture of the G/Ts with students, as previously, the focus had been on raising awareness among staff.

“And I’m just kind of thinking that perhaps I need to talk to [the TAT] about maybe how much we are actually are they as much a high profile of some of the other ethnic minorities. And I wonder whether we maybe should be exploring some of the literature a bit more and thinking.”

Three SSPs across primary and secondary settings described how increased cross-cultural relationships have helped the G/TCYP join in and feel happier in school. They described how creating shared positive experiences at school encouraged this.

“So he loves football and you know I thought – a football team! So we got together and went to the playground and you know it’s social skills for him, to talk to the boys nicely you know. So now, every day, they play football together. So it’s no complaining anymore about fighting and you know, bullying, and things like that.”

4.2.1.3.3 Building on staff support

Five participants described the important role SS had supporting pupils at school. One SSP described how useful it had been to receive training from the TAT, which raised awareness and developed understanding of Traveller culture among staff. The TAT was also identified as key to supporting staff to reframe the visibility of Traveller culture among other students in a positive way.

One SSP described the importance of responding to the concerns of parents when they raised issues, even if the school did not feel it was of particular significance.

“Generally I don’t think it is necessarily a very big issue, but it is a concern for that particular parent and we do need to kind of look at that closer.”

4.2.1.3.4 Beyond the School Gates

This final subtheme is quite sparse. It encompasses comments made by three SSPs about combatting ‘discriminatory-attitudes’ occurring out of school. However, I felt it important to be included as it raises an important observation. The silence around this issue suggests that SS do not perceive this to be a part of their role. Indeed one SSP explained how the school were only concerned with issues the children had at school, and that tackling wider ‘discriminatory-attitudes,’ for example amongst parents, was not something they addressed;

“And they were lovely children but they were a lot livelier to deal with...em... and those are the ones that sometimes other parents would comment on...em... but as long as the children don’t have an issue that’s fine. That’s really the only thing we can deal with in school.”

4.2.2 'Achieving-education-for-all'

This 'over-arching-concept' explores in four superordinate themes, the policies and practices within schools and the education system that create barriers and opportunities for G/TCYP to be successfully included in education.

4.2.2.1 Operationalising inclusion in schools

SS views on operationalising IE in schools are outlined in terms of the barriers and opportunities they present for IE.

4.2.2.1.1 Barriers

(i) Difference Blind

While overtly prejudiced educational practices or approaches did not emerge within the data, a difference blind (DB) approach, where difference is ignored, and G/TCYP treated in the same way as other pupils was evident for four SSPs. Two of these noted that the TAT advised them to follow such an approach when managing G/TCYP;

"And she always says: 'Treat them the same.' You know if they get a detention for not doing their homework, anyone else, well then they need to get that detention as well."

(ii) Underlying Assimilation Ethos

Five SSPs expressed attitudes, which indicated an underlying assimilationist perspective towards education. They believed that their role was to support G/TCYP and their families to be able to attend, achieve and 'fit in' with the school. The data shaping this subtheme was characterised by views that G/Ts should change in order to conform to the practices, ethos and aspirations underpinning mainstream education.

“I always feel, when friends out of school ask me to describe it, I feel that they are 30 years behind. Whatever society has in front of them, they’re just 30 years behind at the moment. They don’t see the purpose or the value of this at the moment, but I think eventually they’re going to have to.”

“The difficulty we have is them understanding that when they are here, it’s our rules that they follow. Whereas I think some of their rules are so ingrained in their heads about what is and isn’t acceptable to them, that they won’t take on our rules.”

These views were also characterised by a lack of willingness of SSPs to be flexible in terms of their provision.

“Because I know that they talk about wanting that sort of an education...?”

“Earlier? Younger. Yes. Hmm... Yes. Well if they stayed until year 10 they could get that. In Year 10 or 11.”

This issue of an underlying assimilationist ethos, where G/TCYP are expected to conform and achieve within an education system which promotes majority culture, is explored in greater detail later looking at issues relating to aspirations and opportunities and attendance and admissions.

(iii) Needs-based approach

A needs-based view of educational inclusion emerged. Three well-meaning SSPs across all of the primary settings commented on the importance of recognising the individual needs of every child and family as well as understanding needs associated with their cultural context of their ethnicity;

“You really have to be sensitive to those differences. But I think that children in the long run – I mean you think, well travellers this, but actually you have to think about the particular family – what their needs will be. It’s been different; every child we get through even from the same family.”

As outlined in chapter two, a needs-based focus pathologises CYP, families and ‘other’ communities as opposed to exploring how policies and practices within schools and the education system contribute to educational disadvantage.

(iv) Physical exclusion

A further subtheme emerged relating to how physical spaces interacted with the educational inclusion of G/TCYP. Three SS described how at school, G/TCYP were taken out of class to receive support from the TAT. One commented that the children enjoyed this special time.

Two SSPs described the facilities available in a portacabin on the G/T site. The Secondary SS described how the alternative work available for the older girls there helped them to stay engaged in education, to the extent that one achieved 5 A*-C. However, another SS participant questioned whether separating the G/TCYP from their peers was a good idea. His comments were indicative of an assimilationist ethos. He cautioned against the danger of separating G/Ts from mainstream;

“But then I suppose you are just lumping them all together again, and is that a healthy thing or not? That’s the question. Does that continue the spiral, when you put people of similar thoughts together, you continue to make that a reality don’t you? So I don’t know.”

4.2.2.1.2 Opportunities

(i) ‘Active-awareness’

Where SS had some knowledge and awareness of cultural issues, they tried to actively apply this awareness by modifying their provision for G/TCYP. Examples of school-based initiatives (for example 1:1 emotional support, homework clubs, a secondary transition project, and learning packs for when the children went travelling) were described by all of the SSPs. However, these initiatives were often an afterthought for

G/Ts in order to support them to fit-in and achieve to mainstream opportunities in schools.

(ii) 'Active-engagement' with G/T Voice

'Active-engagement' describes opportunities for the voice of G/TCYP and/or their parents to be heard in school, and consequently to have an active involvement in curriculum planning and development and other facets of school life. In this way it moves closer to an inclusive education ethos than 'active-awareness,' where any modifications in academic and other support are decided by the school. Three SSPs talked about the importance of providing CYP with 1:1 time with an adult so that any issues they have may be heard. There was limited evidence of schools actively seeking the voice or involvement of G/T parents, with only one example of where parents were invited into the school to be actively involved in a tokenistic way in the curriculum.

(iii) Support from TAT

The TAT was described by four of the SSPs across each of the primary schools as being very important in terms of supporting schools with the inclusion of G/TCYP. Participants spoke about how helpful and useful the EMTAS service was in providing services as diverse as supporting G/TCYP in school, supporting their families to access services, and as a bridge for communication between home and school. One participant described how accessible the TAT is and another described her role in raising the profile of the G/TCYP in school. Examples of the TATs involvement with school in increasing cultural awareness through staff training, and in supporting active engagement between schools and the Travelling community emerged. In three schools SSPs spoke about having a productive partnership with the TAT, for example through joint planning, evaluation and monitoring.

4.2.2.2 Aspirations and Opportunities

SS referred to the interplay between educational opportunities and educational, lifestyle and career aspirations. Four subthemes emerged.

4.2.2.2.1 Aspirations

(i) Interplay between career, lifestyle and educational aspirations

Five SSPs across each of the settings spoke about the interplay of educational and career aspirations of G/Ts. Two SSPs referred to the traditional career aspirations to carry out vocational trade work present in the G-T community. Two spoke about how this impacted on attendance and retention in school, commenting on a mismatch between their career aspirations and the learning opportunities in school.

“So I mean in terms of this is how my life is going to pan out, education doesn’t fit with that. It’s, ‘What’s the point of this? Why would I be worrying about whether they are reading like everyone else, if that’s not learning the skill they’ll actually need.’”

(ii) Changing aspirations

Four SSPs across each of the settings commented on an emerging shift in the value placed by G/Ts on education. Three spoke about how this was evident in terms of longer retention for some G/TCYP in secondary and a desire amongst some of the girls to go to college. One participant related this to changing requirements in the labour market.

4.2.2.2.2 Barriers to aspirations

Five SSPs perceived there to be barriers to the educational aspirations of G/TCYP.

(i) Media impact

Three SSPs made reference to influences in wider society which impact on the opportunities and aspirations of G/TCYP. Two participants spoke about how recent TV programming encourages girls to aspire to marriage at a young age as preferable to aspiring to FE.

(ii) Cultural values and parenting

Four SSPs spoke about the home environment of G-Ts and the barriers this created in terms of the educational aspirations of the CYP. One participant spoke about how important it was for parents to be involved with their children's education and the school. Another two felt that G/T parents did not have the skills to support their CYP at home;

"Academically, those children are being set work to take home, or asked to do something and that stuff isn't being done basically."

There was a perception for two participants that cultural priorities at home presented a barrier to G/TCYP, whom, they felt, did often not have a choice in terms of their educational and career aspirations;

"So you think it's an aspirational kind of thing?"

"They didn't seem to have a choice."

One SSP spoke about the challenges for a large English Gypsy family where he felt the mother was quite isolated;

"And then the problem is, with the family we have at the moment, Mum's got to the point where she can't control it."

(iii) Peer relationships in school

Four SSPs across all settings described how social difficulties and poor peer relationships can make school experiences difficult for G/TCYP, limiting their ability to stay at school should they aspire to do so;

"I think they're older which is part of it, they're mixing with older children which is when they start to get really street wise and sort of swearing and all that malarkey which doesn't happen here."

(iv) Limited opportunities

One participant commented that the education system contained limited opportunities for some CYP. Locating the responsibility with the Government to develop opportunities for aspirations she noted;

“There’s also – I’m just thinking aloud now – there’s a lot of talk about low aspirations. I mean the government is quite guilty of it. There is a lot of talk about you know, in order to improve chances we need to raise aspirations. But I think in some ways, that sort of language is sort of automatically putting the blame on the people, because they don’t have aspirations. So it’s a very cleverly, kind of, I mean, if you keep hearing about those aspirations, it isn’t always about low aspirations, it’s about the opportunities available to them.”

While a general reference was made to the limited opportunities within the education system, there was a notable silence around references to opportunities within the curriculum, which catered to the lifestyle and career aspirations of G/TCYP. The secondary participant described how until the end of Year 9, a more traditional curriculum was followed. An alternative vocational curriculum was available for boys but only if they stayed on later at secondary, which, as described earlier does not always fit in with their lifestyle aspirations.

(v) Marginalisation and conflicting views

Three SSPs who worked in Upper KS2 and at secondary level described how difficult it could be for G/TCYP faced with making a choice regarding staying in education. They commented on how the YP would face peer pressure at home if they stayed at school, but also how at school social relationships could also be difficult, putting them at risk of marginalisation if they did stay in school;

“He became very frustrated at the end. He was getting mixed messages because he was getting to a period – he’s in Year 6, many Travellers he knew had just finished that Year, and in his brain, he was trying to work out what he wanted to do. And that was causing the problem.”

4.2.2.2.3 Available Opportunities

All six SSPs described how opportunities existed for G/TCYP to achieve. However, SSPs described opportunities to achieve within the educational and career aspirations promoted by mainstream society.

A positive pupil discourse surrounded the current G/T pupils attending local schools.

SS also spoke positively about the alternative education scheme available for G/T girls in the portacabin on site.

Three participants commented on how increasingly, there were opportunities for open conversations about widening aspirations at home and at school. One SSP recognised that change should be dictated by the community themselves at a pace of their own choosing;

“And I guess it is through exposure to what else is out there that the change will take place. But it will take a while. It’s not something that’s going to happen overnight – it’s a generation on generation thing. And within that, if you can get one or two who will take it further, you know that the offspring will, slowly, it will.”

4.2.2.2.4 Exploring Alternative Opportunities

SS were noticeably silent on this issue, which was raised only by the junior school participant. It is included as a subtheme however, given the importance attached to alternative opportunities by parents and its presence as a significant issue in the literature on IE for G/Ts. This SSP recognised the value of widening educational

options to cater for the aspirations of G/TCYP. He drew on his experience working in another LA where an alternative teaching programme was in place at secondary level; *“In Year 8, they could do part-time Traveller teaching in Borough Y...They still look at trade and how to develop trade, but also to continue to do some sort of academic development as well... I think Borough Y are a little bit more on the ball if I’m honest with you – there was a lot more in place with regards that side of things.”*

4.2.2.3 Non-attendance

Non-attendance was referred to by all participants on a number of occasions. Four subordinate themes shape perspectives. Firstly, participants identified non-attendance as a major issue for the inclusion of G/TCYP, though there was recognition that attendance was improving among some families.

Secondly, participants spoke about how they addressed the issue of non-attendance. Three settings described how legal processes supported improved attendance, while the primary school preferred a consultative approach, where they worked together with the TAT to encourage improved attendance.

Thirdly, all six participants offered their understandings of the reasons for the poorer attendance figures for G/TCYP. Housing was included as a reason here. SSPs views differed critically from parents, as they felt that permanently housed G/Ts were *“more settled,” “less likely to just go,”* and because of this *“actually you know, no different to any other child.”*

Fourthly, three participants commented on how non-attendance impacted on G/TCYP and staff and other children in school. They cited issues related to gaps in learning, difficulties making and maintaining friendships, as well as frustration among staff when non-attendance impacted on planned activities.

Two participants at primary level described the impact of non-attendance on the school's reputation in terms of the attendance figures they submitted annually to the LA.

“And you know, as a school, we need to be showing attendance levels, meeting targets. So it is a constant kind of – it's quite a tricky situation for the Headteacher.”

One of these participants discussed the interplay between attendance, travelling and admissions. She expressed frustration that G/TCYP who were kept on record for “a period of time” when they were off travelling, impacted negatively on the school's annual attendance “*facts and figures.*” However, she recognised that remaining on the student roll was helpful in terms of readmitting families to school.

4.2.2.4 SEN and Inclusion

A number of issues relating to SEN emerged.

4.2.2.4.1 Understanding SEN

Participants made no mention about how school curriculum and practices may impact on CYP. Rather, three participants described the difficulty in unpicking whether a CYP's difficulties with learning related to a 'within-child' difficulty or environmental factors such as poor attendance, lower parental aspirations or a lack of educational aspirations.

4.2.2.4.2 Receiving specialist support

(i) Engaging families

Two participants described how it was difficult to engage parents with services once the CYP had been identified for specialist support. One of these spoke about how help with paperwork and adopting a less formal approach to monitoring and feeding back on progress helped to engage one family;

“X was quite low achieving and had learning difficulties and we didn’t perhaps go through all of the formal paperwork that we would do with other children because it just wasn’t the right approach with her.”

(ii) Statutory Assessment Processes

One SSP described how issues associated with poor attendance impacted on decisions at panel relating to the appropriateness of granting statutory assessment. He described how this had been a difficulty with one of the G/T pupils at his school who had identified SEN.

4.2.2.4.3 School placement

Issues around school placement emerged. A difference of opinion between an EG family and the school, where the school wanted the young person to attend a specialist moderate learning difficulty (MLD) school, though the father did not, was described.

4.2.3 ‘Creating-welcoming-communities’

This third ‘over-arching-concept’ is understood in terms of practices and processes for H/SC and engagement. Barriers and opportunities emerged.

4.2.3.1 Barriers to ‘creating-welcoming-communities’

Barriers to ‘creating-welcoming-communities’ were described in relation to ‘negative experiences and unresponsiveness’ and ‘places and processes.’

4.2.3.1.1 Negative experiences and unresponsiveness

Four participants described their experiences of communication and/or engagement with parents. There was a general consensus that there was poor communication between home and school and that the parents engagement with the school was also

poor. One SSP spoke about how parents can be hard to reach, while another commented that any parent engagement with the school was problem-oriented.

Two SSPs commented on how parents own experiences of school impacted negatively on the nature of their engagement with schools. They felt that parents negative experiences presented challenges for them in terms of “fitting in” and feeling part of the school community;

“Sometimes I think I feel that parents are afraid not to fit in. Like for example, at the school there is this sports day... So the parents can see the children achieve. But none of the Travellers attend. So I feel that there is still a difficulty, they feel like they don't fit in.”

