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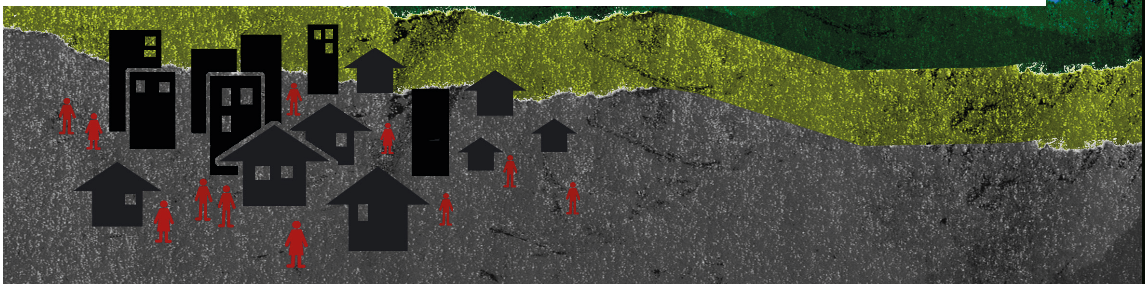
JENNI BERLIN

Assimilated Individuals and Segregated Communities

A Comparative Study of Housing and Living Related Well-being of Finnish Roma and Housed Gypsies and Travellers in England



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ABSTRACT

After being targeted with positive discrimination measures in housing in 1970s and 80s, the Finnish Roma not only live in the same areas than the majority Finns but also wish to "live well" according to majority populations' norms. This means preferring to live in settled contemporary housing with nuclear families, further away from rest of their kin, and to work from 'nine until five' in the waged labour market. On the contrary, English Gypsies and Irish Travellers in England continue to be subjected to assimilation that is institutionally racist, and therefore, in contrast to the individualism preferring Finnish Roma, are and often wish to be, highly segregated from the wider English society. They prefer (although are rarely allowed) to live on caravan sites with their extended family groups while being self-employed. Since their lifestyle is perceived as 'deviant', they are discriminated and face racism in all levels of the English society, which in turn decreases their well-being.

Although assimilation into majority population's lifestyle has increased Finnish Roma's socio-economic well-being, it has not eradicated racism and discrimination against them. Therefore, racism against Roma and the travelling people cannot be explained merely with 'culture as choice' theory but rather with 'culture as nature' or as 'Romaphobia'.

Keywords: Finnish Roma, Gypsies, Travellers, assimilation, housing, deviance, well-being

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ABSTRAKTI

Suomen valtion romaneihin 1970-80 -luvuilla kohdistama positiivisen syrjinnän politiikka asumisen alueella on taannut sen että tänä päivänä Suomen romanit asuvat samoilla asuinalueilla kuin valtaväestö ja haluavat "elää hyvin" valtaväestön elämiseen liittyvien normien mukaisesti. Tämätarkoittaa pysyvää asumista ydinperheissä sekä työskentelyä 'kahdeksasta neljään' yleisillä työmarkkinoilla. Sitä vastoin Englannissa asuvat Gypsit ja Irish Travellerit jatkavat olemistaan valtion institutionaalisesti rasistisen assimilaationpolitiikan kohteena ja siitä johtuen elävät, ja useimmiten haluavat elää, eristäytyneenä muusta yhteiskunnasta. Toisin kun yksityisyyttä arvostavat Suomen romanit, Gypsit ja Travellerit haluavat (vaikka harvoilla on valtion painostuksen alaisena enää mahdollisuus) elää laajemmissa perheryhmissä leirintäalueilla asuntovaunuissa sekä työllistää itsensä. Koska heidän elämäntapansa nähdään 'normista poikkeavana', kokevat he rasismia ja syrjintää kaikilla yhteiskunnan tasoilla ja areenoilla, mikä huomattavasti heikentääheidän sosiaalista ja taloudellista hyvinvointiaan.

Vaikka Suomen romanit ovat laajalti assimiloituneet valtaväestön elämäntapaan, mikä on vastaavasti parantanut heidän sosiaalista ja taloudellista hyvinvointiaan, kokevat he silti vielä rasismia ja syrjintää Suomalaisessa yhteiskunnassa, varsinkin yksityisellä sektorilla ja elämässä. Näin ollen romanien ja Travellereiden kokemaa rasismia ei voi selittää pelkällä 'kulttuuri valintana' teorialla vaan syvemmälle juurtuneena 'kulttuuri luontona' ilmiänä tai 'Romanipelkona' ('Romaphobia').

Keywords: Suomen romanit, Irlannin Travellerit, assimilaatio, asuminen, poikkeavuus, hyvinvointi

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Conducting this doctoral research has been the best, the most challenging and the most inspiring time of my life. It has strengthened my view of life as something that should never been taken for granted and most of all, without questioning. By remembering that me as a person, and my beliefs, are the products of my surroundings, the same way as the other over six billion people and their beliefs are the products of theirs, has made me more balanced and therefore happier person and hence enabled me to give significantly more to this research.

Writing a doctoral dissertation is an overwhelming process that requires skills often not realised by the rest of the world. You have to be extremely practical, self-disciplined and organised but at the same time a creative person. You have to be able to analyse, handle and arrange vast amounts of data and to differentiate the relevant from the irrelevant, while constantly updating your knowledge and learning new things and skills. While doing all this you have to subject yourself to criticism that often undermines everything you have produced so far. As everyone who has completed this process, and the people around them, know: there are times you want to give up and cry. Therefore, I would like to thank all those who have helped and inspired me to keep on going even when the going got tough.

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Introduction

The underlying reason to conduct this doctoral research into the circumstances of housed Roma and other travelling people in Europe was a genuine bafflement and sadness, and therefore interest in why these communities have difficulties in integrating into every European society they inhabit. Despite an increased worldwide emphasis on fighting racism, Roma are still in the 21st century facing discrimination and racism wherever they live. This thesis is the ambitious product of my mission to find out whether there are some commonalities amongst Roma and Travellers that prevents them from integrating into post-industrial Western societies in Europe. In addition, since the media, political leaders and Europeans in general continuously recycle the image of Roma as 'parasites' who refuse to live by the same laws and rules as everyone else, while still demanding they are entitled to same benefits as other citizens, I wanted to find out whether there are any accuracies in these stereotypes by asking the Roma, Gypsies and Travellers themselves to describe their lives.

Most of us in the Western world consider wage employment and settled housed living as norms that enable societies to function. Since these 'cornerstones' of post-industrial way of life have achieved a norm status, they are extremely rarely questioned by anyone. Admittedly, I also think that our modern western societies could not function without (the majority of) us working and paying tax, having traceable addresses, and not being responsible for our entire extended families. However, I also think that this 'nine until five' lifestyle performed by most of us is responsible for some of the plagues of our time such as increased loneliness, depression, work -related stress and 'burnouts'. The flaws of our 'more advanced' life become more evident when looked at through the eyes of those who prefer (or used to prefer) a 'different' way of life, communities such as Roma, Gypsies and Travellers.