Junior SSP demonstrated frustration with how concerns were being received once they were communicated to parents, commenting on a lack of follow up of agreed actions amongst parents:

“I mean she'll sit here and say she is willing to take on support, but then it doesn't materialise or excuses are made.”

4.2.3.1.3 Places and processes

Four SSPs, all in primary settings spoke about how the formalities associated with home- school communication processes appeared to present a barrier for families in terms of participating with school events. Three SSPs described how parents' literacy difficulties made it difficult for them to access a H/SC system, which was dominated by paper letters and emails, and paper forms;

“She will put her hand up. I've had to help her to complete forms. She doesn't know the processes. This is a different, an alien world.”

A sense of frustration was evident for one of these participants who spoke about a lack of parent engagement with formal communication and engagement processes;

“You know, there are meetings that are not regularly attended, and you know we try. It sometimes feels like a one-way system. That we try and do everything and nothing comes back.”

Another SSP described how closed physical spaces might present a barrier to ‘creating-welcoming-communities,’ describing one of the primary settings where the physical space contributed to the very formal processes involved in engaging with staff; *“When you go to the school it feels very different in terms of even when you get to the gate you have to buzz into the gate. You have to make an appointment when you want to speak to a teacher – they are quite hard to get hold of.”*

4.2.3.2 Opportunities

Opportunities for ‘creating-welcoming-communities,’ in school are explored through four subthemes.

4.2.3.2.1 Positive experiences and responsiveness

Only one SSP recounted a positive experience of H/SC;

“And if they’re not here they usually will tell us a reason, you know, it’s a wedding or it’s something and they’re going to be out that day, and that’s fine.”

Another recognised that parents sometimes held negative experiences about school from their own youth, and acknowledged that the school had a role to play in changing those perceptions for those parents. Five SSPs observed how different families displayed different levels of responsiveness, with one SSP linking this with the parents evolving view of education;

“I mean we are lucky. We’ve only had recently the one family and she really does engage with the school. And I suppose that that makes a difference as well because I think it would be quite different if she wasn’t bothered by education and interested.”

Three SSPs in primary settings commented on how building a trusting relationship with families over time also helped in terms of families' responsiveness to school.

4.2.3.2.2 Places and Processes

Developing flexible processes and procedures was described by two SSPs as an opportunity to build on a more open community, where communicating and engaging with parents and being responsive to their needs was at the core of its ethos;

“So it’s trying to get that information across in a different way. And not just thinking, well they haven’t attended, so they’re obviously not interested. It’s saying, well it would be really nice if you could help with this at home. Or, is there anything that we can do as a school that would help with...”

One primary SSP described how the open and “welcoming” physical layout of her school reflected the ‘open door’ policies for parents to come into the school and meet with staff;

“I think the way things like the way that our building is laid out and our procedures for the start and the end of the day, parents do feel like they can just walk in and have a chat with the Teacher. It’s not you know gates, and buzzers and lockdown and you’ve got to make an appointment and the Teacher’s not available.”

4.2.3.2.3 Active Engagement

Two participants described how actively engaging with members of the G/T community by visiting them on site, helped to create welcoming communities.

“And [the TAT] had an idea of setting up some kind of adult education project. And I know we started that. We had one session which basically meant that myself, our Headteacher and [the TAT] would meet with the Traveller community on site and just share some ideas as to what we are doing in school.”

The same participant suggested that the portacabin space on the site, which was used for educational purposes, was underused.

4.2.3.2.4 TAT as bridge

All of the SSPs described how the TAT provided a link or a “bridge” between home and school. It was apparent that schools are heavily reliant on the TAT for communication with parents. Three SSPs described incidents where they maintained ownership of and involvement with the communication process by engaging in three-way communication where they worked alongside the TAT to enhance communication and engagement with parents.

“When they do come in, it is always very, very useful actually. Just recently, [the TAT] and I met with a parent regarding some of the concerns we had about what’s happening you know with the children at home and all of that, and that was actually quite productive.”

4.2.4 ‘Reflections-on-community-in-context’

This final, short ‘over-arching-concept’ contains the reflections of four SSPs on issues emerging as a result of the relatively small size of G/T communities living in a relatively homogenous LA in terms of diversity. See appendix J for elaboration.

Discussion

This study queried parents' and SSs' perspectives on barriers and opportunities for the education of G/TCYP in the LA. Chapter four presented a detailed outline of the results, which indicated the views of both sets of participants on these issues. In this chapter, I reflect on these findings in a manner that draws on Booth and Ainscow's (2000) definition of IE. Firstly, key emerging barriers to the IE of G/TCYP in the current LA are summarised. Next, I consider how the identification of these barriers together with the maximization of existing resources for IE can create opportunities for IE to be developed. Thirdly, the role of the EP in developing these opportunities and facilitating change in targeted areas within the eco-systems is contemplated. Finally, I reflect on the strengths and limitations of the study and consider future research.

5.1 Emerging barriers

The current study found that Discriminatory -attitudes present throughout the eco-systems interacted with CYP's experiences at the micro level to create a story of educational exclusion rather than inclusion in this local setting. This educational exclusion is bound up with experiences of wider social exclusion, which in this study are directly evident in two of the domains identified by Gordan (2000); exclusion from social relations and service exclusion.

The exclusion identified by this study directly relate to the two-pronged "excluding school system" described by Jordan (2001, p117). She identified how Discriminatory -attitudes towards G/Ts played a key role in creating exclusionary school experiences evident through both service exclusion and exclusion from social relations. Similarly, Discriminatory -attitudes emerged in the current study as the bedrock for both forms of exclusion in this local context. Discriminatory -attitudes described in the first 'OVER-ARCHING-CONCEPT' by both participants, resulted in the exclusion of G/TCYP from social relations with non-G/Ts both in school and in the local community. 'over-arching-concept's two, "ACHIEVING-EDUCATION-FOR-ALL" and three, "CREATING-

WELCOMING-COMMUNITIES's,' show that these Discriminatory -attitudes operate alongside and are manifest in an assimilationist ethos within policy and practice in services, creating experiences of service exclusion in schools and the LA. While stories of this exclusion emerged from both sets of participants, critical differences between how parents and SSPs understood this exclusion regarding the responsibility for inclusion, understandings of equality and equity, and opportunity for voice emerged. These are discussed below in relation to exclusion from social relations and service exclusion.

5.1.1 Exclusion from social relations

Central to the exclusion of G/Ts from social relations were Discriminatory -attitudes. Discriminatory -attitudes in the school community were described as historical and intergenerational. They emerged as a result of a negative conception, or a lack of understanding of difference.

5.1.1.1 Responsibility

While both groups recognized that Discriminatory -attitudes were often at the root of the exclusion of G/TCYP from social relations in school, there was a lack of consistency between the groups regarding where the responsibility for the exclusion from peer relations lay. SSPs often located the blame for these issues with G/Ts, citing how in-group friendships and defensive behaviour perpetuated this exclusion. Parents on the other hand expressed frustration with a perceived failure on the part of schools to hear their concerns about bullying and to treat their children in an equitable way when managing peer conflict.

A lack of awareness amongst school staff as to the reasons behind such responses can perpetuate Discriminatory -attitudes and exclusion. Lloyd and McCluskey (2008) pointed out that it is important for schools to understand these behaviours within the

context of the wider discrimination, which has shaped G/T experiences with the sedentary population.

It emerged that G/TCYP in this context often responded to exclusion from social relationships in school by preferring a bonding social capital. Putnam, Feldstein and Cohen define social capital as “social networks, norms of reciprocity, mutual assistance and trustworthiness,” (2003, p2). They distinguish between bonding social capital where social networks “link people who are similar in crucial respects and tend to be inward-looking” and bridging networks which include “different types of people and tend to be outward-looking,” (2003, p3). These responses have been noted elsewhere in the literature. Myers et al (2010) looked at how social networks can function as a source of social and psychological support. They found that G/T parents employ a defensive bonding social capital driven out of a desire to protect against cultural erosion brought about by an assimilationist mainstream agenda. They pointed out that this ethos also led to preferences for in-group friendships among G/TCYP at school in order to protect against racist bullying. Parents in this study supported in-group friendships as they felt they shielded their children from bullying and from aspects of mainstream culture they disapproved of.

While many SSPs spoke about aggressive or defensive behaviours, they accounted for this behaviour in different ways, reflecting differences of approach to the inclusion of these CYP by different people in different schools. For some SSPs there appeared to be a lack of understanding around some of the wider contextual issues, which may lead to a heightened reaction of G/TCYP to perceived injustice. Lloyd and Stead found that SS described G/Ts as “over-sensitive” to issues of injustice, displaying a lack of understanding of how the lives of these communities, are very much located within experiences of injustice, therefore impacting on CYP construction of their micro experiences in school (2001, p370). SSPs in the junior and secondary schools appeared to problematise individuals who demonstrated aggressive behaviour rather than asking what systems within the school, local community and society itself may be

at its root. The primary SSP displayed a different understanding of the issues, interpreting this type of behaviour as a defence mechanism employed by CYP dealing with discriminatory behaviour from peers, thus lifting the responsibility for this exclusion from G/Ts.

5.1.1.2 Equality and equity

A lack of understanding of difference and the implications of difference among well-meaning SSPs in this study, led them to treat G/TCYP in the same way as others. Gillborn and Youdell (2000) describe how a denial of difference of MEGs denies them the right to challenge injustice, as it can individualise and privatise experiences, instead of understanding them within a wider context of discrimination. Other studies have indicated that a lack of understanding of how these issues impact on G/TCYP often arises, resulting in a denial of difference for these communities. Deucher and Bhopal (2013) reported how this lack of understanding among teachers led them to deny the negative experiences of G/Ts. Thus, while teachers purported to treat G/TCYP the same, the study pointed out that they were treated “less favourably” than other pupils as their reactions to injustice were individualized and misunderstood (p747). These findings have implications for the equitable treatment of G/TCYP in this LA, where a discourse of equality rather than equity of treatment emerged.

5.1.1.1 Impact on CYP

Parents identified that bullying behaviour, targeting G/Ts, impacted negatively on their children’s ability to learn at school. Parents and SSPs described how defensive behavioural issues often diverted the focus away from the goal of learning. Biggart, O’Hare, and Connolly (2013) found that the existence of Discriminatory -attitudes in the school community impacted negatively on feelings of school belongingness for ITs in Northern Ireland and commented that this impacted on educational outcomes.

It appeared that Discriminatory -attitudes and bullying behaviour also impacted negatively on CYP's desire to remain in school. Bullying, including name-calling has been described frequently in the literature as a contributory factor to parent-condoned self-exclusion (Lloyd and Stead, 2001). This was also evident in the current study. Two parents described how their children self-excluded from both secondary and FE settings as a result of bullying and name-calling by non-G/T peers.

Parents identified the portacabin on-site as a safer space for CYP where they could have fun learning together without being distracted by conflict with non-G/T peers. There was a sense among parents that the portacabin enabled a bonding social capital to be pursued, which would contribute to a greater sense of belongingness among G/TCYP alongside a readiness to learn. While the portacabin was highly valued by parents, and an alternative education scheme has led to success in relation to GCSE results for one of the IT girls, the need for the physical exclusion of G/TCYP in a space away from peers and the rest of the school community highlights wider unaddressed issues relating to educational inclusion at the secondary setting. In particular, it suggests that the school may be struggling to understand the importance of their role and responsibilities in relation to combatting Discriminatory -attitudes effectively and creating a welcoming community, which enables all CYP to pursue a secondary education.

5.1.2 Exclusion from services

Service exclusion was evident in LA education and housing policies that were more assimilationist than inclusive in nature and practice. Participants described assimilationist policies relating to housing. It emerged that G/Ts often resisted being placed into settled housing and this, together with a lack of appropriate sites impacted negatively on school attendance for the children of families without a permanent pitch on site. It also appeared to impact indirectly on the attendance and motivation to attend

of G/TCYP with permanent site pitches. Within education, an assimilationist agenda also emerged. Assimilationist policies relating to attendance, admissions and SEN support which did not always make provision for the nomadic lifestyle of G/Ts, exasperated parents. Frustration was also levelled at a limited academic curriculum which parents felt was culturally insensitive, and presented barriers to school participation for G/T teenage boys in particular. School processes were felt to be inflexible and characterized by a lack of responsiveness by SS to issues raised by G/T parents. There was a sense of disempowerment among parents who felt that their views in relation to education and housing went unnoticed and unheard. Thus the issue of 'voice,' – giving voice and hearing the voice of G/Ts emerged as a barrier to their educational inclusion.

Conversely, for SSPs, the focus was on the challenges presented by helping G/Ts "change" or "fit in" with school and LA policies relating to attendance, admissions and SEN, communication and engagement with school, and curricular participation and aspirations. This was largely described without reference to the wider contextual issues of discrimination and exclusion experienced by these communities, nor to the ways in which school practices, processes and curricula acted to further cement such disadvantage.

5.1.2.1 Responsibility

Thus once more, the responsibility for 'being included' or 'including' G/Ts was perceived differently by both sets of participants. SS were significantly silent about issues of potential discrimination in services, expecting G/Ts to "change" and to conform to the dominant aspirations championed by society as well as to educational services, which enabled majority aspirations to be realised. Parents expressed frustration with housing and educational services, which privileged the lifestyle and educational values of the powerful majority. In consideration of these policies, the

issues of equity and rights were raised. Parents resented enforced participation in an education system, which did not provide their children with culturally sensitive learning opportunities. Frustration was expressed towards an assimilationist housing agenda, which had detrimental implications for G/T mental and physical health and well-being, as well as limiting educational opportunities. There was a sense among parents that these were inequitable policies, which were typical of a history of discrimination and service exclusion for G/Ts.

5.1.2.1 Understandings of difference and inclusion.

The denial of difference described earlier in relation to social relationships, also impacted on the inclusion of G/TCYP in educational services. For some SSPs, operationalizing inclusion entailed providing equal provision for all pupils. Some of these participants also indicated that the TAT also emphasized that G/TCYP be treated in the same way as everybody else. This may go some way towards explaining the assimilationist approach to educational inclusion identified in this study. Lloyd and McCluskey (2008) assert that the denial or simplification of difference can lead schools to disregard or deny the validity of G/T culture, thus silencing their voices and limiting their inclusion. Such assertions may indicate a lack of awareness of cultural differences, or a lack of awareness of the implications of cultural differences for G/Ts in school. While SS may purport that they are treating G/TCYP equally, this lack of awareness can result in inequitable outcomes, as schools do not consider how inflexible policies and practices designed with the dominant majority in mind, can consolidate exclusion for others.

Such a denial of difference did not emerge from the two primary SSPs. They pointed out the need to recognise G/T culture and to make this visible to others within the school community. However, the focus in this setting was often also on how the school could support G/Ts to “change” in order to take advantage of existing opportunities.

This indicated more of a needs-based reactive approach to the inclusion of MEGs. Thomas and Loxley (2007) point out that a needs based approach to inclusion can pathologise difference, thereby perpetuating negative discourses around the 'other,' as opposed to considering what aspects of schools and educational policy contribute to failure (Glazzard, 2013). Such references were limited to comments made by one SSP who commented that the responsibility for creating a more inclusive educational system with broader opportunities for all lay with the educational establishments.

CYP and parents in other studies have described how prejudiced attitudes exist amongst the staff at their schools, indicating a "racism order" where the inclusion of some MEGs appear to take precedent over others, and in particular, over G/Ts (Myers et al 2010; Deucher and Bhopal, 2013). A similar issue associated with a lack of recognition of G/T culture emerged in this study. A primary SSP felt that as a school, engaging in the inclusion of other groups had been more of a priority than engaging with G/Ts. This suggests the lack of visibility of G/Ts as a distinctive cultural group. Furthermore, it indicates again that the school's approach to IE is centred more on a needs-based add-on approach than an ethos of inclusion for all.