Unlike other marginalised minorities, the Roma and Travellers across Europe have historically always been stigmatised as a criminal group, and persecuted as people who by choosing (in the present or in the past) a nomadic way of life, have made their own situation worse (Pulma, 2006; Mayall, 1995). In fact, the underlying reasons and difficulties pertaining to integration (or even toleration) of these communities are often associated with a 'way of life' -discourse, in which, by refusing to settle into a single 'place' and a job, but instead preferring to live and travel with extended family groups while working seasonally and in a less structurally organised way than the majority wage-earning population, Roma and Travellers are perceived of as deserving of their persecution (Mayall, 1995; Lucassen et al., 1998), a theme explored in depth in **Chapter 2** of this thesis. On the other hand, another form of racism experienced by these groups most commonly called 'anti-Gypsyism'

or 'Romaphobia' is a 'dehumanising' form of racism where the Roma are seen as a 'subhuman' group *regardless* of any changes they make in their social status or living arrangements and practices.

The integration of Roma is arguably one of the biggest challenges in 21st century Europe and the subject of much international policy and numerous and increasing publications (discussed in Chapter 2: 2.3). To tackle this challenge, the policies and practices targeted at Roma, and the hostile attitudes they have encountered in different European countries, has to be researched in order to better understand the effects varying policy measures and state systems have (or have had) on their integration and well-being. Most research has to date focused on the plight of Roma in circumstances of extreme exclusion or who are migrants, but in order to find out and disentangle core reasons for the difficult position of Roma and other travelling people in Europe, this doctoral thesis studies their position within two relatively generous Welfare states, whose goal has been to provide universal welfare to all citizens (Finland), or which has a long history and good reputation of tolerating different ethnic groups (England).

Examining Roma, Gypsies' and Travellers' inclusion and well-being in these societies enables us to go deeper into the reasons for their integration difficulties, reasons that could not be studied in societies where their human rights arguably continue to be in a significantly worse state, such as in some Central and East European nations. Furthermore, by concentrating on Roma and Traveller communities who have lived in Finland and the UK for centuries and who enjoy full citizenship status, this thesis will produce suugestive and unique information on their long term integration processes, information that cannot be obtained when, for example, only analysing recently migrated Roma's situation in these societies. Therefore this doctoral thesis is a unique comparative case study that analyses the integration and well-being processes of settled Roma, Gypsy and Traveller populations in two different European welfare regimes.

The underlining difference between Finnish and English minority policies in the 21st century can be summarised by noting how the emphasis in Finland has been on respecting people's *differences* and in England, on the contrary, on highlighting their *similarities*. Therefore, the Finnish discourse still strongly revolves around multiculturalism and society's increased heterogeneity whereas England has in contrast moved towards discourse of community cohesion and 'Big Society' -models in order to unify the allegedly overly diverse communities found within 'broken Britain'. The influences of these policy trends are also affecting the situation of Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers in England who despite their centuries long residence are often seen as 'others' in their home nation with implications on how they view themselves and the people among whom they live. For example, more affluent Finnish Roma individuals and families, are trying to distance themselves from the 'social problem' label of the Roma community, and instead promote policies of recognition (of difference) instead of redistribution (of resources), an approach to cultural issues which has therefore, as a result of the activities of 'elite' Roma, gained ground in Finnish Roma policy debate and prac-

tice (**Chapter 4**). Although cultural recognition can be seen as necessary for ethnic minorities' successful inclusion, emphasizing mainly cultural recognition arguably makes escaping from the margins of society significantly more difficult for the less affluent Roma who might be in need of specialized welfare services, a theme which is core to findings emerging from the English data (**Chapter 4**).

The first research question within this doctoral thesis is therefore to identify the reasons that have either diminished or enhanced the assimilation of Roma and Traveller communities into Finnish and English societies and their majority populations' lifestyles. Since accommodation and employment were recognised (see **Chapter 1**) as the areas where both Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers in England experience most problems/social exclusion, these were chosen as the 'mediums' through which their 'level of assimilation/segregation' was studied. Since, after interviewing the respondents, the lack of empirical data about employment guided the research more towards housing issues (particularly in relation to UK respondents as a result of high levels of unemployment), this thesis predominantly introduces and analyses the everyday living circumstances, particularly the housing experiences, of Finnish Roma and housed Gypsies and Travellers in England.

This doctoral thesis uses the concept of **assimilation** instead of **integration** when discussing Roma, Gypsies' and Travellers' accommodation patterns (and labour market participation; mainstream education system), for these areas are generally addressed in relation to structural assimilation (e.g. White & Glick, 2009). Therefore assimilation, instead of integration, is considered to be a more valid concept to use in the(se) area(s) of life where deviation from the norm is rarely allowed (**Chapter 2**).

Chapter 2 illustrates that because of their (past or present) nomadism that opposes settled living (and waged employment), the 'cornerstones' or '*moral norms'* of Western modern life; Roma, Gypsies and Travellers and their *'deviant lifestyle'* have been continually placed outside modern nation states' vision of society therefore subjecting them to being the targets of institutionalised social control, racism and positive and/or negative discrimination (Bancroft, 2005), all seen here as part of states' 'normalising assimilation'. For example, since sedentarianism is seen as the norm, nomadism has been made almost impossible or at least illegal (ibid.), which in turn has marginalised those who still prefer to live within their close-knit communities, be self-employed and/or travel to find work.

This is a sociological 'two society (case) comparison' study influenced by social policy and social and cultural anthropology, and one which may be defined as a 'cross-national' (May, 1997) micro-study (Kennett, 2001). In this thesis, Finnish Roma and housed Gypsies and Travellers in England are first studied and analysed as separate cases, then subsequently compared in order to locate possible mutual and divergent circumstances and reasons affecting their well-being, and assimilation/segregation (**Chapter 3.**).

Policy analysis is conducted by studying reports, documents, Bills, Acts and handbooks that have had, or will have an effect on these communities.

Since Finland has an official National Policy on Roma (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2009) this is the primary basis for comparison when mapping the different policies of England and Finland (*Chapter 3*.).

Chapter 3 introduces how in order to study housing and lifestyle -related well-being of Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers in England, 29 semi-structured in-depth interviews in Finland and 28 in England were conducted. Respondents were of working age (aged 18 – 66) Roma, Gypsies and Travellers, both male and female, who live in conventional settled housing.

In Finland, half of the respondents were contacted by using previous contacts' help to 'snowball' interviewees and the other half accessed by approaching individuals on the street. This was to make sure that a range of voices within the community were heard. Since most Finnish Roma respondents found through snowballing were socio-economically better off than respondents contacted 'on the street', these two groups were coded as groups A and B. The purpose of the division between Groups A and B is to highlight the different position and starting points of different Finnish Roma families, and to demonstrate how 'recognition' policies, often influenced by Group A Roma, can ignore the situations of the less well-off and marginalised Roma.

Gypsies and Travellers were contacted with the help of third sector organizations working with these communities and by approaching individuals in various conferences hosted by specialist NGO's. English Gypsies were compared to Irish Travellers to find out whether their situations differ in relation to experiences of discrimination and life in settled housing.

Interviews were carried out in Helsinki and London in order to obtain a further comparative element for the research; through studying two European capital cities. Interviews were recorded and transcribed, and then analysed using Critical Social Theory, and Grounded Theory. By using Grounded Theory as an analytical method, the 'level of assimilation/segregation' was identified as the core category or theme that emerged from the interview data. All other themes were therefore analyzed in connection to this primary concept. Despite connotations of quantative methods (measuring 'level of assimilation'), this core category is used as a qualitative concept to describe and analyse how close the studied communities' everyday lives are to those of Finnish and English majorities.

By applying critical research methodology, this study has uncovered the oppressive nature of prevailing social structures that deem differing lifestyles and behaviour as 'deviant'. As such the data analysed and studied for this research ('Policy Analysis') is treated not as independent of its socio- historic context but instead as a part of the dominant order. (Harvey, 1990: 2-8.)

Part 2 introduces the four main themes identified from the interview data and used to study Finnish Roma and Gypsies' and Travellers' 'level of assimilation and/or segregation'. The themes identified were: *relationship with the state*, *home*, *family*, and *interaction with the wider society*, each of which is treated to a Chapter within this thesis.

Chapter 4 demonstrates the first theme: Roma, Gypsies' and Travellers' *relationship to the State*, by revealing that Finnish Roma's level of trust for

the State and its services is significantly higher than felt by Gypsies and Travellers in England. In fact, Finnish Roma are confident users of the Finnish welfare system and regard it as something they are entitled to access as Finnish citizens. Regardless of attitude, they still experience discrimination from government institutions, although not nearly as much as within the private sector. Strikingly, the Finnish Roma 'elite' (Group A) have had a significant role in designing policies affecting them, which has supported them in forming an opinion of the State as a tool capable of improving their position in the society.

In England, because welfare is partly provided by third sector actors, Gypsies' and Travellers' relationship to and trust in the State and its services has stayed relatively minimal, as has their confidence as service users. Therefore, most Gypsies and Travellers in need of welfare services prefer to use organisations that exclusively deal with Gypsy, Traveller and Roma customers. Unlike Finnish Roma, Gypsies and Travellers have rarely had any influence on the policies affecting their communities. Past and present discrimination and racism they have had to face, and are still facing, is related largely to their preference for a travelling lifestyle, and has also resulted in a highly negative attitude to the State and its institutions.

Chapter 5 introduces the unique situation of housed Gypsies and Travellers in England. The data revealed that most respondents liked their house as a 'place' for its warmth and facilities and, contrary to previous findings, do not feel over-crowded but in fact often quite the opposite. Regardless, living in a contemporary bricks and mortar home is at first, usually for the first year, difficult for those Gypsies and Travellers who have previously lived in caravans and chalets. Preferring ground floor apartments with gardens, using upper floors only for storage purposes, and keeping windows and doors constantly open are some of the techniques used by Gypsies and Travellers to make life more 'bearable' when first moving into settled housing.

Chapter 6 illustrates how *Home* is perceived of differently by Finnish Roma who think of it as a place for individuals to relax from the control of their own community, compared to Gypsies and Travellers who describe home as a space for families and community to be together away from the rest of the society. As both have strict culture -related cleanliness morals and rules, life at home is strongly influenced by these, and Finnish Roma, for example, prefer apartments with separate kitchens to be able to live more freely inside their home. Since the kitchen is considered in practice and symbolically the purest place at home where everyone has to wear their traditional clothing (women's dresses can weigh up to 9 kilograms/20 lbs.), having an open kitchen would mean this clothing had to be worn everywhere in a house which has open-plan access to a kitchen. In contrast, for Gypsies and Travellers home is often the only place where culture can be visible without having to fear racism and therefore open kitchens are preferred in order to make a house more closely resemble a caravan.

Cleanliness is important for both communities who believe that their hygiene and general level of cleanliness is significantly better than the major-

ities', whose homes are often thought to be not only dirtier but also to be decorated 'half-heartedly', indicating lack of commitment to their home. In fact, Roma, Gypsies and Travellers think they would be the ideal tenants for any landlord, if society could see past the negative stereotypes and prejudices associated to them.

Chapter 7 demonstrates the meaning and/or importance of *Family* to Roma, Gypsies' and Travellers' well-being. In fact, the most difficult thing for Gypsies and Travellers living in contemporary housing, in urban London, is the loneliness that they (especially women) experience for the first time. Family and community are mentioned by the English Gypsies and Travellers as the most important things in their lives, even more important than living on caravan sites. Without the support of their family and community right next door, women, (who spend most of their time home cleaning and taking care of children, and who avoid contacts with other communities), typically experience depression, resulting in their decreased well-being. The studied data reveals a highly gendered structure of life among Gypsies and Travellers, a structure that clearly benefits the male gender while decreasing the opportunities and well-being of (especially housed) women.

The Finnish Roma *family* has also gone through major changes since Martti Grönfors' famous ethnography of the community in 1970s. Those living in Helsinki strongly enunciate how their life is identical to that of any other Finns, except for their cleanliness rules and morals. For example, they live with their nuclear family, interact with friends and extended family via phone and internet (instead of continuously visiting and hosting the whole extended family), and go to work or school. In fact, assimilation of Finnish Roma into Finnish society and its majority's lifestyle seem to be more profound than it comes across from reading the 'Policy Analysis' data.

The socio-economically better off Group A Roma are more independent of their families than Group B Roma whose relationship with their families can be characterised as either needy or discordant. Although their life is very close to the Finnish majority's lifestyle, Roma have preserved and modified an old tradition that enables them to decide where individuals or rather families are allowed to live. The *moving permit* custom is an extension of Finnish Roma's avoidance practice that keeps feuding families from continuing the cycle of vengeance. The moving permit custom gives individuals and families the power to decide within the Finnish Roma community, who can move to their areas, streets or even buildings. Family history and reputation defines individuals' chances in life and therefore climbing upwards socio-economically is extremely difficult for many (mainly Group B) Finnish Roma.

Chapter 8 introduces '*Interaction with wider society*' as the fourth theme enabling the study of the 'level of assimilation/segregation' of Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers in England.