5.1.2.2 Impact on CYP

Service exclusion identified in this study presents barriers to the inclusion of these CYP. Assimilationist approaches to admissions policies limits school access. Enforced participation and attendance in school, where opportunities are limited within a culturally insensitive curriculum, is resented by parents. Hartas (2011) questioned the enforced participation of CYP who perceive the curriculum to be irrelevant to their aspirations. She noted that YP, disaffected by limited opportunities in school felt that these opportunities were part of a culture to which they did not belong. Access to specialist services for SEN are also limited and discriminates against CYP who move around between schools and have gaps in their attendance. A denial of difference of

G/T culture underpins an integration approach to their inclusion. Thus equity is understood by the dominant service providers to equate to equality of provision, with little recognition of the fact that such provision does not provide equal opportunities or outcomes for G/TCYP or others whose values and aspirations differ to those of the privileged majority.

5.1.3 Summary and conclusion

This study highlighted some of the ways in which the dual impact of exclusion from social relations as well as experiences of service exclusion both within schools LA services impact on the educational experiences of these CYP. According to their parents, exclusion from social relations impacted negatively on CYP's readiness to learn, their feelings of belongingness in school, and their motivation to remain in school. Exclusion from educational services and the associated issues of lack of voice and consultation, inequity and a denial of rights further frustrates and segregates G/T families, thus helping to sustain and perpetuate negative cycles of educational disadvantage. However, identifying and understanding these barriers enables us to target specific areas for change, thus developing the opportunities for IE in the current context. As outlined by Booth and Ainscow (2000), building on existing resources in order to do this is important. The following section looks at how our understanding of these barriers together with the maximisation of existing opportunities can develop IE in the current context.

5.2 Emerging Opportunities

A number of opportunities for IE in the local context were highlighted in this study. Amongst these is a shift in the attitudes among some members of the G/T communities towards a greater willingness to engage with the education system. This shift creates a window of opportunity (as described by Myers et al 2010) for educational institutions to challenge some of the barriers to educational inclusion identified above.

Given that the project was carried out within a transformative paradigm, opportunities are discussed in relation to how they can be built upon to challenge the two barriers highlighted by the data; exclusion from social relations and service exclusion. In light of the theoretical framework underpinning this research, and its role in how EPs approach practice, opportunities to target key these forms of exclusion within the micro, meso and exosystems are identified.

5.2.1 Targeting the micro level

Opportunities exist in the micro environment of the school to promote IE. Supportive factors for IE within school environments were identified by this study. Parents described the local primary school in very positive terms and it was apparent that a trusting relationship had been established between that school and the local community over time. There were some examples of where settings had modified practices and processes to create more welcoming communities for G/T parents. A good will towards the inclusion of G/Ts was identified across all settings. SSPs spoke in positive terms about the G/TCYP they had taught over the years. Furthermore, parents expressed a desire for their children to stay in education for longer and to develop more friendships with children outside the G/T communities, suggesting the beginnings of an emerging bridging social capital. SSPs who worked in UKS2 and in the secondary described how an increase in cross-cultural relationships has resulted in G/TCYP appearing happier at school. These findings suggest that the foundations are there in LA schools to develop and build on a more IE, where exclusion from social relations and exclusion from services are challenged.

In building opportunities in school to develop IE at the micro level of the school, a two pronged approach is suggested. In line with Jordan's (2001) suggestion, issues relating to social relationships and curricula are targeted. As will be seen, it is pertinent to

discuss these two issues together. While they represent independent opportunities to develop IE by aiming to 'CREATING-WELCOMING-COMMUNITIES's, and 'ACHIEVING-EDUCATION-FOR-ALL', it is in combatting the Discriminatory -attitudes which underpin both of these barriers that the opportunity for change lies. Working with G/TCYP themselves is key. Developing ethnic identity and understanding how this impacts on G/TCYP's feelings of belongingness in school is important. A greater understanding of their ethnic identity can help promote a bridging social capital. It can also assist in the development of appropriate educational pathways, which may fit with G/T aspirations.

5.2.1.1 Combatting Discriminatory -attitudes

SSPs referred to a number of ways in which Discriminatory -attitudes are being combatted in this local setting. Issues relating to the perception of ethnic identity in the school community are bound up with exclusion from social relationships and services. In this local context, the perception of G/T ethnic identity appeared to be characterized by a negative conception of difference among some non-G/T peers and parents and a denial of difference among some SS. An opportunity exists therefore to reframe the cultural visibility of G/Ts in the school community thus improving feelings of belongingness for G/TCYP in line with Levinson's (2008) thinking.

5.2.1.1.1 Reframing cultural visibility

Most of the SSPs interviewed described the importance of celebrating differences and painting diversity in a positive light. However, caution must be exercised in how this ethos is embedded within the school community. In the current study, references to G/T culture appeared to be sporadic and tokenistic – more of an afterthought than an ethos - which has implications for a more negative sense of school belongingness for CYP (Derrington and Kendall, 2007; Levinson, 2008). An opportunity exists therefore to

build on the desire expressed by schools to carry out work to reframe the visibility of G/Ts within the school milieu.

5.2.1.1.2 Developing identity

The first step towards reframing G/T identity lies in supporting G/Ts to develop an understanding and appreciation of their ethnic identity and how that contributes to their overall identity. SSPs indicated that such an approach enabled greater participation for G/TCYP in school. In the primary school, an attempt was being made to help G/TCYP understand their cultural background and heritage through participation in a competition organized by the National Association of Teachers of Travellers (NATT). This competition 'Routes and Roots,' aimed to give G/TCYP the opportunity to develop an understanding of their cultural roots. The Primary school used this project as an opportunity to try to reframe the visibility of the ITs in the school in a number of positive ways. ITCYP were encouraged to understand and take pride in their ethnic identity, and to use this awareness to modify their responses to bullying behaviour by responding in a positive way to name-calling. Secondly, ITCYP shared knowledge and understanding about their cultural heritage with pupils and staff. Thirdly, staff at school took the opportunity to build on these positive conversations to create positive shared experiences for pupils at playtime. These shared experiences tapped into common interests. They encouraged cross-cultural relationships which were based on a mutual understanding and respect for the diverse cultural backgrounds of the CYP, yet also recognized the commonalities between peers, (for example, football).

As can be seen, the negotiation of peer relationships is closely bound up with CYP's understanding of ethnic identity, given the bonding social capital often employed by G/Ts. The programme described above represents a positive step towards creating a more welcoming community in one of the local schools, where a positive conceptualization of difference has helped to build cross-cultural peer relationships. An

opportunity therefore presents itself to build on programmes such as this by embedding them more permanently within the school curriculum and ethos. A further opportunity arises to develop the content of such a programme to reflect a more holistic understanding of the interacting challenges facing G/TCYP as they develop their ethnic identity and try to come to grips with how that identity interacts with educational, career and lifestyle opportunities.

5.2.1.1.3 Negotiating conflicting micro environments

Levinson (2008) found that central to the challenge of identity development for G/TCYP, is the challenge of negotiating the conflicting learning environments, values and aspirations of home and school. In the current study, the transition between primary and secondary school appears to be a key point at which the different values and aspirations relating to education, career and lifestyle held by home and school come into conflict. This coincides with the onset of adolescence, which in itself is a period of significant social, cognitive and behavioural transition (Robinson, 2009). SSPs working with G/TCYP in UKS2 and at secondary level described how wrestling with these conflicting demands and expectations presented G/TCYP with a challenging time during this period. Parents also noted that their children struggled during this phase. These findings identify a key time when G/TCYP can be targeted for support at the micro level.

This apparent mismatch between the aspirations of G/Ts and current educational pathways offered at secondary and in FE has been highlighted in this study and throughout the literature as an issue for G/TCYP as they transition to secondary. Indeed supporting CYP with the task of developing their identity and mapping out their choices and options in relation to their associated lifestyle and career preferences is an important part of secondary education. In the case of G/TCYP this is even more important given the added complexity of the challenges associated with the navigation

of the two different micro worlds of home and school. Tackling this issue in the current context should present a fruitful opportunity for change.

5.2.1.1.4 Identity and acculturation in adolescence

The development of one's identity is one of the primary tasks of adolescence (Waterman, 1985). This is a key time during which YP explore their ethnic identity, as they consider their position in wider society and the implications of this identity on their present and future lives (Phinney, 1990; Robinson, 2000). As is the case for G/Ts in this study, during adolescence, CYP from MEGs may often encounter differing cultural priorities, ageDiscriminatory -attitudes and frames of reference (Robinson, 2007). For these CYP, a fundamental part of developing a positive and functional self-concept is the successful negotiation of their ethnic identity (Robinson, 2007).

In the current context, different choices and life paths at this stage carry with them the risk of exclusion from social relations with peers in one domain or another. Linked with this is the risk of exclusion from school and other associated educational services. Robinson (2009) considered how acculturation theory can help to unpick and understand further some of the choices made by MEGs in terms of their identification with their own or the majority culture. Acculturation theory describes the degree to which minorities maintain their ethnicity in circumstances where they are continuously in contact with a dominant majority culture (Phinney, 2003). Berry (1990) conceived of four possible strategies to participate in multicultural societies. Integration is when individuals identify with both their own ethnic group and with the majority group. Assimilation is where ethnic identity is rejected in favour of identification with the dominant group. Marginalisation describes the rejection of both groups, and separation occurs where majority culture is rejected and identification is solely with one's own group. One of the issues with acculturation theory is that culture is depicted as an essentialist concept. However, the concept of acculturation can also be used within an

understanding of the fluidity of culture (Robinson, 2009) as recognized in this study. Furthermore, acculturation theory is generally used to understand the processes through which immigrants and refugees adjust to a new culture. However, Levinson comments that the experiences of G/TCYP upon entry into the school environment from home environments that are still “insulated from mainstream society,” and against the background of “significant disruptions” as a result of socioeconomic change and political legislation, can be analogous to those of refugees (2007, p8). Thus, acculturation theory can contribute to a greater understanding of the cultural identification of G/Ts in the current context.

In the current study, a complex mix of acculturation strategies, heavily impacted by discrimination, appeared to be at play for G/Ts. The presence or perception of discrimination has implications for the preferred strategy of acculturation employed by minorities. Berry (1997) posited that perceived discrimination could make the acculturation process more stressful. Robinson (2007) found that where adolescents perceived discrimination from others, they were more likely to prefer separation to integration or assimilation. In this study, evidence of a separation for G/Ts both in terms of parental relationships in the school community and wider society, and peer relationships in school, which can be understood in terms of a bonding social capital emerged. Examples of an ‘integration’ approach to acculturation also emerged.¹ Berry (1990) suggested that an integration strategy led to greater psychological adaptation than other acculturation strategies. This was reflected in the current study, where SSPs described CYP who engaged in cross-cultural friendships as happier in school. However, while some mothers interviewed did show a desire to develop cross-cultural

¹ Please note the contradictory nature of the term ‘integration’ when applied to acculturation and to the educational approach. Berry’s notion of integration is more akin to an inclusive ethos, while integration in education (as described in chapter 1, is suggestive of an assimilationist approach. For the remainder of this thesis, the term ‘integration’ is used in the context of Berry’s acculturation conceptualization, while integration in terms of educational policies, practices etc is described as assimilation.

relationships, it emerged that sometimes, CYP who explored this route, were rejected by peers within their own ethnic community. This, together with the risk of bullying and discrimination at school put G/TCYP at risk of marginalisation from both communities.

5.2.1.1.5 The responsibility of acculturation

Findings from this study indicate that where CYP are encouraged and supported to adopt an integration approach to acculturation, opportunities exist for greater inclusion in social relationships. Acculturation as described by Berry (1990) is a neutral term – considered to apply to both the majority and minority groups when they come into contact. However, Robinson (2007) suggests that in reality, it is more of a process involving the minority. However, should an inclusive approach to education be successfully developed in schools in the local context, the majority group also need to engage in an integrative acculturation. Thus a shift needs to occur from the majority held assimilationist perspective, to one where mutual respect and provision is made for all backgrounds, by all members of the school community. Therefore, while an exploration of one's own ethnic identity is essential for G/TCYP, it is important that this does not take place in isolation. As was described within the primary programme, reframing the visibility of G/T culture for peers and teachers so that *they* also can develop and take responsibility of an integration approach to acculturation is key.

5.2.1.1.6 Developing culturally sensitive educational pathways

While employing an integration acculturation strategy to develop inclusion in social relationships is an important strand to support greater inclusion of G/TCYP in education, the focus also needs to be on building the social and cultural capital of MEGs such as G/Ts. Widening curricular opportunities at secondary level which reflects culturally sensitive lifestyle and career aspirations has been repeatedly identified by G/Ts as a way in which this can be done, both in the current study and elsewhere (e.g. O'Hanlon, 2010; Levinson, 2008; Myers et al, 2010). ECOTEC (2008, as cited in O'Hanlon, 2010) recommended that such pathways should focus on

learning outcomes rather than participation figures such as attendance, though careful consideration should be taken that these pathways do not further segregate these communities. Bhopal (2004) suggested that in order to develop alternative pathways in a meaningful way, careful consultation should take place with G/Ts. The current study identified how some members of the IT community have already engaged considerably in thinking about how alternative educational pathways could support greater inclusion of their children in education, particularly at secondary level. There are many issues to be considered within this including *what* alternative provision might entail and *where* it should be based. Opportunities exist within the LA and surrounding LAs to evaluate the success of some of these alternative pathways in order to develop culturally sensitive options in the current context.

5.2.2 Targeting the mesosystems

Opportunities exist within the LA to build a more inclusive approach to H/SC and engagement. The infant school highlighted how employing a more informal, flexible approach to communication with families had helped create a more welcoming school community, thus helping to reframe parents' negative perceptions of school they carried with them from their own childhood experiences. This was an example of where the school took responsibility for engaging with parents, indicating an inclusive approach to their participation. Engaging with identified literacy needs within the community may also help to approach this issue from a different angle. One of the parents expressed a desire to improve her literacy, and wondered whether adult literacy lessons could be provided in the portacabin on site.

The role of the TAT in facilitating H/SC also needs to be carefully considered. While all of the SSPs described how useful this service was in facilitating communication, at times it appeared that schools were delineating responsibility for communicating with parents to the TAT. Previous studies (e.g. Bhopal et al) have indicated that where this

happens, it can further segregate parents and SS and can lead to breakdown in communication. In the current setting, better practice was revealed by the primary school, who often adopted a triangular approach, which included parents, SS and the TAT to communication and engagement with parents.

5.2.3 Targeting the exo-system

This study has identified a number of policies defined by the LA which disadvantage G/T participation in education. Aspects of policies and practices relating to attendance, admissions and specialist support for SEN at times serve to further establish exclusionary experiences for G/Ts who wish to engage with education. Opportunities exist to challenge service exclusion such as this by employing a 'positive action' approach to policies and practices in the LA which have been identified as presenting a barrier to the education of G/Ts. Positive action is defined in the Equality Act (2010). It states that service providers can take action to treat groups who are disadvantaged or under-represented, differently or more favourably than others. This action should aim to increase their participation in that service, meet any different needs they may have, or help to overcome any disadvantage they may suffer. Positive action complements an approach to educational and service inclusion, which recognizes the right of G/Ts to access and benefit from education and the responsibility of the dominant majority to act accordingly. However, SSPs often understand equity to mean equal provision. Further training could support them to understand the right of these communities to benefit from modified practices and processes brought about by a positive action approach.

5.2.3.1 Admissions

A question emerges here relating to issues of equity and voice. Through the process of data collection, an example came to light of how admissions policy and process interacted to bring about a missed opportunity for G/T engagement with schools and participation in education. Lessons can be learnt from such experiences and their

future recurrence can be avoided. Dissemination of these research findings to key stakeholders including the EWS, the LA School Admissions Office, the LA lead on inclusion, and EMTAS may help to develop a positive action approach to school admissions which takes account of G/T voice. Parents spoke about how in the past, the use of a 'green card' enabled G/Ts travelling around to access local schools where spaces were available without having to go through the long, paperwork processes of application. Prioritising school applications from these communities might also represent a workable means of applying positive action to limit some of the exclusionary aspects of the admissions policy.