Gypsy and Traveller communities avoid interaction with the rest of society to protect their children, women's reputation and culture, as well as

to avoid harassment, racism and bullying. Moreover, some feel they would not have anything in common, or anything to talk about, with their settled neighbours, and therefore prefer to stay away from them. In fact, the data results show there is a perceivable in-group pressure to segregate from the wider society within the Gypsy and Traveller communities in England, a pressure that urges them to avoid interaction with other communities. Those who take on 'settled jobs' are ridiculed, and those who spend too much time with people from other communities, or let their children to play with settled friends outside school, are accordingly judged negatively by the community. The traditional gendered structure of Gypsy and Traveller families places the strictest restrictions on women's relations with the outside society, further contributing to their loneliness and decreasing well-being.

Furthermore, publicly tolerated racism, discrimination and prejudice against Gypsies and Travellers in England is a major issue, increasing these communities segregation from the wider society. Those who oppose and/or are pressured to avoid interaction with the outside society and its' people the most, are also the members of these communities experiencing lowest well-being.

While Gypsy and Traveller communities in England experience pressure to segregate from the wider society, the wish within Finnish Roma community is to assimilate to the 'Finnish norm', and those who are not able to live according to those (often 'middle class') norms for any given reason, are judged poorly by their peers. This in-group pressure is mainly instigated by the more affluent families who are frustrated about being stereotyped and blamed for every individual Roma's actions via mainstream populations' assumption of 'collective responsibility'. Therefore, they expressed a wish to 'live well' and a willingness to spend years in building good relationships with their majority neighbours. Accordingly, those who have better (socio-economic) chances to 'live well' and most closely according to Finnish 'middle class' norms also report the highest level of well-being.

The concluding **Chapter 9** demonstrates how assimilation policies that favoured Finnish Roma have resulted in stronger individualism within the community, made Roma less dependent of their extended families for support and therefore have led them to be more open to and trustful of outside influences. While this state enforced assimilation (normalisation) into the lifestyle of majority population has increased the community's socio-economic well-being in general, their traditional lifestyle has almost completely perished in the process and Finnish Roma, in their own words, have become "almost the same as any other Finn". Regardless of this assimilation, they continue to be discriminated against and face racism, mostly from private employers, landlords and individuals within Finnish society, indicating that assumptions of Roma 'deviance' goes beyond lifestyle practice and in fact resembles dehumanising 'Romaphobia'.

UK governments' and society's mainly hostile policies and practices against Gypsies and Travellers has contrastingly made them more family and community orientated and therefore more segregated from the rest of the society. Being forced to live in settled contemporary housing, while at the same

time resisting embracing the norms of English majority lifestyle, is showed to significantly decrease Gypsies and Travellers well-being. In order to avoid racism and discrimination not only from private sector agencies and individuals but also from the State and its institutions, Gypsies and Travellers feel they have to keep hiding their ethnicity as they have done for centuries and to avoid interaction with other communities. While these communities' segregated position helps to preserve features of their traditional lifestyle, it also harms their chances to do well socio-economically.

Part 1 of this thesis sets the scene by first introducing the studied communities or cases to give the reader an idea of Finnish Roma's and Gypsies and Traveller's history and current position in their respective societies (**Chapter 1**). **Chapter 2** presents the theoretical foundation, and **Chapter 3** the methodology and methods used to conduct this doctoral research.

Part 2 of this doctoral thesis presents the findings and analysis of the results of the Interview data whilst comparing them to the data found in the 'Policy Analysis' (Chapter 3:3.4.1). Part 2 is divided into six **Chapters** of which first five (**4-8**) concentrate each on specific themes induced from the Interview data (Relationship to State; Gypsies and Travellers in housing; Home; Family; and Interaction with society). Finally, **Chapter 9** revises and discusses found results, while introducing final arguments and models of assimilation/segregation identified within the studied societies and communities.

Part 1

1 Introduction to communities (cases)

This chapter sets out to introduce the existing research literature on Finnish Roma (1.1) and Gypsy and Traveller (1.2) communities, concentrating on their historical origins and histories within the countries studied, with particular reference to their experiences of integration, assimilation and/or segregation within Finnish and English society. Since assimilation to civil society and the state were consciously chosen as the focuses of this thesis, the role of religion, although recognised as highly important, is discussed only shortly at the end of this Chapter (1.3).

1.1 FINNISH ROMA

The Finnish Roma, who arrived to Finland principally from Scandinavia and the Baltic countries, and later on from Russia, have been living in Finland for over 500 years (Pulma, 2006). This thesis does not go into great detail in relation to pre 20th Century history of the Finnish Roma, as this period of time has been well covered by historian Panu Pulma (2006; 2012). What is clear however, is that levels of integration and relationships between Roma and their Finnish countrymen has been significantly influenced by the bonds created amongst citizens during the mid-20th Century war years (e.g. Tervonen, 2012). Being a part of the Finnish state army and fighting in both the Second World War (1939 – 1945) and the Winter War (30th November 1939 – 13th March 1940) alongside other Finnish soldiers, has had a strong influence on the Roma, who now consider themselves not only as Roma but also as Finns (Tervonen, 2012; Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2004). Thus whilst the Roma are a linguistic and cultural minority within Finland, they have all the same citizen's rights and duties as other Finnish people.

In accordance to the ideologies of building a Nordic (universal) welfare state (see further below), the Roma in Finland were starting to be perceived of as an

‘ethnic minority’ by the wider society in 1967, and defined in the law as a ‘national minority’ in 1995 (Jäppinen, 2009). Recognition as an ‘ethnic minority’ in the 1960s (estimated 1967 (Pulma, 2006)) meant that Finnish Roma’s well-being became a state issue, whilst being identified as a ‘national minority’ brought them, together with five other ‘old minorities’, (the Finland-Swedes, the Sami, the so-called Old Russian, Jews and Tatars), the legal right to sustain and advance their own languages and cultures (Benedikter, 2008). This right to advance and emphasise culture and language, as will be explored in greater depth at 4.1.1 and 4.2, has proved fundamental to the direction in which Roma assimilation and ‘difference’ from the mainstream populations has played out in public and policy space.

There are approximately 10 000 - 12 000 Finnish Roma living in Finland and 3000 in Sweden (e.g. Åkerlund, 2012). Helsinki received its Roma population largely in the 1940’s when evacuee Roma from Eastern Finland were relocated across the whole country after Finland lost most of Finnish Carelia to the Soviet Union in the Moscow Peace Treaty of the Winter War (e.g. Pulma, 2006).

It is estimated that half of the Finnish Roma population, who used to live in the countryside, now live in the greater Helsinki area. This is due to industrialisation that mechanised most work Roma were involved in, and therefore made living in the countryside increasingly difficult for them. (Jäppinen, 2009.) This thesis does not deal with the situation of more recent Roma migrants to Finland (who have migrated mainly from Romania and Bulgaria approximately since 2007) but it is believed that the majority of these migrant Roma currently reside in Helsinki area.