5.2.3.2 Attendance

The issue of the attendance of G/Ts at school was highlighted in the current study. It is a complex issue incorporating a range of factors which have also been identified in other studies (e.g. Wilkin et al., 2010) including peer conflict and bullying, fear of cultural dilution, perceived lack of relevance of the curriculum, as well as the right of G/Ts to travel. An opportunity exists within the current LA to enhance school's understanding of how these complex issues interact to contribute to poor attendance. With the exception of the primary school, local schools felt that pursuing an enforced participation approach through the EWS was an appropriate and successful way of 'solving' this problem of non-attendance. However, recognizing the barriers to attendance and targeting them at their source in collaboration with G/T families may prove a more effective way of bringing about more meaningful inclusion for these CYP in the medium and long term. Consideration of the development and implementation of a distance-learning program where the G/T community develop ownership over the project over time has been described as successful elsewhere (D'Arcy, 2012).

A further issue arose relating to the management of attendance by the LA. SSPs spoke about being under pressure to meet LA defined targets for attendance, which did not

take account of the right for G/Ts to travel. This pressure from the LA led to further problematizing of these communities and reinforcement of a denial of difference approach to their inclusion. Consideration of this issue by the LA is recommended in order to reframe the thinking of schools about this issue.

5.2.3.3 SEN

Issues arose regarding the ability of G/TCYP to access specialist services, including receiving a statement of SEN. The application of school policy relating to the referral of CYP for extra support resulted in one young person discussed in these interviews, falling through the net. Consideration of practices and processes within schools should be examined to consider the equitable nature of the criteria they apply to the referral of CYP to specialist services such as the EPS. There is also a role and a responsibility here for EPs working with schools to highlight G/TCYP who may be overlooked for referral to specialist services due to the shortness of their stay in schools.

However, there are a lot of issues to unpick regarding SEN. Whilst some of these have been alluded to in the current study, for example difficulties with accessing specialist services, potential issues around a stigma associated with SEN, school placement and understanding how SEN is construed for and by these communities, further study specifically into SEN as it applies to the G/T communities is required.

5.2.3.4 Housing

It emerged that an assimilationist agenda to housing, reflective of national legislation and policy, prevailed in this LA. As well as the impact such policy has on educational participation, wider concerns relating to its implication on mental health and well-being were also raised in this study. Such a response to enforced housing can be understood against the background of experiences of discrimination from wider society, together

with the preference of some G/Ts for a bonding social capital. There are issues to explore here in terms of the impact of housing on G/T mental health and inclusion in social relations in society, as well as the direct and indirect implications for educational inclusion.

5.3 Implications for EP practice

A number of ways in which EPs can support the educational inclusion of G/Ts in the current LA and elsewhere have been highlighted in this chapter. They include work throughout the exosystems including direct working with CYP and schools, closer collaboration and liaison with EMTAS, and a direct advisory role within the LA to support the development more flexibility in key exclusionary policies.

Examples of how this can happen at the micro, meso and exo levels are summarized below and in figure 5.1.

5.3.1 Micro

Within the school environment opportunities exist for EPs to;

- Support schools to develop programmes exploring ethnic identity, which can be more permanently embedded within the school curriculum and ethos.
- Incorporate strategies to develop cross-cultural relationships within these programmes, which focus on widening the responsibility for acculturation and enhancing feelings of belongingness for G/Ts in school.
- Work directly with G/TCYP, their parents and SS to implement these programmes, with the aim of developing expertise and giving ownership of them to the G/T and school communities over time.
- Link these approaches to an exploration of the development of a child-centered approach to forming culturally sensitive educational pathways. Critical to

developing these pathways is through hearing the voice of the child. It is only through hearing this voice that aspirations of these YP during a time of transition for G/Ts can be understood. This is a fundamental part of the EP role, and particularly relevant where CYP are at risk of educational exclusion (Beaver, 2011). Established approaches based on systemic whole class or whole school work or more individualistic approaches may be worth employing with these aims in mind.

- Support a greater understanding amongst SS and the TAT of differences within G/T culture and the implications of difference on G/T inclusion in education. Inform these practitioners of how a well-meaning focus on equal provision can further exclude G/Ts, and of the need instead to focus on equitable treatment where flexible policies and practices can bring about greater equality of outcomes. Employing a practical approach to this work may help practitioners develop their understanding and ownership over the issues. For example, supplementing any information-give training with a workshop element, ideally involving G/T parents, might provide an opportunity to consider together relevant change.

Within the community;

- Given G/T frustration with a lack of opportunities to voice their views on LA issues affecting them, the option of having a community representative attend monthly multiagency meetings held by EMTAS should be explored.

5.3.2 Meso

EPs can;

- Work systemically with schools by supporting them to examine their policies, practices and processes relating to H/SC and engagement with the aim of adapting a more flexible, inclusive approach.

- Support SS to think about their responsibilities as practitioners to liaise and communicate with parents directly to increase parents' feelings of belongingness and inclusion in the school milieu. Identification of a link person within the school may help to address some of the communication and engagement issues noted in this study.

5.3.3 Exo

This study has highlighted a number of implications for key stakeholders within the LA;

- EPs have a key role to play in supporting the LA to explore routes through which positive action can be applied to support the inclusion of any communities at risk of educational disadvantage. Dissemination of this research to key stakeholders within the LA can highlight specific policies (school admissions, attendance and SEN) and specific areas within policies which disadvantage these communities, so that they can be targeted for change in line with an equitable, IE ethos.
- Policy and practice within the EPS can be developed to enhance the appropriate inclusion of these communities. Criteria for referral to the EPS should be considered in terms of how it may exclude or discriminate against transient groups, who, because of difficulties with school admissions, may be known to the service, or other services, but may not be eligible for referral. Further consideration should be given to the urgency with which schools refer G/TCYP who may be at their school for a short period. However, consideration of these issues in relation to G/TCYP requires caution, given the over-identification of these pupils with SEN in the UK (Wilkin et al, 2009). A careful balance needs to be struck between inappropriate over-identification of SEN as a result of the exclusionary nature of school for these communities and missed opportunities for specialist support for CYP who may benefit from it.

- Active monitoring and engagement with data on the diversity of pupils referred to the EPS is recommended. Exploring patterns of referral with our schools is a key responsibility of each individual EPs practice. However, adopting a service level approach, perhaps coordinated by one EP, might further entrench this practice as well as help the EPS to understand and develop its' role and responsibilities in supporting educational inclusion for all CYP.

5.3.4 Managing the process of change

Developing the opportunities highlighted above involve bringing about change on a number of levels, namely in policy and practice in schools, LA educational and other services. It is in the identification of these key areas where targeted change can support IE in the current LA, that the transformative philosophy of this research is borne out. When I originally set out to carry out this project, I had hoped to be able to bring about some of these changes within the timeframe of the study. However, given the hope and necessity for considerable organizational change to occur in terms of policy, process and practice if some of these aims are to be realized, I deemed it more appropriate to focus on identifying challenges and highlighting key pathways towards overcoming those challenges. A participatory and incremental approach to managing change, which was not possible to manage within the timeframe of the DEdPsych programme, is best applied to negotiate and manage potential organisational changes in relation to policy, practice and process (Todnem, 2005).

Lorenzi and Riley (2000) found that while people may acknowledge that change could be a positive thing, they could be resistant to it. EPs have a key role to play in facilitating multiagency work, which can enable change (Farrell et al 2006). Our unique access to and relationships with all key stakeholders as well as particular skills in understanding, advocating and facilitating change (Beaver, 2011) means that we are ideally placed to take on a leadership role in facilitating collaboration in the change process. Employing a collaborative, leadership approach is synonymous with more modern 'post-bureaucratic' organisations, which are built on the principles of

empowerment, trust, communication and flexibility, (Jamali, Khoury and Sahyoun, 2006). A critical component of this, which is at the heart of EP practice, is in 'giving voice' and empowering underrepresented minorities such as the G/T communities. As powerful and respected practitioners within educational services, we have a critical responsibility to ensure that these minority voices are heard. This project begins this process as it sought the views of G/T parents in an exploratory way. Key areas for development have been targeted. Further consultation with G/Ts in relation to these specific targeted areas should be a central part of any attempts to develop these areas further.

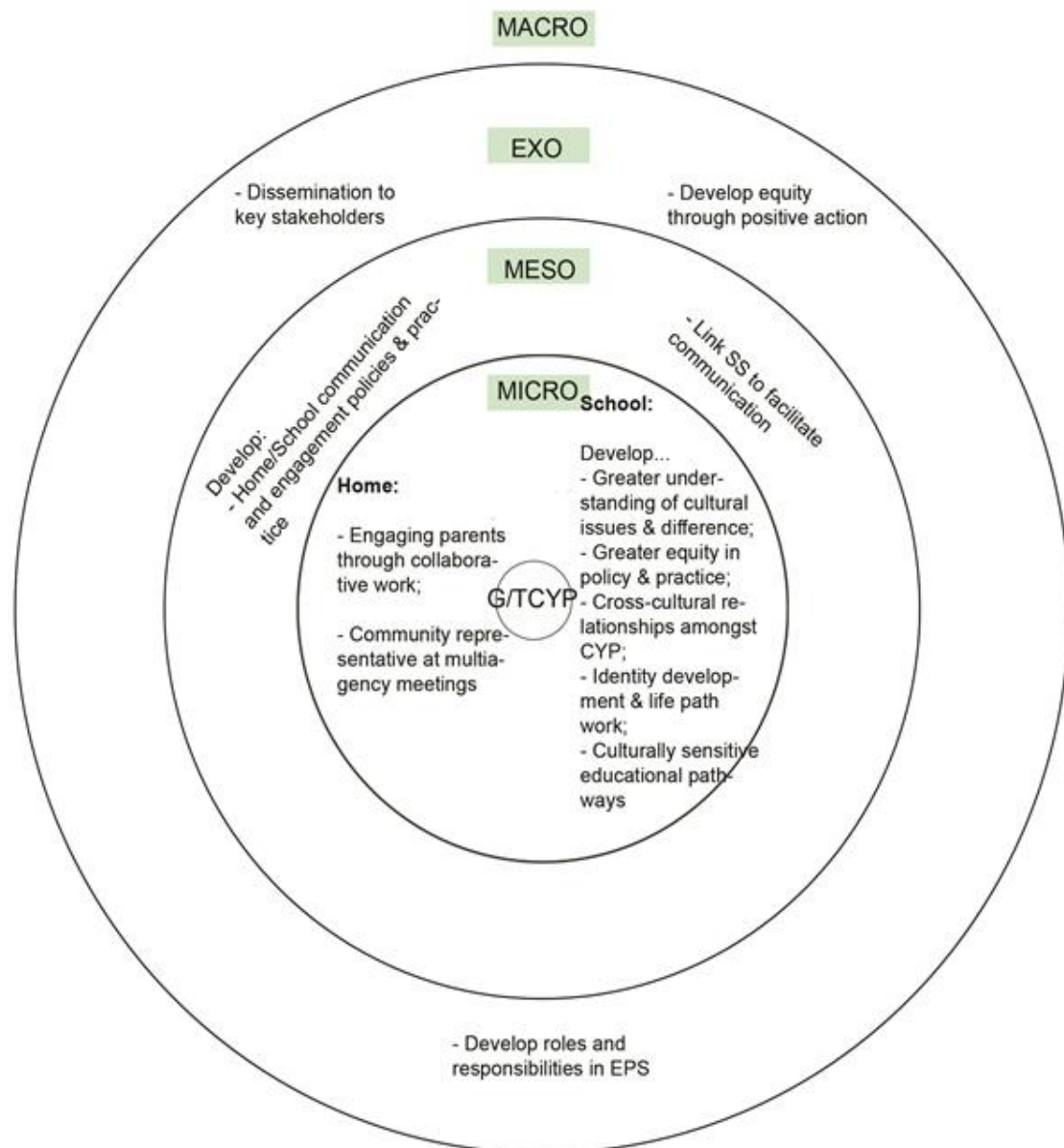


Figure 5.1: Targeting change in the eco systems (summary)

5.4 Reflections on Study

Through the process of exploring the strengths and limitations of this study, and considering future research, and in conclusion, reflections on the current study are made.

5.4.1 Strengths

- **Voice:** This study was the first of its kind, which focused on engaging with members of the local G/T communities in order to give voice to their views on education. It succeeded in giving voice to IT parents, illuminating barriers and resources available within this local context to support their inclusion in education. A process of dissemination to schools, the EPS, and other services in the LA, as well as the LA lead on inclusion will provide a forum through which these voices can be heard by those in positions of power, enabling greater understanding of the issues impacting on G/T education to emerge.
- **Transformative:** A number of transformative effects emerged from this study. Firstly, the identification of the barriers associated with IE for G/Ts in this LA have helped to pinpoint specific areas within the eco-systems which can be targeted for change. The *process* of the interviews also had a transformatory effect on participants. I observed this particularly for three of the parents who reflected after the interviews, some time later, that they had enjoyed the discussions and that they had brought about more reflections and discussions on local educational opportunities within the community.
- **EP Role and Responsibilities:** Given the educational disadvantage highlighted for G/T communities, it is important that as a profession, EPs are engaging with members of these communities to explore some of the issues perpetuating this disadvantage. EPs have a responsibility to work in partnership with schools and other educational services to develop understandings of these issues by giving voice to these communities and facilitating change. This study,

though of a small scale, has facilitated conversations within the EPS in the current LA about some of the ways in which we can go about addressing these issues. Through publication and wider dissemination, it can increase the visibility of these communities within EP practice as well as providing the basis through which local EPs can cultivate a rationale for the development of more equitable educational opportunities within LAs.

- **Championing social justice:** As part of the powerful majority, working within LA systems, EPs and EP research has a responsibility to champion the social justice of vulnerable CYP and their families who experience discrimination and exclusion within education. The voices of the IT parents were at the heart of this study. Their views on the education of their children shaped the formulation of the transformatory interventions planned in the micro, meso and exo-systems, which focus on key issues of social justice such as equity and inclusion.
- **Research methodology:** The use of un-structured interviews enabled participants to take ownership over interviews, and provided a richer set of data, in which collective rather than cultural (stereotyped) narratives were given voice.

5.4.2 Limitations

- **Access and engagement:** This study aimed to explore the perspectives of both English Gypsies and Irish Traveller parents on their children's education. However, as cautioned by Brown and Scullion (2009), difficulties emerged in accessing the housed EG community. Therefore while SSPs interviewed spoke about both EG and IT groups, the voice of EG parents themselves would have enriched the findings, providing greater internal validity to the study, as well as greater clarity for potential transformatory interventions specific to each ethnic group.

- **Research design:** As outlined in chapter three, a transformative paradigm underpinned this research. While I drew on many aspects common to transformative projects, I feel that a participatory action research (PAR) design may have strengthened the scope of the by giving participants more immediate ownership over transformatory interventions planned. For example, SSPs may have been more likely to engage in member checking at the data analysis stage. Where future research is carried out, I would recommend that a PAR design, where possible with a school link EP, be followed.
- **Voice of CYP:** The views of CYP regarding their education were not gathered in this research. Hearing from CYP can provide a very powerful insight into issues affecting them in education (Beaver, 2011). Future research, perhaps employing a PAR design to fine tune interventions suggested by this research at the micro level would enrich the knowledge and understanding of the barriers and opportunities for inclusion identified in this study.
- **Exploratory Study:** As this was an exploratory study, the scope to explore all of the issues emerging from the interviews in great detail was limited. However, exploratory research can shed light on multiple factors enabling a wide picture of the issues to emerge. Furthermore, it can highlight key areas (for example admissions, attendance and SEN policies) where further, more specific research could help to shape meaningful change.

5.4.3 Future research

- Exploration of the views of CYP.
- Evaluation of transformative interventions (e.g programmes at the micro level and positive action within LA policies), perhaps within the framework of a PAR design.
- Focus on the understanding of SEN by and in relation to G/T communities.

- Exploration of the implications of housing policies for G/T mental health and well-being and educational inclusion.

5.4.4 Conclusion

This study aimed to heighten understandings of the barriers and opportunities for the educational inclusion of G/Ts in a LA. In meeting with and interviewing IT parents and school staff, I was struck by the strong desire within both sets of participants to promote the educational opportunities of G/TCYP within the LA. However, a sense of frustration permeated the discussions with both sets of participants, which was centred around participants' different understandings of equality and equity, the responsibility for inclusion, and for parents in particular, the issue of voice.

In order to address the story of educational exclusion, which emerged from this study, a shift in the educational position of those governing services from a discourse of 'equality' in education, to 'equity' in education must be encouraged. In line with the ethos of inclusive education, policies and practices identified as perpetuating exclusion should be considered within a lens of positive action to encourage greater equity of outcomes for G/TCYP. In this way, supporting the educational inclusion of these communities can become more of an ethos within schools and educational services. Clear pathways within which EPs can work together with community members, schools and service providers by targeting identified areas within the eco-systems to develop greater educational inclusion for G/Ts have been identified. While this study constituted a small, local study, the findings presented here, can contribute to an analytic generalisability, informing further transformatory research with these communities.

References

Acton, T. (1985). 'Gypsy education at the crossroads.' *British Journal of Traveller Education*, 12, 1, 6-8.

Acton, T. (1994). 'Categorising Irish Travellers.' In McCann, M., O Síochain, S. and Ruane, J. (Eds). *Irish Travellers Culture and Ethnicity*. Belfast, Institute of Irish Studies, pp 36-53.

Armstrong, D. (2005). 'Reinventing Inclusion: New Labour and the cultural politics of special education.' *Oxford Review of Education*, 31, 1, 135-151.

Armstrong F. (2003), *Spaced out: Policy, Difference and the Challenge of Inclusive Education*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Ball, S. (1994). *Education Reform: A Critical and Post-Structural Approach*, Buckingham: Open University Press.

Ball, S.J (2012). *Global Education Inc. New Policy Networks and the Neo-liberal Imaginary*. London: Routledge.

Bamberger, M., Rugh, J., and Mabry, L. (2006). *Real World Evaluation*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Bancroft, A. (2005). *Roma and Gypsy- Travellers in Europe: Modernity, Race, Space and Exclusion*, Aldershot.:Ashgate.

Beaver, R. (2011) *Educational Psychology Casework*. 2nd Ed. Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Berry, J.W. (1990). 'Psychology of Acculturation.' In Berman, J (Ed.) *Cross-cultural perspectives*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press (pp. 201-234).

Berry, J.W. (1997). 'Immigration, acculturation and adaptation.' *Applied psychology*, 46, 5 – 68.

Berry, J., Poortinga, Y., Segall, M., & Discriminatory -attitudesen, P., (2002). *Cross-Cultural Psychology; Research and Applications* (2nd ed). London: Cambridge University Press.

Bhopal, K. (2004). 'Gypsy Travellers and education: changing needs and changing perceptions.' *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 52, 1, 47-64.

Bhopal, K. (2011) "'This Is a School, It's Not a Site": Teachers' Attitudes towards Gypsy and Traveller Pupils in Schools in England.' *British Educational Research Journal*, 37, 3, 465-483.

Bhopal, K., Gundhara, J., Jones, C. and Owen, C. (2000). *Working towards inclusive education: aspects of good practice for Gypsy Traveller children*. London: DfE Research Report.

Bhopal, K., and Myers, M. (2009). Gypsy, Roma and Traveller Pupils in Schools in the UK: inclusion and 'good practice.' *International Journal of IE*, 13 3, 299-314.

Biggart, A., O'Hare, L., and Connolly, P. (2013). 'A need to belong? The prevalence of experiences of belonging and exclusion in school among minority ethnic children living in the 'White hinterlands.' *Irish Educational Studies*, 32, 2, 179-195.

Bloch, A. (1999). Carrying out a survey of refugees: some methodological considerations and guidelines. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 12, 4, 367-383.

Booth, T., and Ainscow, M. (2000). *Index for Inclusion: developing learning and participation in schools*. Bristol: CSIE.

Booth, T., Ainscow, M., and Dyson, A. (2006). *Improving Schools, Developing Inclusion*. London: Routledge.

Bowers, J. (2004). *Prejudice and Pride: The Experience of Young Travellers*. Ipswich: The Ormiston Children and Families Trust.

Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006) 'Using thematic analysis in psychology', *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3, 77-103.

British Psychological Society (2002). *Inclusive Education – A Position Paper*. Leicester: British Psychological Society.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1977). 'Toward an experimental ecology of human development.' *American Psychologist*, 32, 7, 513-531.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development: experiments by nature and design*. Harvard University Press.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1994). 'Ecological models of human development.' *International Encyclopedia of Education*, 3, 2, 37-43.

Brown, P. and Scullion, L. (2009). "Doing research' with Gypsy-Travellers in England: reflections on experience and practice.' *Community Development Journal*, 45, 2, 169-185.

LA X. (2009). *Children and Young Person's Plan: Priorities for 2012-2013*. Available at http://www.x.gov.uk/cypp_priorities_2012-13.pdf. [Last accessed 18th June, 2012].

Burns, R.B. (2000). *Introduction to Research Methods*. London: Sage.

Caldwell, J.Y., Davis, J.D, Du Bois, B., Echo-Waek,H., Erikson, J.S., and Goins, R.T. (2005). 'Culturally competent research with American Indians and Alaska Natives: Findings and recommendations of the First Symposium of the Work Group on American Indian Research and Program Evaluation Methodology.' *American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research*, 12 1, 1-21.

Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. (1996). *Report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination*. New York: UN Document A/51/18.

Commission for Racial Equality. (2000). *Learning for All: Standards for Racial Equality in Schools*. London: CRE. Available at http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/9918/1/learning_for_all_standards_for_racial_equality.pdf. [Last accessed 18th June 2012].

Cemlyn, S. (2008). 'Human Rights and Gypsies and Travellers: An Exploration of the Application of a Human rights Perspective to Social Work with a Minority Community in Britain.' *British Journal of Social Work*, 38, 153-173.

Cemlyn, S., Greenfields, M., Burnett, S., Matthews, Z., and Whitwell, C. (2009). *Inequalities experienced by Gypsy and Traveller communities: A review*. London: Equality and Human Rights Commission.

Clark, C., and Cemlyn, S. (2005). 'The social exclusion of gypsies and traveller children.' In Preston, G., (ed), '*At Greatest Risk: the children most likely to be poor.*' London: Child Poverty Action Group. Available at <http://www.mendeley.com/research/the-social-exclusion-of-gypsy-and-traveller-children/#page-1> [Last Accessed 24th April, 2012].

Commission for Racial Equality. (2004). *Gypsies and Travellers: A Strategy for the CRE 2004-7*. London: CRE.

Commission for Racial Equality. (2000). *Learning for All: Standards for Racial Equality in Schools*. London: CRE. Available at http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/9918/1/learning_for_all_standards_for_racial_equality.pdf. [Last accessed 18th June 2012].

Criminal Justice and Public Order Act. (1994). HMSO [Online]. Available at : <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1994/33/contents> [Last accessed 21st May, 2014].

Danaher, P., Coombes, P. and Kiddle, C. (2007). *Teaching Traveller Children: Maximising Learning Outcomes*. Stoke on Trent: Trentham Books.

D'Arcy, K. (2012). 'Learning and digital inclusion: The ELAMP project.' *Research in learning technology*, ' 20, 4, 417-429.

Department for Children, Schools and Families. (2009). *Moving Forward Together: Raising Gypsy, Roma and Traveller achievement. Booklet 1: Introduction*. London: DCSF.

Department for Education and Schools (DfES). (2003). *Aiming High: Raising the Achievement of Minority Ethnic Pupils*. Available at https://www.education.gov.uk/consultations/downloadableDocs/213_1.pdf. [Last accessed: 5th March, 2014].

Department for Education and Science (DES).(1967). *Children and their Primary Schools. The Plowden Report*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Derrington, C. and Kendall, S. (2004). 'The experiences and perceptions of Gypsy Traveller pupils in English secondary schools.' In Shelvin, M. and Rose, R. (Eds) *Encouraging Voices*. Dublin: National Disability Authority.

Derrington, C. and Kendall, S. (2007). 'Still in school at 16? Conclusions from a longitudinal study of Gypsy Traveller students in English secondary schools.' In: Bhatti, G., Gaine, C., Gobbo, F. and Leeman, Y. (Eds) *Social Justice and Intercultural Education: an Open Ended Dialogue*. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books.

Derrington, C. (2005). 'Perceptions of behaviour and patterns of exclusion: Gypsy Traveller students in English secondary schools.' *Journal of Research in Special Educational Needs*, 5, 2 .

Derrington, C. (2007). 'Fight, flight and playing white: an examination of coping strategies adopted by Gypsy Traveller adolescents in English secondary schools.' *International Journal of Educational Research*, 46, 6, 357-367.

Department for Children, Schools and Families (2009) *Moving Forward Together: Raising Gypsy, Roma and Traveller achievement. Booklet 1: Introduction*. London: DCSF.

Department for Communities and Local Government (2012). *Progress report by the ministerial group on tackling inequalities experienced by Gypsies and Travellers*.

Available at

http://ec.europa.eu/justice/discrimination/files/roma_uk_strategy_annex2_en.pdf [Last accessed 12th May, 2014].

Department for Education. (2014). Draft Special Educational Needs (SEN) Code of Practice: for 0 to 25 years. Available:

<https://www.education.gov.uk/consultations/downloadableDocs/Draft%20SEN%20Code%20of%20Practice.pdf> [Last accessed 20th May, 2014].

Department for Education and Skills. (2006). *Ethnicity and Education: the Evidence on Minority Ethnic Pupils Aged 5-16*. Available:

<http://www.dcsf.gov.uk/research/data/uploadfiles/0208-2006DOM-EN.pdf> [Last accessed: 12th August, 2013].

Doherty, M. (2011). *Cuts to Traveller Education Services*. Advisory Council for the Education of Romany and Other Travellers. Available at:

www.acert.org.uk/blog/2011/09/24/cuts-to-traveller-education-services/ [Last accessed on 12th April, 2014].

Deuchar, R. and Bhopal, K. (2013). 'We're still human beings, we're not aliens.' Promoting the citizenship rights and cultural diversity of Traveller children in schools: Scottish and English perspectives.' *British Educational Research Journal*, 39, 4, 773-750.

Draper, A. (2004). 'The Principles and Application of Qualitative Research.' *Proceedings of the Nutrition Society*, 63, 4, 641-646.

Dunne, L. (2009). 'Discourses of inclusion: a critique.' *Power and Education*, 1, 1, 42-56.

European Commission against Racism and Intolerance. (2008). Decision of the 46th Plenary meeting: Human Rights and Legal Affairs, Council of Europe. Available at <http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/ecri/activities/annual%20report%202008.pdf> [Last accessed 28th November 2013].

Equality Act (2010). HMSO [Online]. Available at <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2010/15/contents>. [Last accessed: 12th May 2014].

Gillborn, D. (1995). *Racism and Antiracism in Real Schools: Theory, policy, practice*. Bristol: Open University Press.

Gillborn, D., and Youdell, D. (2000). *Rationalising Education: Policy, Practice, Reform and Equity*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Frederickson, N., Webster, A., and Wright, A. (1991). 'Psychological assessment: a change of emphasis.' *Educational Psychology in Practice*, 7 (1), 20-29.

Friedman, B. D., and Allen, K. N. (2011). 'Systems Theory.' In Brandell, J.R. (ed), *Theory and Practice in Clinical Social Work*. London: Sage Publications.

Garland, J., Spalek, B., and Chakraborti, N. (2006). 'Hearing lost voices: issues in researching 'Hidden' minority ethnic communities.' *British Journal of Criminology*, 46, 423-437.

Gillham, B. (2000). *Case study research methods*. London: Continuum.

Glazzard, J. (2013). 'A critical interrogation of the contemporary discourses associated with inclusive education in England.' *Journal of Research in Special Educational Needs*, 13, 3, 182-188.

Goodenow, C. (1993). 'The psychological sense of school membership among adolescents: Scale development and educational correlates.' *Psychology in the Schools*, 30, 79-90.

Gordan, D., Adelman, L., Ashworth, K., Bradshaw, J., Levitas, R., Middleton, S., Pantazis, C., Patsios, D., Payne, S., Townsend, P., and Williams, J. (2000). *Poverty and Social Exclusion in Britain*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Gordon, E. & Yowell, C. (1999) 'Cultural dissonance as a risk factor in the development of students.' In E. Gordon (ed.), *Education and Justice: A view from the back of the bus* (pp. 34–51). New York: Teachers College Press.

Greenfields, M. (2009). 'Gypsies, Travellers and accommodation.' *Better Housing Briefing*, 10. Race Equality Foundation.

Hancock, I. (2003). 'Duty and beauty, possession and truth: lexical impoverishment as Control.' In Acton, T., and Mundy, G., (eds), *Romani Culture and Gypsy Identity*. Hertfordshire: University of Hertfordshire Press.

Harding, S. (2014). 'Social exclusion: Cultural dissonance between Travellers and non-Travellers in British secondary schools.' *Journal of Student Engagement: Education matters* 4, 1, 25–34.

Hartas, D. (2011). 'Young people's participation: is disaffection another way of having a voice?' *Educational Psychology in Practice*, 27, 2, 103-115

Hyde, A. (2007). *Systemic Exclusion of Roma from Employment*. Budapest: European Roma Rights Centre.

Jamali, D., Khoury, G., and Sahyoun, H. (2006). 'From bureaucratic organisations to learning organisations: An evolutionary roadmap.' *The Learning Organisation*, 13, 4, 16-32.

Jordan, E. (2001). 'Exclusion of Travellers in state schools.' *Educational Research*, 43, 2, 117-32.

Kiddle, C. (1999). *Traveller Children: a voice for themselves*. London: Jessica Kingsley.

King, N. (1994). 'The Qualitative Research Interview.' In Cassell, C., and Symon, G. (Eds.), *Qualitative methods of original research*. London: Sage.

Lawrence, P. (2005). *Gypsy and Traveller Children. (Highlight 221)*. London: National Children's Bureau.

Levinson, M.P. (2007). 'Literacy in Gypsy communities: Cultural capital manifested as negative assets.' *American Educational Research Journal*, 44, 1, 135.

Levinson, M.P. and Sparkes, A.C. (2006). 'Conflicting value systems: gypsy females and the home-school interface.' *Research Papers in Education*, 21, 1, 79-97.

Levinson, M.P., Sparkes, A.C. and Andrew, C. (2005). *Gypsy children, space and the school environment. International Journal of Qualitative Research in Education*, 18, 6, 751-722.

Levinson, M.P. (2008). 'Not just content but style: Gypsy children traversing boundaries.' *Research in comparative and international education*, 3, 3, 235-249.

Lewin, K. (1935). *A dynamic theory of personality*. McGraw-Hill: New York and London

Lloyd, G. and McCluskey, G. (2008). 'Education and Gypsies/Travellers: 'contradictions and significant silences'', *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 12, 4, 331-345.

Lloyd, G., and Stead, J. (2001). "The boys and girls not calling me names and the teachers to believe me:' name calling and the experiences of Travellers in school, *Children and Society*, 15, 361-374.

Lloyd, G., Stead, J., and Jordan, E. (1999). 'Teachers and Gypsy Travellers.' *Scottish Educational Review*, 31, 1, 48-65.

Lloyd, G., Stead, J., Jordan, E., and Norris (2003). In Nind, M., Sheehy, K., Simmons, K. (eds) *Inclusive education: learners and learning contexts*. London: David Fulton.

Lofland, J. and Lofland, L.H. (1995) *Analyzing Social Settings: A Guide to Qualitative Observation and Analysis*, 3rd ed. Belmont, Calif: Wadsworth.

Lorenzi, N.M., and Riley, R. (2000). 'Managing Change: An Overview.' *Journal of the American Medical Informatics Association*, 7, 116-124.

MacDonald, K., and Greggans, A. (2008). 'Dealing with chaos and complexity: the reality of interviewing children and families in their own home.' *Journal of Clinical Nursing*, 17, 3123-3130.

Maslow, A. H. (1943). 'A theory of human motivation.' *Psychological Review*, 50, 370-96.

Matsumoto, D., and Juang, L. (2011). *Culture and Psychology* (5th ed). Belmont: Thomson Wadsworth.

Maxwell, J.A. (1996). *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage.

McKinney, R. (2003). Views from the Margins: Gypsy/Travellers and the Ethnicity Debate in New Scotland. *Scottish Affairs*, 42. Available at http://www.scottishaffairs.org/backiss/pdfs/sa42/SA42_McKinney.pdf. [Last accessed 16th June 2012].