Research about the well-being of Roma in Finland is rare since in Finland it is illegal to register people by their ethnicity. The Personal Data Act (523/1999) was passed to guarantee the protection of persons’ privacy, and for this reason no relevant statistical data is available about the Roma population. This Act prohibits the collection of sensitive personal data, for example, information about person’s race, ethnic origin, political conviction or sexuality.

The Finnish Population Register Centre (equivalent to the UK Office of National Statistics) maintains an Information System, a computerised national register that contains basic information about Finnish citizens and foreign citizens residing permanently in Finland. The information in the administrative data system is used throughout Finnish society’s information and management services, particularly for the purposes of public administration, electoral rolls, taxation, judicial administration, research and statistics. (Population Register Centre, 2014.) The system contains basic information e.g. pertaining to nationality, native language and a membership of any religious community, but since Finnish Roma are Finnish nationals, speak Finnish, and the majority practice the most common religion in Finland (Evangelical Lutheran Christianity), it is impossible to identify them from the data stored within the register.

In practise, Finnish Roma are recognisable mostly because of their traditional clothing and to a certain extent because of their slightly darker complexion and hair colour. However, because of increasing intermarriages between Roma and the ‘majority’ Finns, physical differences are becoming less evident, and instead

the use of traditional clothing, as a way of preserving ethnic identity, has become more important in marking out Roma from mainstream populations.

As is clear from work undertaken by Viljanen (2012) (and relevant to findings presented within this study) the whole of Finnish Roma culture is infiltrated by dialectical social norms that create tension between purity and honour; impurity and losing honour that manifest in practical and symbolic cleanliness between generations and genders (see further Chapter 6 (6.1)). For example, 'to be ashamed' is one form of respect and morality within the community's social structure, where inappropriate behaviour and people are avoided by e.g. avoiding eye contact, exiting the situation or keeping silent. The quintessential function of these honour and morality based cleanliness rules, is to define and judge their 'true gypsyness' ['mustalaisuus'][1] in comparison to other Finnish Roma individuals and families. Therefore, their inner hierarchy is based on good manners and respectable living according to these cleanliness rules and not, for example, on wealth. (Ibid. 2012.)

Also the traditional clothing Finnish Roma wear, is a part of showing a respectable and moral living. The typical features of Roma women's traditional clothing are full-length black velvet skirts that can weigh up to nine kilograms (20 lbs.), colourful jackets with lace and sequins, and big jewellery. The traditional dress is worn for the first time when a girl reaches puberty, as it is perceived of as a transition from childhood to adulthood (Viljanen, 2012; Stenroos, 2012; Grönfors, 1981). Every woman has a choice whether to wear the dress or not, although in practice to be a fully integrated member of the community requires wearing of the dress, as adhering to this outward manifestation of 'gypsyness' is a way to respect Roma elders and to live according to community's morals by concealing the womanly shapes of female bodies. Roma men's clothing is not nearly as publically distinguishable as the women's, but nevertheless is still recognisable. Finnish Roma men's clothing includes straight dark trousers, tidy white or colourful shirts, ties, silk jackets and cardigans. As was mentioned by one of the Roma men interviewed for this study, men's clothing is also designed to conceal the shapes of the body.

In relation to the places of residence occupied by Finnish Roma, these communities have been living settled lifestyles for the past 40 years as a result of urbanization throughout the country, the impoverishment of rural life leading to fewer work opportunities and hence drift to the cities, the assimilation policies operationalised by the Finnish government in the late 1960s, and (as part of these assimilation policies) positive discrimination measures that helped the Roma to find housing in urban areas (Pulma, 2006). Finnish Roma therefore (unlike sited British Gypsies and Travellers) live in the same areas as majority Finns. The reason for not being segregated in housing, is largely due to decentralisation policies that were implemented firstly because of the State's wish to assimilate the Roma and secondly because of the community's own wish to live according to their cleanliness morals and rules that place restrictions on their living arrangements (Jäppinen, 2009) (see further Chapter 7 (7.4)). In particular, the Finnish government's positive discrimination policies in the 1970s and 1980s have had a major role in providing Roma with the same standard of houses as the rest of the Finnish popula-

tion occupy. Regardless of this apparent equality, Finnish Roma are still reported to face more housing -related problems than most other minorities or the majority population in Finland (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2009) (and see Chapter 4: 4.2).

1.1.1 History of Finnish Roma

Right from the very beginning of their settlement in Finland in the sixteenth century, public and State attitudes towards Finnish Roma were extremely hostile, for example, the so called 'hanging law' in 1637, made it legal to kill any Roma found in the Swedish-Finnish kingdom. At this time, the Roma were not allowed to use any of the Kingdom's services e.g. support made available to the poor (i.e. shelter, food and medical treatment), or to attend any church sacraments such as Christenings, confirmations, weddings or funerals. (Rekola, 2012; Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2009.) In 1686 The General Church Law finally accepted Roma as part of congregations and obliged priests to take care of their spiritual needs. This partial acceptance of Roma as part of Finnish society was mainly because the army needed more men to join its lines during periods of War. From this moment on, the separation between Finnish Roma and the Roma from elsewhere was made visible as their circumstances began to change as a result of their partial acceptance by the State. (Pulma, 2006.)

Finnish national Roma (Gypsy) policies were first established in the nineteenth century, and the very first statement given by the 'Gypsy committee' was to recognise the unique and isolated nature of Roma people that was thought to be caused by their separate language. Henceforth the main objectives of Finnish Roma policies was to root out Romani language and cultural heritage by e.g. founding separate 'Gypsy schools' for girls and boys to stop them learning Romani and setting up families in at too early an age. (Pulma, ibid.)

In the nineteenth century when Finland was a Grand Duchy of Russia, regardless of the fact that Roma had started to find legal ways to make their living (e.g. by working as horse-traders, tinkers and glass-smiths), and were considered by some to be integrated because of their service in the army, they were still largely defined and described by adherents of the newly born discipline of 'Gypsy - studies' as "criminals, spies and Godless people" who deserved to be persecuted (Pulma, 2006). While Roma men were sent to forced labour into fortifications and women into spinning factories, their children were taken into custody by the Church and State in order to 'save' them from the 'lazy and Godless' lifestyle. (Ibid.)

Efforts were made by the State to accept and assimilate those Roma into mainstream society who were themselves willing to undertake paid work and 'settle down'. On the other hand, those Roma who (decreased in number as a result of these assimilative measures) continued to travel and work within their own traditional trades (see above) within their 'own areas' (Tervonen, 2012 and see further Chapter 7 (7.4)), did however manage to build some kind of relationship with the Finnish majority and become more accepted as part of Finnish society.

At this point in time, assimilation of Roma was transferred largely from the state and became mostly the responsibility of Churches. They were charged with teaching Roma people the virtues of Christian life which mainly meant encouraging them to take up waged labour and settled accommodation (Pulma, 2006). In reviewing the success of these policies over the past two hundred years, it can be said that Churches have fulfilled their responsibility since in 21st century Finland most Finnish Roma are relatively religiously active Lutheran Christians (Lindberg, 2012; Åkerlund, 2012 and see Chapter 1 (1.3)), and, as will be demonstrated in chapters 6.3 and 7.4, wish to live 'normal' lives that include participating in waged labour and peaceful 'settled' living rather than a desire to be nomadic as were their ancestors.

Post War (1939-1945) Roma policies in Finland can be divided into three different periods (Pulma, 2006). Until 1968 the state implemented assimilation policies which aimed to 'reform' the Roma community, based upon a highly racist picture of their lifestyles and situation. The model for this policy was adopted from Norway's strict Vagabond polices enacted in 1935 ('Norsk Misjon blant hjemlöse'). Enforcing policies which blamed Roma's 'way of life' for their on-going social exclusion led to the implementation of racist state policies such as child protection laws, that enabled the Government and councils to place Roma children in State's custody or in children's homes. (Ibid, 2006: 193 – 194.) At this point the negative 'way of life' concept arguably became the key element in Finnish Roma policy (ibid., p. 165). Norway's model, that Finland was now implementing, placed even more pressure on 'saving' Roma children and on bringing them inside the 'normal' way of life. These rigorous child and family policies still affect, to some extent, the way Roma today perceive of social care support and social workers whom they regard with suspicion (Oulun kaupunki, 2006).

From 1968 onwards there was a change in the policy climate, partly assisted by the extensive reform of the Advisory Board of Roma Affairs2 in that year, and the overall more active role of Roma in civic and economic society. The improvement of their social situation was now considered to be part of government responsibilities (rather than a church responsibility to deal with 'problem' communities), and hence 'positive discrimination' towards Roma was introduced into Finnish policy discourse. (Pulma, 2006.) This change was part of a more general trend in Nordic minority policies of the 1970s, characterised by their engagement with the process of building welfare societies which enhanced equality and secured the well-being of all. As such, securing minority rights was seen as one of the most important issues to be addressed in the Nordic welfare model. Consequently, when Finland (and Sweden), in 1976, reached a situation where the basic welfare needs of Roma were secured (housing, education and health), Roma finally started to move from being perceived of as a 'social problem' -group to a 'cultural minority'. (Ibid.)

The third and on-going period (2014) in Roma policy can best be named as the 'cultural minority' - period (Pulma, 2006). At present the Roma issue is considered primarily as a government issue, while the role and influence of NGO's in enhancing the community's well-being has decreased as assimilation has occurred.

In fact, the Nordic welfare model (e.g. Esping-Andersen, 1990), unlike Britain for example, has always by definition prioritised state delivered welfare services over services produced by the Third Sector.

Present multicultural policies have been, according to Nordberg (2007), implemented by treating ethnic minorities as 'subjects' rather than 'objects' with strong state involvement in issues concerning their 'integration' and access to rights in civil society. The emphasis at present in Finland is on the development of Roma education policy, and on preserving the Romani language and cultural heritage. Interestingly, there has also been a change in Finnish Roma's claim-making in the 21st century; it has shifted from demands for assistance in social issues towards more of an emphasis on cultural issues (recognition over redistribution). This is because Roma, (at least the socio-economically more affluent Roma such as those whose responses are analysed under the rubric of Group A in Chapter 3 (3.4.2)), are consciously aspiring to change the previous 'social-problem' -based construction of Romani identity and culture to that of 'ethnic, national cultural minority'.

The influence of international institutions and the EU, on refining Finnish policies on Roma affairs can also be seen as highly significant in driving change. Thus the aggregation of the Finnish National Policy on Roma (2009) is a good example of this transnational influence, since it was effected by the EU requirement to better integrate the Roma and enhance their well-being across a number of domains (European Parliament Resolution on a European Strategy on the Roma (B6-055/2007)).

Accordingly, the tensions between cultural and social claim making and which 'voices' are heard in determining Roma affairs in Finland remain fundamental to understanding the processes of assimilation and the situation of those who do not comply with 'normative' expectations and representations of the community both within mainstream and 'Roma' settings.

1.2 ENGLISH GYPSIES AND IRISH TRAVELLERS

In the part of this thesis which concentrates on England, this study concentrates on both Romany (English) Gypsies and Irish Travellers, whilst acknowledging that these are two distinct communities with differing pasts. By referring to these communities as 'Gypsies and Travellers' (in line with current Government policy formulation) no attempt is made to conflate their identities as a single population. It is only suggested that because of their past or present nomadic way of life, resemblance in cultures and similar experiences of socio-economic exclusion and discrimination in England, it is more practical and justified to refer to them under one umbrella heading 'Gypsies and Travellers' as is common in English policy documents. Other communities in England, namely Welsh Gypsies, Scottish Gypsy-Travellers, European Roma and New Travellers are excluded from this study, although it is acknowledged that these communities are highly likely to experience similar rates and types of exclusion and housing related difficulties as are English Gypsies and Irish Travellers resident in England.

Gypsies and Travellers share numerous cultural characteristics and history with Roma, some (Romany Gypsies) are Roma in origin and others (Travellers) originated in Great Britain (Bancroft, 2005: 8). Those who are autochthonous have emerged at some point in the past from sedentary European society, and, in common with historic approaches to nomadic Roma people in Finland, are viewed as a threat or nuisance to the settled society, as are Romany Gypsies (McAllister, 1937 cited in Bancroft, 2005). Irish Travellers are known to have originated in Ireland prior to migrating to England in various waves (more recently post World War II) but have throughout history differed from the settled Irish population by their itinerant lifestyle, differing traditions and language. Recent genetic evidence suggests that they do have a distinct and different ethnic origin from the Irish population amongst whom they lived in Ireland (Hough, 2011). Whether they were originally a separate group in Ireland, or formed later on from vagrants, beggars and various poor craftsmen, peasants and labourers, is still the subject of academic debate. (Gmelch and Gmelch, 1976; McCann et al., 1994.)

English (Romany) Gypsies were first recognised in English law as an ethnic minority group in 1989 (Mayall, 1995), and Irish Travellers achieved the same status in 2000 (Power, 2004). Gypsies and Travellers were for the first time considered as separate ethnic group in the 2011 decennial UK Census. According to the results of the 2011 Census there are 57 680 Gypsies and Travellers living in the UK, which is far below the Government's estimated figure of 300 000 Gypsies and Travellers in the UK (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2012). The result of the 2011 Census can be seen as a reflection of Gypsies and Travellers preference to hide their ethnicity in order to avoid wide spread discrimination and racism in the UK as well as of their lower educational attainment and poor literacy skills which may impact on ability to complete the census forms (Irish Traveller Movement in Britain, 2013).

According to a conservative estimate, there are 13 500 Gypsies and Travellers living in London (London Boroughs' Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Needs Assessment, (LGTA), 2008), and it is estimated that two thirds of Gypsies and Travellers in England and 84 per cent in London now live in contemporary bricks and mortar housing (Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), 2004; London Gypsy and Traveller Unit (LGTU), 2010) in many cases against their own will (Cemlyn et al., 2009; LGTA, 2008).