Mertens, D. (2009). *Transformative Research and Evaluation*. London: Guilford Press.

Mertens, D. (2010). *Research and Evaluation in Education and Psychology: Integrating Diversity with Quantitative, Qualitative and Mixed Methods*. California: Sage Publications.

Miller, J. & Glassner, B. (2002). 'The 'Inside' and the 'Outside' Finding Realities in Interviews'. In D. Silverman (Ed.), *Qualitative Research Theory, Method and Practice*. London: Sage Publications.

Myers, M., McGhee, D. and Bhopal, K. (2010) 'At the crossroads: Gypsy and Traveller Parents' Perceptions of Education, Protection and Social Change,' *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 13, 4, 533-548.

Nagel, J. (1994). 'Constructing ethnicity: Creating and recreating ethnic identity and culture.' *Social Problems*, 41, 101-126.

Ní Shuinear, S. (1997). 'Why do Gaujos hate Gypsies so much anyway? A case study.' In Acton, T., (Ed). *Gypsy Politics and Traveller Identity* (pp. 26-53) Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press.

Office for Standards in Education. (1999). *Raising the Attainment of Minority Ethnic Pupils: School and LEA Responses*. London: Ofsted.

Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) (2001). *Managing support for the Attainment of pupils from Minority Ethnic Groups*. London: Ofsted.

Office for Standards in education (2003). *Provision and Support for Traveller Pupils*. London: Ofsted.

O'Hanlon, C. (2010). 'Whose education? The inclusion of Gypsy/Travellers: continuing culture and tradition through the right to choose educational opportunities to support their social and economic mobility.' *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 40, 2, 239-254.

O'Hanlon, C., and Holmes, P. (2004). *The education of Gypsy and Traveller children: towards inclusion and educational achievement*. Stoke on Trent: Trentham.

Open Society Institute. (2001). *The Situation of Roma in Spain*. Budapest: Open Society Institute.

Osterman, K.F. (2000). 'Students' need for belonging in the school community.' *Review of Educational Research*, 70, 33-67

Padfield, P. (2005). 'Inclusive educational approaches for Gypsy/Traveller pupils and their families: an 'urgent need for progress.' *Scottish Educational Review*, 37, 2, 127-144.

Parker-Jenkins, M., Hewitt, D., Brownhill, S., and Sanders, T. (2007). *Aiming High: Raising Attainment of Pupils from Culturally Diverse Backgrounds*. London: Paul Chapman.

Phinney, J., Cantu, C., Kurtz, D., (1997). 'Ethnic and American identity as predictors of self-esteem among African Americans, Latino, and White adolescents.' *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 7, 3-32.

Polat, F. (2011). 'Inclusion in education: A step towards social justice'. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 31, 1, 50- 58.

Power, C. (2004). *Room to Roam: England's Irish Travellers*. London: Irish Traveller Movement in Britain [online]. Available: <http://www.irishtraveller.org.uk/wpcontent/uploads/2007/08/roomtoroam.pdf> [29 August, 2013].

Powney, J., and Watts, M. (1987). *Interviewing in Educational Research*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Putnam, R., Feldstein, L., and Cohen, D. (2003). *Better together: Restoring the American community*. Australia: Simon and Schuster.

Puxon, G. (1987). *Roma: Europe's Gypsies*. London: Minority Rights Group.

Reynolds, M., McCarten, D. and Knipe, D. (2003). 'Traveller culture and lifestyle as factors influencing children's integration into mainstream secondary schools in West Belfast', *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 7, 4, 403-414.

Robinson, L. (2000). 'Racial identity attitudes and self-esteem of black adolescents in residential care: an exploratory study. *British Journal of Social Work*, 30, 3-24.

Robinson, L. (2007). *Cross-cultural child development for social workers: an introduction*. Macmillan/Palgrave: London.

Robinson, L. (2009). 'Cultural identity and acculturation preferences among South Asian adolescents in Britain: An exploratory study.' *Children and Society*, 23, 442-454.

Robinson, V. (2002). "Doing research' with refugees and asylum seekers.' *Swansea Geographer*, 37, 61-67.

Robson, C. (2002). *Real World Research*, 2nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell.

Ryder and Greenfields, (2011). *Roads to Success: Economic and Social Inclusion for Gypsies and Travellers*. London: An Irish Traveller Movement in Britain Report. Available at http://www.irishtraveller.org.uk/images/roads_to_success.pdf. [Last accessed 19 June, 2013].

- Sikes, P., Lawson, H., Parker, M. (2007). 'Voices on: teachers and teaching assistants talk about inclusion.' *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 11, 3, 355-70.
- Stonewall. (2003). *Profiles of prejudice: The Nature of prejudice in England*. London: Stonewall/Citizenship 21 Project.
- Smith, J.A., and Osborn, M. (2008). 'Interpretative phenomenological analysis.' In J. A. Smith (ed) *Qualitative Psychology (2nd ed)*. London: Sage.
- Soresi, S., Nota, L. & Wehmeyer, M. (2011). 'Community involvement in promoting inclusion, participation and self-determination', *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 15, 1, 15- 28.
- Strand, S., de Coulon, A., Meschi, E., Vorhaus, J., Frumkin, L, Ivins, C., Small,, L., Sood, A., Gervais, M-C., and Rehman, H. (2010). *Drivers and Challenges in Raising the Achievement of Pupils from Bangladeshi, Somali and Turkish Backgrounds*. Available at: <https://www.education.gov.uk/publications/eOrderingDownload/DCSF-RR226.pdf> [Last accessed 29th September, 2013].
- Templeton, J. (2005). *Educating Gypsy and Traveller Pupils*. London: TEN.
- Themelis, S. (2009). 'Questioning Inclusion: the education of Roma/Traveller students and young people in Europe and England – a critical examination.' *Research in Comparative and International Education*, 4, 3, 262-275.
- Thomas, G. and Vaughan, M. (2004) *Inclusive education: Readings and Reflections*. Berkshire: Open University Press.
- Todnem, R. (2005). 'Organisational change management: A critical review.' *Journal of Change Management*, 5, 4, 369-380.
- Tsai, J.L., Chentsove-Dutton, Y; Wong, Y. 'Why and how we should study ethnic identity, acculturation, and cultural orientation.' In Nagayama, H., Gordon, C. (Eds.), *Asian American Psychology: The science of lives in context*. (pp41-65). Washington: American Psychological Association.
- United Nations Economic, Social and Cultural Organisation (1994). *The Salamanca Statement and framework for Action on Special Educational Needs Education*. World Confernece on Special needs Education: Access and Quality. Available at:

http://www.unesco.org/education/pdf/SALAMA_E.PDF [Last accessed 17th April, 2014].

United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (2009). *UK Report*. Available at <http://www.csie.org.uk/inclusion/human-rights.shtml>. [Last accessed 21st March 2014].

United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child (2008). '*UK Children's Commissioner's Report to the UNCRC*'. Available at: http://www.niccy.org/uploaded_docs/uncrc_report_final.pdf. [Last accessed 14th October, 2013].

UNICEF (2006). *The State of the World's Children 2006: excluded and invisible*. Available at http://www.unicef.org/sowc06/pdfs/sowc06_fullreport.pdf [Last accessed 21st January, 2014].

Warrington, C. (2006). *Children's Voices: Changing Future. The Views and Experiences of Young Gypsies and Travellers*. Ipswich: The Ormiston Children and Families Trust.

Waterman, A.S. (1985). *Identity in adolescence: Processes and Contents*. Jossey-Bass: San Francisco.

Wilkin, A., Derrington, C. and Foster, B. (2009). *Improving the Outcomes for Gypsy, Roma and Traveller Pupils: Literature Review*. [online]. Available at: <http://publications.dcsf.gov.uk/eOrderingDownload/DCSF-RR077.pdf>. [Last accessed 9th April, 2014].

Wilkin, A., Derrington, C., White, R., Martin, K., Foster, B., Kinder, K., and Rutt, S. (2010). *Improving the outcomes for Gypsy, Roma and Traveller Pupils: Final Report*. Available at: <http://www.education.gov.uk/schools/pupilsupport/inclusionandlearnersupport/mea/improvingachievement/a0012528/gypsy-roma-and-traveller-achievement>. [Last accessed 18th April, 2012]

Wilkinson, S., Joffe, H., and Yardley, L. (2004). 'Qualitative data collection: interviews and focus groups.' In Marks, D., Yardley, L. (Eds.) *Research Methods for Clinical and Health Psychology*, (pp. 39-55). London: SAGE Publications.

Zimmermann, K., Kahanec, M. and Constant, A. (2007). *Study on the Social and Labour Market Integration of Ethnic Minorities*. Bonn: IZA.

Appendix A: Ethical Approval Form

DEdPsy (Y2) STUDENT RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL FORM
Psychology & Human Development

This form should be completed with reference to the BPS Code of Ethics and Conduct – available online from www.bps.org.uk

On which course are you registered? DEdPsych _____

Title of project: A study of the perceptions of English Gypsy and Irish Traveller (G&IT) parents on their children's education in a LA.

Name of researcher(s): Caitriona Ní Mhuircheartaigh

Name of supervisor/s (for student research): Diana Tsokova, Frances Lee

Date: 20 August 2013 **Intended start date of data collection (month and year only):** 10.13

- 1. Summary of planned research** (please provide the following details: project title, purpose of project, its academic rationale and research questions, a brief description of methods and measurements; participants: recruitment methods, number, age, gender, exclusion/inclusion criteria; estimated start date and duration of project). It's expected that this will take approx. 200–300 words, though you may write more if you feel it is necessary. Please also give further details here if this project been considered by another (external) Research Ethics Committee.

This study aims to carry out a transformative intervention in a LA in order to improve the opportunities for the educational inclusion of English Gypsy and Irish Traveller (G&IT) pupils. In this LA, G&ITs have been identified as a priority in terms of promoting inclusion, well-being and educational opportunity for 2012-2013 and beyond. Data collection is scheduled to start in October 2013.

A qualitative methodology is adopted in line with recommendations regarding local studies in the literature. The parents of G&IT school aged pupils will be recruited to participate in the study. Recruitment will take place by way of personal introduction by the Traveller Support Teacher who is known and trusted within the community. There are 10 families to target in the Irish Traveller community and 3 within the English Gypsy community. All families will be invited to participate in the research. Participants from the Senior Management Team (SMT) and Teaching staff in two key identified primary schools will also be recruited to undertake semi-structured interviews about the challenges and opportunities relating to the inclusion of G&IT communities.

Recruitment will take place through introduction by the school's Educational Psychologists.

The research methodology is designed as a transformative intervention. The transformative intervention takes place in two stages. In stage 1, parent participants will be asked to participate in open-ended and solution focused interviews to gain their views, perceptions and experiences of their children's education in primary school. It is hoped that transformation can occur in so far as the participants are actively engaging in reflection on their children's education and the systems within which they are educated. Data will be gathered and recorded according to participants' wishes. Where participants would rather not be recorded, cultural wishes will be respected, and the researcher will take comprehensive notes throughout the interview, reading these back to the participant at the end to ensure that they are a true record of the meeting. Semi-structured interviews will also take place with key members of the school staff including Headteachers, SENCos and teachers. A descriptive thematic analysis will then be carried out on both sets of interview data which will provide over-arching themes. Stage 2 involves using the overarching themes from Stage 1 to inform and shape a further transformative intervention involving the implementation of systems in school and/or the LA to support greater inclusion.

Implications for educational psychologists (EPs) include how we can use transformative research to help enable the voices of under or underrepresented communities to be heard, how solution focused approaches to interviewing can help to bring about transformative change, and the broader role of EPs in highlighting and tackling systemic issues in educational provision as they apply to the inclusion of minority ethnic groups.

Research Questions:

1. What are the perspectives of the parents of G&IT pupils on their children's education in a LA?
2. What barriers and opportunities for educational inclusion of these pupils are conceived of by Senior Leadership Teams in the identified schools?
3. In what ways can a transformative intervention lead to greater inclusion of GRT pupils in the identified schools?

- 2. Specific ethical issues** (Please outline the main ethical issues which may arise in the course of this research, and how they will be addressed. It's expected that this will require approx. 200–300 words, though you may write more if you feel it is necessary. You will find information in the notes about answering this question).

- Data will be collected from the parents of school aged G&IT pupils as well as a number of school staff. None of the participants are children/young people under 18, or adults classed as vulnerable. Initially, introduction will be made to the participants by a trusted member of the LA. Subsequent interviews will be carried out solely with the researcher, who has an updated Criminal Records Bureau check, so that participants can express their views in a confidential way.
- The research aims to benefit the G&IT communities by providing a medium through which their views are heard. It also hopes to set in motion some systems of transformation, based on their views, to help towards bringing about more inclusion for G&ITs within the school and educational systems in the LA. It is also hoped that educationalists within the LA will benefit in terms of gaining a greater understanding of the views and hopes of these communities, so they can better meet their needs in school.
- There are no anticipated risks to the participants. Merton (2009) describes the importance of transformative work in terms of bringing about positive change. Thus, sharing and disseminating participant's views to the relevant educators as a stimulus for bringing about change is important to ensure that transformation is a key outcome of this study.
- Parent participants will be initially informed verbally about the research during informal visits to the site alongside the Traveller Achievement Teacher. Once I have introduced myself and explained about the research, I will ask them if they would like to participate. Once they give their verbal consent, I will revisit them in September, remind them of the project, and check with them again if they would like to participate. Verbal consent is more appropriate for these communities, as they can often have literacy difficulties. If they provide verbal consent again at this stage I will then ask them to sign a consent form (please find attached). I will read them the consent form to ensure they have understood it. This consent form has been seen by the TAT to ensure its appropriateness for the participant. I will offer participants the option of signing the form in the present of the TAT in case they are concerned about signing a document they cannot read. Participants will be informed of their right to withdraw from the research at any stage.
- At the beginning of the research, parent participants will be informed that this is a transformative piece of research, to support them and to enable their voices to be heard, and that while the data will be anonymised, the outcomes following feedback will be shared with educationalists in schools and the LA. Once the interviews have been carried out, I will then ask the participants again for their consent to share this information with educators in the LA. This will be verbal consent, and will be documented in my research diary. Participants will be informed of their right to withdraw from the research again at this

stage.

- Should any specific issues arise for parent participants during interviews, they will be signposted to the Traveller Achievement Team in the LA, or other relevant educational service.
- School staff participants will be verbally introduced to the research by the researcher and by the Educational Psychologists attached to the schools. They will then be asked to sign a written consent form should they wish to participate. They will be informed of their right to leave the research at any stage. Confidentiality and anonymity will be assured.
- All participants will be informed that the research may be published to disseminate findings, and in this case, that confidentiality and anonymity will be assured.
- Participants will not be offered any financial incentives to take part in the project. Expenses/ travel costs etc will also not be necessary to pay.
- Participant's age, gender and ethnic status will be collected. Participants will be anonymised by assigning them a number code, which will be used in the research. The number code and corresponding demographic information will be kept separately on a password-protected file. There will be no participant names recorded on this.
- Consent will be sought to audio record interviews. Interview data will be kept confidential. Transcripts or notes of interviews will be kept on a password-protected file and recordings on a password protected audio file. Full anonymity can be guaranteed in the case of any publications arising from the research. Anonymity to a certain extent can be expected during the research process. Individual opinions and views/ quotes used in feedback to the participants themselves and to educationalists will be anonymous. However, I will explain to parent participants that by giving feedback to the educationalists, their (the participants) views as a group will be expressed and it will be clear that this has come from them. This is the nature of the research design and inevitable and necessary in this case. As mentioned above, this will be fully explained to the participants both at the interview and at the feedback stages of the research.
- After the parent interviews are collected, and analysed, they will be informed of the results of the analysis. Face to face visits will be arranged to do this so that participants can give their thoughts on the findings, and give their consent for the findings to be shared amongst the educationalists in the LA. Following the feedback meetings with the educationalists, participants will be informed once more about the outcome of these meetings and next steps.

3. Further Details

Note 11: This project may involve human participants as a secondary source of data. National Curriculum achievement data for the group as a whole may be referred to. If it is, this data will remain completely anonymous and confidential, except to say that it pertains to a particular population within a particular LA. If used, this information will just serve to contribute to the overall holistic picture of educational achievement and participation for these communities.