Neither English Gypsies nor Irish Travellers are physically recognisable in the UK as a result of their heterogeneous appearance and lack of clearly identifiable 'dress' such as is common in Finland, and even less so in highly multicultural London, although Irish Travellers dialect can be recognisable. Since Gypsies and Travellers still experience severe discrimination and racism from outside society, many have started to hide their ethnicity and for example learned English dialects or speech patterns associated with the English majority. While Finnish Roma wish to stand out physically, Gypsies and

Travellers, on the contrary, often wish to hide their identity and blend into the English majority when in public spaces (see further Clark & Greenfields, 2006; and Chapter 8: (8.6.1)).

1.2.1 History of Gypsies and Travellers

Romany Gypsies has been known to live in England since the early fourteenth century, and with the first known state action against them dated to the time of Henry VIII (1530). Since then, English state policies against Gypsies have been characterised primarily as being hostile to their lifestyle of nomadism. (Mayall, 1995:18.) In the mid sixteenth century laws were passed to get rid of all Gypsies (Egyptians Acts 1530 and 1554), by requiring all travelling in England to depart voluntarily, or otherwise face imprisonment and deportation (ibid.). These Acts also introduced a new approach to handling the 'Gypsy problem'; Gypsies were given a chance to avoid prosecution if they would adopt a sedentary way of life and take up a settled occupation (ibid.).

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries 'poor relief' (financial support for people too ill to work or who were unemployed through no fault of their own) was confined to supporting a person's residency within their 'home' parish borders, and as such, the importance of permanent residence and attachment to employment were highlighted by numerous governmental rules and regulations which penalised the nomadic poor (Mencher, 1967: 27-30). In early modern Britain itinerants were subjects to severe repression as they were seen as a threat to the nation's integrity and identity. The punishment and stigmatisation of vagrants was thus an explicit mode of control, aimed at verifying the nation's social order and enforcing and constituting adherence to its work ethic (Bancroft, 2005:17).

From the nineteenth century onwards, Gypsies were not perceived by the law as racialised 'Egyptians' but instead increasingly as vagrants, rogues, beggars and vagabonds, whose assimilation became even more crucial for the purposes of state rule. This approach which emphasises the model of 'cultural, institutional racism', outlined in Chapter 2 (2.2.3), was a direct result of industrialisation and urbanisation which had made commercial nomadism more difficult to maintain for many Gypsies, Travellers and Roma (e.g. Mayall, 2005; Tervonen, 2012). This was coupled with an increased interest in the moral control of the population through the use of religious reformers and philanthropic actors who sought to convert Gypsies and Travellers to Anglicanism (Smith, 1880: 193) in a manner similar to the Finnish Lutheran practices of earlier centuries; and the growth of influence of a middle class lifestyle that celebrated individualism, rationality and time-discipline, and which ultimately became society's norm of 'civilised' life (Elias, 1978). The state's relatively new and important role in controlling the industrial workforce outside and inside home (Mayall, 1988:3), and the emergence of the nation state with its notion of borders made nomadic people the target of increased surveillance and control and decreased the places for them to move on to (McVeigh, 1997) following evictions.

During this same time period, some provisions were made to monitor Gypsies' and Travellers' health, education and encampments, although these obligations were often ignored by local authorities or used as a way of enforcing compliance with sedentarised norms. (Mayall, 1995: 31). Local authorities often used all means possible to legally proceed against Gypsies in order to satisfy local residents, who

usually were extremely hostile towards itinerant people (ibid.). Although Gypsies' relationship with the rural community was relatively good at the beginning of the nineteenth century largely because of their essential contribution to farm work and the expectation that they would move on when the work was completed; by the end of the century the itinerant way of life was commonly seen as backward and standing in the way of modernisation; whilst travelling people were characterised as dishonest and immoral heathens. Thus there was a simultaneous drive from the state and Christian missionaries and reformers to assimilate the travelling peoples (see further Chapter 1 (1.3); Mayall, 1988).

Since the Second World War, the legal and normative position of Gypsies and Travellers in British society has mainly been characterised by a focus on their travelling lifestyle and settled society's reactions to this mode of life. Although an estimated two thirds of Gypsies and Travellers today live in settled housing (CRE, 2004), post-war policies in England have mainly concentrated on issues of travelling and caravan sites. For example, the 1959 Highways Act and several Social Security Acts threatened the travelling lifestyle by making camping on highways illegal and casual work increasingly difficult to access and undertake (Belton, 2005). On the other hand, post-war housing shortages ironically increased caravan dwelling among the wider population and therefore momentarily increased the government's acceptance of this lifestyle as an emergency (and hence non-normative) measure (Smith & Greenfields, 2013). Nonetheless, despite this temporary acceptance of caravan dwelling as the country began to develop economically and socially in the post war decades, the 1960 Caravans Sites and Control of Development Act was enacted as the answer to the 'untidy' situation created by the post-war housing shortages which had led to an increase in mobile home ownership and unregulated dwelling of both Gypsies and Travellers, mainstream homeless populations and the rural poor. This Act gave district councils the right to prohibit anyone from camping on any land, even on lands owned by Gypsies. At this point of increased surveillance and regulation, the Gypsy and Traveller 'problem' became more visible, and tensions between the nomadic and the settled communities started to build up (ibid.) as they were characterised as wilfully rejecting the benefits of a modern, sedentarised society.

After some years of decreasing access to land and highly public, large-scale evictions of encampments, the real change for Gypsies came with the 1968 Caravans Site Act, which was to make it mandatory for local authorities to provide sites for travelling people. This is said to be the point when Gypsies became more 'positively' visible (in the sense of having rights) in the eye of the English law, although the implementation of the law was insufficient to provide accommodation for all who wished to remain living in caravans. This act remained the basis of all interaction between the state and the Gypsies for 25 years. (Hawes & Perez, 1995: 23-25.) The 1968 Act, despite its alleged positive meaning, had serious defects that undermined its value for the Gypsies who wished to retain a traditional lifestyle. There were no official timetable for local authorities to provide sites and hardly any local or political support behind the Act to control whether targets were met.

The underestimation of the number of Gypsies caused by 'count' methods utilised (Niner, 2004), and the false assumption of travelling community's homogeneity allowed local authorities to claim they had provided enough sites for the travelling people living within their areas (Smith and Greenfields, 2013). Consequently, numerous Gypsies were forced to move into contemporary housing, unauthorised encampments or on roadsides, especially in London where Boroughs were allowed to designate their lands after providing only total of 15 pitches (Hawes & Perez, 1995: 28-29). Insufficient number of sites increased competition within the travelling community and resulted in families permanently settling onto sites with hardly any travelling for fear of losing their 'pitch' should they be away from the site for any substantial period of time (Greenfields, 2006). Moreover, the 1968 Act only concentrated on site provision, ignoring Travellers social needs such as access to health and education, and therefore almost completely left them outside of the settled society's welfare services (Hawes & Perez, 1995).