3. Further details

Please answer the following questions.

		YES	NO	N/A
1	Will you describe the exactly what is involved in the research to participants in advance, so that they are informed about what to expect?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	Will you tell participants that their participation is voluntary?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	Will you obtain written consent for participation?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4	If the research is observational, will you ask participants for their consent to being observed?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
5	Will you tell participants that they may withdraw from the research at any time and for any reason?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6	With questionnaires, will you give participants the option of omitting questions they do not want to answer?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7	Will you tell participants that their data will be treated with full confidentiality and that, if published, it will not be identifiable as theirs?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8	Will you debrief participants at the end of their participation (i.e. give them a brief explanation of the study)?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

If you have ticked **No** to any of Q1-8, please ensure further details are given in section 2 above.

		YES	NO	N/A
9	Will your project involve deliberately misleading participants in any way?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10	Is there any realistic risk of any participants experiencing either physical or psychological distress or discomfort? If Yes , give details on a separate sheet and state what you will tell them to do if they should experience any problems (e.g. who they can contact for help).	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11	Will your project involve human participants as a secondary source of data (e.g. using existing data sets)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

If you have ticked **Yes** to any of 9 - 11, please provide a full explanation in section 2 above.

12	Does your project involve working with any of the following special groups?	YES	NO	N/A
	• Animals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	• School age children (under 16 years of age)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	• Young people of 17-18 years of age	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	• People with learning or communication difficulties	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	• Patients	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	• People in custody	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

- | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People engaged in illegal activities (e.g. drug-taking) <input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

If you have ticked Yes to 12, please refer to BPS guidelines, and provide full details in sections 1 and 2 above. **Note that you may also need to obtain satisfactory CRB clearance (or equivalent for overseas students).**

There is an obligation on the Student and their advisory panel to bring to the attention of the Faculty Research Ethics Committee any issues with ethical implications not clearly covered by the above checklist.

4. Attachments

Please attach the following items to this form:


- Approval letter from external Research Ethics Committee, if applicable
- Where available, information sheets, consent forms and other materials to be used to inform potential participants about the research.

5. Declaration

*This form (and any attachments) should be signed by the Trainee, Academic and EP Supervisors and then **submitted to Lorraine Fernandes in the Programme Office.** You will be informed when it has been approved. If there are concerns that this research may not meet BPS ethical guidelines then it will be considered by the Faculty Research Ethics Committee. **If your application is incomplete, it will be returned to you.***

For completion by students

I am familiar with the BPS Guidelines for ethical practices in psychological research (and have discussed them in relation to my specific project with members of my advisory panel). I confirm that to the best of my knowledge this is a full description of the ethical issues that may arise in the course of this project.

Signed  . Print Name Caitríona Ní Mhuircheartaigh
Date..20/8/13.
(Trainee Educational Psychologist)

For completion by supervisors/ advisory panel

We consider that this project meets the BPS ethics guidelines on conducting research and does not need to be referred to the Faculty Research Ethics Committee.

SignedPrint Name
.....Date.....
(Academic Research Supervisor)

SignedPrint Name
.....Date.....
(EP Supervisor)

FREC use

Date considered: _____ Reference: _____

Approved and filed

Referred back to applicant

Referred to RGEC

Signature of Chair of
FREC: _____

Appendix B: Parent Consent Form**Participants' Informed Consent Form - Parents**

The purpose of these interviews is to find out about your views on your children's education in this LA. Your views together with those of others interviewed will be shared with the council and with schools, with your consent. In order for me to be able to review and feedback your views accurately, I will record the interview/ take notes during the interview.

Your details as well as anything you say will be kept confidential and you will remain anonymous in the final report or any other writings published, unless you would like me to follow up any particular issues with the LA or the schools on your account. In these instances, I will check again with you what you are happy for me to share.

If you decide later on that you don't want your interview to be used just let me know and I will destroy your interview and won't use anything you have told me in the final report.

- I am aware that this interview is being recorded / notes are being taken of our discussion*
- I have been informed of my right to withdraw at any point*
- I have been informed of my right to withdraw my data from the study*
- I understand that any information I give will be treated as confidential and anonymous unless I want it to be followed up on my behalf.*

Name _____ **Date** _____

Signed _____

Appendix C: School Staff Consent Form**Participants' Informed Consent Form – School Staff**

The purpose of this research is to find out about some of the challenges and opportunities for the educational inclusion of children and young people from the Travelling community in this LA. I am interviewing school professionals in order to find out more about this. In order for me to be able to review the information that you provide, this interview will be recorded. Once the research is over, these files will be deleted. Your details as well as any information you tell me will be treated as confidential and you will remain anonymous in the final report or in any subsequent writings, which may be published to disseminate the research findings..

You do not have to answer any of the questions if you don't wish to and you can leave this interview at any stage. If you decide later on that you don't want your interview to be used for this research you can ask to withdraw your data and I will destroy the recording and won't use anything you have told me in the final report.

- I am aware that this interview is being recorded*
- I have been informed of my right to withdraw at any point*
- I have been informed of my right to withdraw my data from the study*
- I understand that any information I give will be treated as confidential and anonymous, though identification of given schools may be possible in the context of this small LA.*

Name _____ **Date** _____

Signed _____

Appendix D: Process of obtaining participation and consent

In the current study, I addressed the issue of obtaining consent from my parent population as an ongoing process of engagement with participants about my research. I followed Mertens (2009) principle, that is that securing informed consent is often “a process, not a form,” (p221). I felt that this was particularly pertinent for the communities I was hoping would participate in my study given that establishing trust can be challenging. Thus for me, the process of obtaining consent was intertwined with the process of engaging with the community of potential participants. It consisted of three main components summarised below;

1. Initial engagement

- Initial engagement with parents took place between June and September 2013.
- My initial introduction to the site was carried out formally by the LA Traveller Achievement Teacher who introduced me to some of the families on site and explained my role and what I was hoping for in terms of the research project.
- Subsequent to these introductions, I visited the site informally myself on a number of occasions. My visibility on the site, as well as further introductions through those who had come to know me, invited questions and interest from more members of the community about my research, resulting in further recruitment for the project.
- Consent to participate at this stage was sought verbally, with the focus being more centred around informing people about who I was (both in terms of my LA role as a TEP, and my role as an independent researcher), and the purpose of my research. It was especially important to communicate information verbally to participants given that their literacy can often be poor. My pilot study indicated that members of G/T communities can be mistrustful of written documents they are asked to sign by members of the LA.

2. Further engagement and written consent

- Further informal visits were carried out in September 2013. This was to re-introduce myself (following the Summer break), to re-engage with potential participants (those who had already agreed as well as members of the community I had yet to meet and to invite to participate), and to continue to build rapport and establish trust within the community prior to interviews being carried out. Where I had not been introduced by the TAT or other community members I knocked on front doors and introduced myself, explaining the research to potential participants.
- During these informal visits, my help and advice regarding school placement issues was sought by one family. My support with this issue helped to further develop my rapport and build trust within the community. This prompted more engagement with potential participants regarding the research project.
- At the end of the month, verbal consent was obtained again, by arranging times to hold interviews. Interviews were carried out throughout October. I brought my written consent forms to the interviews and asked that participants sign them. While I had anticipated that there might be literacy difficulties, those adults I interviewed were able to read and engage with the forms, so no difficulty arose in that regard.

3. Post-analysis engagement

- Thirdly, informed consent to disseminate participants views to educational professionals was sought verbally from participants during member checking of thematic analysis in March 2013.

Appendix E: Interview Guide

Parents

- General perceptions of things that parents perceive to be going well within primary, secondary and further education
- General perceptions of things that are presenting challenges for participants within primary, secondary and further education
- Relationships within the wider school community (including peers, staff and parents).
- Exploring meaningful change

School Staff

- Schools perceptions of what's going well in terms of the educational inclusion of Gypsy/Travellers
- SS perceptions of barriers to the educational inclusion of Gypsy/Travellers
- Relationships within the wider school community (pupils, staff and parents).

Appendix F: Participant characteristics

Table 1: Parent participant characteristics

Participants Set 1	Age Bracket	Gender	Age range of school aged CYP
IT1	35-40	Female	4-17
IT2	40-45	Male	4-17
IT3	20-25	Female	3-6
IT4	40-45	Male	10 -12
IT5	40-45	Female	10 -12
IT6	45-50	Female	16 (own daughter) 5-12 (three grandchildren in residence at time of interviews).

Table 2: School Staff participant characteristics

Participants Set 2	Age Bracket	Gender	School/Role
SS1	45-50	Female	Secondary Academy/ Inclusion Manager
SS2	30-35	Female	Infants/ SENCo
SS3	45-50	Female	Primary/ Inclusion Manager
SS4	50-55	Female	Primary/ Support Teacher
SS5	25-30	Male	Juniors/ Inclusion Manager
SS6	40-45	Female	Infants/ Inclusion Manager

Appendix G: Stages of Thematic Analysis as outlined by Braun and Clarke, 2013

Stage	Description
1	Transcription
2	Reading and familiarization; taking note of items of potential interest
3	Coding – complete; across entire dataset
4	Searching for themes
5	Reviewing themes (producing a map of the provisional themes and subthemes, and relationships between them 0 aka the ‘thematic map.’
6	Defining and naming themes
7	Writing – finalising analysis

Appendix H: Sample interview

SSP3	Transcript	Notes
	<i>So we're thinking about what helps Travelling CYP be included in school...</i>	
	I think the work I am doing here, if I didn't have the support in the school, it would be very difficult – it's very important. So M (inclusion manager) gives enormous support. Because with them as M says, its not just to help them with the work, emotionally a lot of things happen. And I create a very good relationship with them, so everything, they come over and tell me when they are upset with some things. They can always come to me to talk to me about it. And everytime I come to M or anyone in the school, the support is there to help them, it's in place and I think that's very important to support them. So far so good!	
	<i>What else helps to support inclusion with this community?</i>	
	Well you know, this little boy found it difficult to socialise with all the kids. So he loves football and you know I thought – a football team! So we got together, and went to the playground and you know it's social skills for him, to talk to the boys nicely you know. So now, every day, they play football together, so it's no complaining anymore about fighting and you know bullying and things like that.	
	<i>So, it's setting things up at lunchtime, and noticing when those times are, when problems are going to arise and anticipating them..</i>	
	Yes, so now he's playing really well outside. And every day, talking to his teacher, he's behaving better. So he's not aggressive to other kids, because he was like, it was the way he protected himself, you know, to be aggressive and to. So he's much more calm and happy now. And he didn't want girls to play football... girls don't know how to play football!! But now we have two girls ... so it's changing the attitudes as well. He was very cool with the girls... he went "She defend really well," And I went, "wow, things really	

	<p>changed!” And he’s a lovely, lovely kid, and sometimes the kids can be very cruel – they don’t understand a lot – so he’s doing quite well with the football –he likes, loves coming to school. And he needed some support and encouragement to come to school.</p>	
	<p><i>So, it’s kind of like finding the way in really, which works both for him, what he likes, his culture and also within the mainstream as well.</i></p>	
	<p>Yes, yes. We did a project just before Summer break, which was “What is it to be a Traveller – Roots and Routes. It was the whole project thing. Because I noticed, that there was a lot of bullying – the chdn would come and tell me “They said this and do that.” And I think to find out more – to know who they are. And I went to a length of research to show them the history – you know one of the papers said that they were descendent from the royal family. So you know, they felt very proud of their – you know to find out. D – who was having a lot of problems – I said to him, ‘Think about what it is to be a Traveller, you know.’ And afterwards, you know he came up to me and said ‘The other folks kids, you know, they can’t go anywhere. I can go, I can climb trees.. you know, I’m free!’ So we did a nice collage with this work. So we talked about – well if they call you Pike, they don’t understand – tell them your history – that you’re proud to be pike, you know. You’re different, how beautiful is that, to be different. So all of this, I think helped them a lot, to you know, not be so offended, you know and to understand more who they are and where they come from. I think that’s pretty good. And I think 2 of them won the competition! S will bring the award and there will be a presentation, so 2 of them won! I did think, in the beginning they were like... blah, but after, showing the history,</p>	
	<p><i>Giving them that sense of themselves, building that self-esteem around who they are...</i></p>	
	<p>Yes, yes, I thought it was really really good and the teachers were involved. They came over to see the work, and some of</p>	

	<p>them showed the whole class and the kids they stood up and clapped, and I could see in their eyes they were like ‘Wow!’” They were proud. That I thought was really good and it’s a lot of – well the support of the school is very important to do things like that is really good. And you know there is black history month so perhaps we could do something like that. Because the girls you know they were quite surprised about the influence of the Travellers, the Gypsies on fashion!</p>	
	<p>When we were doing the project, one of the children was finding out about education. And she interviewed her mother, about when she went to school, how it was for her. So it was quite interesting for the chdn to know, look how much your parents had to fight for you to be here. So it was like, they were completely excluded – not allowed to mix with the ‘normal’ kids, so it is a massive change. So we saw a lot of positives about education from where they came to where they are now.</p>	
	<p><i>And encouraging those open conversations between parents and children is quite powerful I can imagine.</i></p>	
	<p>One of the boys – he’s really clever, really clever. And you know, I said to him, you know you should go to university. And he looked at me and said, “What is university?” So I told him about University, and a few days passed, so I came to work and he was outside the office and he said, “Tell me more about University. What is it? You know, I was talking to my father, and my father said, you know, you are right! You should go to university. And then I said Can I be a Movie Director?” And I said, “You can do whatever you want.” So we went to the computer and looked up all this. And I said to myself, you know, Wow! The father encouraging him to do this, and he has set out his mind to go to university, and his father said to him, “You go! You don’t need to struggle, working like I do, if you go to University.”</p>	
	<p><i>Wow. That sounds very powerful. That those conversations are happening with parents</i></p>	
	<p>Sometimes, I think I feel that parents are afraid not to fit in.</p>	

	<p>Like for example, at the school, there is this sports day – kids outside, a lot of competition. So the parents can see the chdn achieve. But, none of the Travellers attend. So I feel that there is still a difficulty – they feel like they don't fit in. So I was jumping from place to place, saying 'Yes, D, come on!' And you now it's nearly being the parent – like S said, "Oh, my mammy's not here," And I said "Don't worry, I'll be here for you, to see you." And it was a beautiful day, and I felt like, I'm afraid they felt afraid they wouldn't fit in.</p>	
	<p>I give you an example. One gentleman I met in a different place. I said I work in X. He said oh, X – such a nice place, it's beautiful. And he said, it used to be, but since the Travellers site. Oh, I said, I work with them, I work with the kids. Do you, it must be hard? No, I said, lovely kids, very polite, very lovely. I'm so happy to have this opportunity to know them. I think, I said you should open up your mind a little bit to give a chance. And then he started to complain about the dogs and so on. And I said just open your mind a little bit, and you are going to see that they are lovely people, lovely kids. The respect the kids have for their parents, there are a lot of positive things there that you can encounter, that people just brush off.</p>	
	<p><i>Do you think that is reflective of a lot of parents in the school or just...</i></p>	
	<p>It's actually difficult to say, this is such a mixed area. A lot of wealth, a lot of rich people, massive houses. And then you turn the corner and you see the council flats and estates. So it is a very mixed area to analyse.</p>	
	<p>I think those documentaries – My Big Fat Gypsy Weddings and all that – didn't help whatsoever. I think it got worse – things got worse for them. People all said – 'But they are rich – they spend so much money on the weddings!' I heard a lot of comments. So it's a perception about them. You know I work a lot with chdn with additional needs and I know about the barriers and prejudices about them. And I was really shocked about the amount I heard. It was not in</p>	

	<p>this school, it was in another school, where I spoke to teaching staff. I said, oh I work with the travelling children. He looked at me and said ‘Oh dear Lord.’ I said, ‘I understand there is a lot of prejudice against them.’ And he said ‘It’s not prejudice, it’s like if you go to Africa to a safari, of course you’re not going to mix with the lions!’ Well – of course it’s not prejudice!! And I said, ‘No of course it’s not prejudice!!’ (sarcastic).</p>	
	<p>I was thinking of a new program – it’s going to be talking to chdn from different races, backgrounds. I saw the interview with a teacher and a young boy on the BBC news. And they wanted to expand. So I sent them an e-mail to see if they’ll get in contact. Because it’s to promote different races and cultures. So this boy was about - mixed race –and he told this story about how things were difficult for him when he was in school. So they encourage the kids to talk about their experiences, to talk about the cultures - where they come from. And I thought that would be good for us, for the kids. So I e-mailed them on Monday evening. And I’ll wait to see what they do – what we have to do to be a part of this.</p>	
	<p><i>Right, right I see. So I suppose it’s kind of like, trying to give that power back to the community? From what you’re saying, and what I’m hearing is that giving that power back to the community, enabling them to represent themselves more might be something...</i></p>	
	<p>Yes, you know and one of our families was on the program and they were saying it was about the wedding and it wasn’t my big fat fortune. And then everything was about money. And they (media) approached the family and said one thing, and after on the TV, it was something else. They were really cross. Really upset about the way they were portrayed. Very manipulative the media – and in the Sun, the newspapers too.</p> <p>But I think for the children it was good – they came to</p>	

	<p>school and the others wanted their autograph!</p> <p>There was a good paper I read – she was a traveller and a sociologist. This was this massive thing in the media in North America, where they invaded a small village because they heard that a 8 or 9 year old Traveller girl was going to marry a 12 year old boy. They came in and it was a First Holy Communion. So then, not to be disappointed they attacked the Traveller community, they forced the girls to get married early. And then she questioned... I thought it was really good. She said, ok, they are married, 16,17,18. Married, blessed by the Church. You wanted them to do it. So then you criticise that they are having sex with just one man when they are married, but you don't criticise your society, girls at 13,14,15 years old, having promiscuous sex and abortion. This is ok, but to marry early this is bad. And I talked about marriage with T (girl getting married). And she was excited – so this was a good thing to do. So it's like, double standards.</p> <p>But I think we are getting there slowly.</p>	
	<p><i>What else do you think is helping you get there?</i></p>	
	<p>Well it's the support in the school that is so fantastic. And the teachers are so supportive. When the children miss one a week, what is going on. Well then everyone is involved and wanting to know what is happening. And I think it's lovely. Its not just like, 'Oh, they're not here.' You can see the teachers are involved. It's – Whats happened? Why are they not in school? It's something that maybe we can help.</p> <p>Fantastic, fantastic! The staff and M.</p>	
	<p><i>And you mentioned about parents fears and prejudice in the community. Are there any other barriers to their inclusion in school?</i></p>	
	<p>I think when you think about attendance. Well, they are very family orientated, so something will happen with the grandfather or someone, the whole family, they will all</p>	

	<p>leave, they won't leave anyone behind. So I think there is a lot of things – they have family – they have other priorities rather than school – the family is very important, religion is more important you know too, than school. I think there is a lot of that. So if someone is not well – the grandfather or grandmother or whatever, so if they are not well, they find they are much more important.</p>	
	<p>But also with them here, attendance is quite good. I am working with one girl who has never missed a single day. And if chdn are not coming, after 3 days, I will always contact S (TAT) and tell her that such and such a person hasn't been to school – what has happened. And immediately, after one hour or two hours, she will always reply to me and say this has happened and this, so we all know what is happening and can help together.</p>	

Appendix I: Sample coding

<i>So we're thinking about what helps Travelling CYP be included in school...</i>	
I think the work I am doing here, if I didn't have the support in the school, it would be very difficult – it's very important. So E (inclusion manager) gives enormous support. Because with them as E says, its not just to help them with the work, emotionally a lot of things happen. And I create a very good relationship with them, so everything, they come over and tell me when they are upset with some things. They can always come to me to talk to me about it. And everytime I come to E or anyone in the school, the support is there to help them, it's in place and I think that's very important to support them. So far so good!	<p>NB of schl support</p> <p>NB of support from staff in schl</p> <p>Support for learning</p> <p>Emotional issues for G/TCP</p> <p>Support for emotional issues</p> <p>NB of support from staff in</p>
<i>What else helps to support inclusion with this community?</i>	Difficulties with peers
Well you know, this little boy found it difficult to socialise with all the kids. So he loves football and you know I thought – a football team! So we got together, and went to the playground and you know it's social skills for him, to talk to the boys nicely you know. So now, every day, they play football together, so it's no complaining anymore about fighting and you know bullying and things like that.	<p>Building on strengths – shared experiences</p> <p>Shared cross-cultural experiences</p> <p>Positive impact of shared experiences</p>
<i>So, it's setting things up at lunchtime, and noticing when those times are, when problems are going to arise and anticipating them..</i>	
Yes, so now he's playing really well outside. And every day, talking to his teacher, he's behaving better. So he's not aggressive to other kids, because he was like, it was the way he protected himself, you know, to be aggressive and to... So he's much more calm and happy now. And he didn't want girls to play football... girls don't know how to play football!! But now we have two girls. So it's changing the attitudes as well. He was very cool with the girls... he went "She defend really well," And I went, "wow, things	<p>Positive impact of shared experiences</p> <p>Defensive reactions as protection</p> <p>Positive impact of shared experiences</p> <p>SS reference to positive characteristics of G/TCYP</p>

Appendix J: Formation of 'OVER-ARCHING-CONCEPT' 1: Discriminatory Attitudes

Data Set 1: Parents

Superordinate theme	Sub-ordinate theme	Categories	Example
Experiences of discrimination	Wider society and the media	Discrim from wider society ITs x 2 (IT5 x 3; IT4 x 1)	<i>"But just because I said I was a Traveller, it was like, being a real snob, don't want to know you, speak to you – that kind of thing."</i>
	ITs x 3	Media related discrimination ITs x 2 (IT6 x2; IT4 x 1)	<i>"The people complaining in the area. Non-Travellers. And we saved her cat from the tree. And then they say, 'Oh, did you see those Travellers on the telly.' And the way they are going on on the telly. That's not like most Travelling people. It's an embarrassment."</i>
	Perceived institutional discrimination	Direct discrimination IT x 1 (IT5 x1)	<i>"We're the ones that's targeted with the police – there's been bullying on the streets, there's been such a crime here or whatever... know what I mean? And it's the residents actually left on the caravan sites that really get the name from the community – the outer community so to speak, that get the bad influence on it, do you know what I mean?"</i>
	ITs x 5	Indirect discrimination – general IT x 1 (IT5 x 1)	<i>"But to be honest with you, I don't think the Government provide... It's up to you how you want to live, it's up to next door how they want to live, so to speak. But I don't think the Government's doing enough for the Travelling Community."</i>
		Indirect discrimination-housing and education – see Achieving Education for All	

	Hearing voices ITs x 3	No say ITs x 2 (IT1 x 1; IT2 x 2) Lack of meaningful response IT X 1 (IT2 X 2; IT4 x 1) Delays ITs X 2 (IT 1 x 1; IT2 x 2)	<i>"They decide what they want done. I mean they came in to do the site up, and no one living here had anything to say about which way – cos we'd have to live here. No we'll come out and we'll do it, you'll have no say in the matter. They turned it into a cattle farm. All the gates and all the walls they put up; it's like an auld cattle market."</i> <i>"Ah people got fed up of it (multiagency Traveller meetings). Someone would go but you'd get fed up of it. All their side, their side, and people would say you'd waste time going – you'd just be there for a shadow, for a cover up for them, they can do what they want."</i> <i>"You talk to them and before anything happens, you're waiting a month."</i>
	Local community ITs x 3	(IT4x 1; IT5 x 2; IT6 x 1)	<i>"I've known them 15 years and they'd come down on the site, come in here and chat with me, but they'd never walk up and around the back of the site kinda thing cos they'd be nervous of that. That's like the non-Travelling community."</i>
Impact on CYP	Peer Relationships ITs x 4	Bullying and self-exclusion ITs x 3 (IT4 x 1; IT5 x 1; IT2 x 1) In-group peer relationships ITs x 3 (IT1 x 4; IT3 x 1; IT6 x 2)	<i>"So I say, I'm taking the child out. I fear for his life. I've enough of this prejudice as all this."</i> <i>"It builds their confidence to be all together in a group. Because they are in a minority in school."</i>

	Relationships with staff ITs x 4	(IT1 x 1; IT2 x 2; IT3 x 2; IT5 x 1)	<i>“It’s like your child could be pushed first, or hit first, or called names first, but that doesn’t matter. It’s just all about what your child has done. I think she (teacher) is a bit prejudiced about Travellers. I dunno – you can just, you just get that vibe off her when you’re talking to her.”</i>

Data Set 2: School Staff

Superordinate theme	Sub-ordinate theme	Categories	Example
Perceiving discriminatory attitudes (Discriminatory -attitudes)	Wider society and the media SS x 5	Wider Discriminatory - attitudes SS x 1 (SS4 x 3) Impact of Media SS x 4 (SS2 X 2; SS3 x 1; SS4 x 1; SS5 x 1) Unethical media SS x 3 (SS3 x 2; SS4 x 1; SS5 x1)	<i>“He looked at me and said, ‘Oh dear Lord.’ I said, ‘I understand there is a lot of prejudice against them.’ And he said, ‘It’s not prejudice. It’s like, if you go to Africa to a safari, of course you’re not going to mix with the lions! Well of course it’s not prejudice!’ And I said, ‘No of <u>course</u> it’s not prejudice!’ (sarcastic).”</i> <i>“But you know they (the media) do kind of feed into the stereotypes that a lot of people might have.”</i> <i>“And they (the media) approached the family and said one thing and after on the TV, it was something else. They were really cross. Really upset</i>

			<i>about the way they were portrayed. Very manipulative the media – and in the Sun, the newspapers too.”</i>
	Discriminatory -attitudes in the local community SS x 5	Intergenerational Discriminatory - attitudes SS x 2 (SS1 x 2; SS6 x 3) Separation between G/T and other parents SS x 4 (SS1 x 1; SS2 x 1; SS3 x 2; SS5 x 2)	<i>“I’m aware that there is or there has been some prejudices... and you know, it comes from the parents, it doesn’t come from the children.”</i> <i>“And when Mrs. L. comes here, which is not often, you know other parents wouldn’t socialize with her. At all. And she’s a really nice lady. It’s a shame.”</i>
Impact on CYP	Student-staff relationships SS x 5	Lack of cultural awareness among staff SS x 4 (SS1 x 2; SS2 x 4; SS4 x 1; SS5 x 1) Discrepancy between home and school views on peer conflict SS x 2 (SS1 x 2; SS3 x 1)	<i>“I don’t know, probably, no. No, I perhaps feel personally that perhaps I don’t know that much about it (Traveller culture).”</i> <i>“No, it’s a shame, because she’s a lovely girl.” Mum says she’s being bullied, but I don’t think she is.”</i>
	Peer relationships SS x	Bullying and in-group, segregated peer relationships SS x 3	<i>“I remember when my daughter was at junior school and em, she had two traveller children in her class. And I remember her saying to me... that the other children were being mean to her (Traveller children) because</i>

		<p>Negative conception of difference SS x 2 (SS2 x 1; SS6 x 2)</p> <p>Secondary cross-cultural relationships due to lower numbers of G/Ts in school SS x 3</p> <p>Media Impact SS x 2 (SS3 x 2; SS4 x 1)</p>	<p><i>she was a Traveller.</i></p> <p><i>“But it’s when they have long spells out, or a day here and a day there, every week or so. It doesn’t work socially for them, because the other children start to think of them as being different.”</i></p> <p><i>“They do stick together. The two Year seven girls seem to be quite friendly with other people – they seem to be well integrated. But the older ones from a long time ago, they tended to stick together and people were quite scared of them.”</i></p> <p><i>“But for the children it was good. They came to school and the others wanted their autograph!”</i></p>
	<p>Identity and defensiveness SS x 3</p>	<p>(SS1 x 1; SS4 x 1; SS5 x 2)</p>	<p><i>“So he’s not aggressive to other kids, because he was like, it was the way he protected himself, you know, to be aggressive and to. So he’s much more calm and happy now.”</i></p>
<p>Combatting Discriminatory attitudes.</p>	<p>Developing ethnic identity SS x 4</p>	<p>(SS1 x 1; SS4 x 7; SS5 x 1; SS6 x 2)</p>	<p><i>“So we talked about – well if they call you ‘Pike’ they don’t understand. Tell them your history, that you’re proud to</i></p>

			<i>be 'Pike,' you know. You're different, how beautiful is that, to be different! So all of this, I think helped them a lot, to you know, not be so offended, ou know and to understand more who they are and where they come from. I think that's pretty good."</i>
	Reframing cultural visibility SS x 6	Shared Experiences SS x 3 (SS3 x 1; SS4 x 4; SS6 x 1) Celebrating difference SS x 5 (SS1 x 2; SS2 x 1; SS4 x 2; SS5 X 1; SS6 X 2) Doing more SS x 2 (SS3 x 4; SS4 x 1)	<i>"Well, I just think, it's the one time in life, where you're chucked in with all these other people exactly the same age. It's your chance to make friends."</i> <i>"And it (sharing experiences) is encouraged with any family that does something that you know the other children don't, that they'd be interested in."</i> <i>"So perhaps we need to think about to what extent is that culture reflected in what we are doing because we are doing an awful lot for a really big variety of different cultures, and that is evident in displays and celebrating festivals and all of that."</i>
	Building on staff support SS x 5	SS in important supporting role SS x 2 (SS4 x 2; SS6 x 1)	<i>I thought it was really really good and the teachers were involved. They came over to see the work and some of them showed the whole class and the</i>

		<p>TAT support (training and raising profile) SS2 x 1; SS3 x 4</p> <p>Responding to parents concerns SS x 2 (SS1 x 1; SS3 x 4)</p>	<p><i>kids they stood up and clapped, and I could see it in their eyes. They were like, "Wow!" They were proud."</i></p> <p><i>"So F (TAT) has been providing training within school for all staff, not just for teachers, but also teaching assistants, to raise that awareness. So I think that was very important.</i></p> <p><i>"Generally, I don't think it is necessarily a very big issue, but it is a concern for that particular parent and we do need to kind of look at that closer."</i></p>
	<p>Beyond the School Gates</p> <p>SS x 2</p>	<p>(SS2 x 1; SS 3 x 1)</p>	<p><i>"And they were lovely children but they were a lot livelier to deal with ..em... and those are the ones that sometimes other parents would comment on...em... but as long as the children don't have an issue that's fine... that's really the only thing we can deal with in school."</i></p>

Appendix K: 'over-arching-concept's 4 for parents and SSPs

Superordinate themes for Parents 'over-arching concept' 4: Reflections on community

Two of the parents interviewed, a husband and wife, reflected quite a lot on the ever-shifting identities of . They spoke about the importance of maintaining a community of Travellers, mobile work opportunities, and travelling, to the Traveller identity. They also reflected on the difference between Irish Travellers and English Gypsies, with the father noting that the English Gypsies were *"ahead of the Irish... (as they were) more willing to mix."*

Both parents expressed frustration towards others within the Irish Traveller community. This related particularly to parents who took their children out of school at secondary; *"Their parents attitude is, 'I don't want them to go to school cos they'll get into trouble and bad behaviour and it'll make them stupid.' But that's crazy in my view, not theirs."*

Superordinate themes for SSP 'over-arching concept' 4: Reflections on community in context

Two superordinate themes emerged;

1) LA demographics

Two participants commented on how the inclusion of G-Ts in the current LA was particularly difficult given that it is one of the *"highest performing LAs in the country."* One compared this to his previous LA where his school reflected a much more diverse demographic, including larger numbers of G-Ts; *"This is different, an alien world. Especially, dare I say it, being in LA X, it is a different kettle of fish...I think it's just very difficult. With different families they settle into different places with different reasons. I think the struggle that Family X have is that they are in LA X. That makes things harder for them. The gap is different here."*

2) English Gypsy identity and isolation

Two more participants suggested that within the EG community there was an uncertainty surrounding their ethnic identity. One participant described how an English Gypsy family had *“sort of moved away from being Travellers, from being known as Traveller, associated with Travellers.”* Another participant, reflecting on the same family described the mother’s isolation within the housed community, noting that apart from a fleeting friendship with another housed traveller, she appeared to have a very limited support network, apart from her mother and her eldest daughter.