In 1977 as a result of the previous undercounting of the Gypsy population and shortage of sites, leading to a resultant increase in 'unauthorised encampments', Planning Circular 28/77 was passed. This planning circular (binding Government guidance) called for a more sympathetic and flexible approach to Gypsies' and Travellers' accommodation needs. As a result of the increase in provision triggered by this Circular, 42 per cent of the Gypsy and Traveller population were living in local authority sites by 1983 (Hawes and Perez, 1995). Regardless of these improvements, resistance to site provision at the local level (by local politicians as well as 'majority society') continued to be significant, constantly harming the Act's positive intentions. Although the above mentioned government Acts and Circulars were designed to help Gypsies and Travellers to preserve their travelling lifestyle, the underlining assumption was that they would eventually assimilate to the norms of the settled majority's lifestyle (ibid.).

At the beginning of 1990s as a result of highly publicised groups of nomadic Travellers and the political stance of the then Conservative Government, sentiments towards Gypsies and Travellers became tougher and sedentarisation policies started to gain more popularity. The assumption was that Gypsies and Travellers would willingly move in conventional bricks and mortar housing if they came to know all its benefits and/or were given little choice over making such a move. (Hawes and Perez, 1995.) The final turn for the worst came in 1994 with the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act. 'Moral panics' (see further Chapter 2 (2.2.3)) over 'alternative' lifestyles and anti-social behaviour such as Gypsies and Travellers abnormal mobility and 'New Age Travellers' drug-filled outdoor 'raves', together with the need to reduce public spending were the background for why the 1994 Act was formulated (Smith and Greenfields, 2013). The clear aim of the Act was to assimilate Britain's nomadic population to the norms of the majority settled population, only this time by more compelling means than previously. It has been argued that from this moment on, nomadic people in Britain had to choose between assimilation into contemporary lifestyle, and the criminality of nomadic living (ibid.). The 1994 Act removed the duty on local authorities to provide sites

and cancelled the government grant which local authorities could claim for building 'Gipsy sites'. This resulted in the closure of numerous council sites and overcrowding at privately owned authorised sites as caravan dwelling families scrambled to obtain a pitch, and therefore forced many Gypsies and Travellers on to the roadside or into contemporary housing (Smith and Greenfields, 2013). This Act also gave more power to the local authorities to evict unauthorised campers, and enter sites to seize and remove vehicles and property, placing further pressures on a nomadic way of life (Hawes and Perez, 1995).

In 1997, under the New Labour government, a new approach to Gypsy and Traveller accommodation issues was adopted after it became clear that not only would some members of the communities refuse to be sedentarised, but also that something had to be done to improve their living, health and education situation (Greenfields, 2007). In 2002 there was a proposal for The Traveller Law Reform Bill which was to promote 'integration not assimilation, build upon Traveller representation'. This Bill can be seen as an early step towards seeing caravan-dwelling as a part of conventional housing options. (Belton, 2005: 124 – 128.) By the time of writing (2014), this Bill still had not progressed into Law, despite periodic attempts to get it on the statute books since, according to Richardson and Ryder (2009), New Labour politicians stated that it would not be fair to create a special advantage in accommodation for Gypsies and Travellers, if there is not also a corresponding right to live in a caravan for the settled population.

Overall, the approach of 'mainstreaming' (or including minority rights and support within mainstream provision as part of a process of assimilation) is an important part of English minority policies, and the rationale of 'mainstreaming' was used as an excuse to dismiss the 2002 Traveller Law Reform Bill by the New Labour Government which was in power at that time (ibid.). Instead, the Government drafted and sponsored the 2004 Housing Act which obliged local authorities to conduct a Gypsy and Traveller accommodation needs assessment to identify how many Gypsies and Travellers wanted to live in caravans in any given area. The subsequent Planning Circular 01/2006 further imposed a duty on local authorities to identify suitable land for Gypsy site development, within their own areas. In addition a special government funded, Gypsy and Traveller Sites Grant of

£56 million was made available for local authorities to support the cost of building additional sites to meet the needs of local Gypsy and Traveller families. (Smith & Greenfields, 2013.)

When the new Coalition government (with a very different political approach to 'New Labour') was elected in 2010, most incentives for local authorities to refurbish or build Gypsy and Traveller sites were cancelled. The latest development in Gypsies/Travellers and state relationship in England is the Localism Bill, a part of the Coalition Government's 'Big Society -agenda'. The Localism Bill came into effect at the beginning of 2011 with the intent of giving more power to local people and communities to decide about their local issues and how finances should be spent. This Bill is part of Prime Minister David Cameron's plans for Government decentralisation. It is also very close to communitarian ideas of the good and active society (White, 2010), as giving networks of friends, families and communities

the chance or 'particular obligation' to look after each other and the societies within which they live (Etzioni et al., 2004), is the ideological construct at the centre of both 'Big Society' and communitarian thinking. However, crucially, this mode of community practice pre- supposes that all community members are equally able to participate in decision making, and are 'acceptable' to their neighbours. Gypsy and Traveller communities have always faced objection from the local authorities and local sedentary residents when trying to apply for planning permission to develop sites (Clark & Greenfields, 2006; Cemlyn et al., 2009). In fact, in most cases, without the help of state regulations and constraints on local objections, no, or very few, planning permission for sites would have been granted (Mayall, 1995: 87). In their recommendations and report (Ryder et al., 2011) on the effects of Coalition Government policy on Gypsies and Travellers, a panel consisting of leading academics and politicians, Gypsy and Travellers NGOs, MPs and Gypsies and Travellers concluded that the Government's decentralisation agenda will not have the ability to provide accommodation for Gypsy and Traveller communities. In fact, one of the four key issues that were essential for Gypsy and Traveller site development to be handled positively at the local level has been identified as "strong political leadership to set the context for action" (Richardson, 2007: 60), a situation which the panel review (Ryder et al., 2011) identified as particularly problematic under the 'localism' agenda as visualised by the Coalition Government.

As has been illustrated, English state attitude towards Gypsies have had two persistent key elements: for centuries their identification as a distinct (ethnic) group; and/or perception of them as members of a larger body of itinerants in need of control (Mayall, 1995: 40). This dichotomy can be viewed through the concept of opposing 'culture as nature' and 'culture as choice' paradigms (see further Chapter 2: 2.3.1). These both, although coming from different perspectives, have similar goals: to curtail nomadism and to demean nomadic people and their way of life (Kabachnik, 2009: 469). Identifying Gypsies and Travellers as a distinct group and seeing their culture as 'nature' equates to wishing to exclude them due to their 'difference' and lack of control. On the other hand seeing Gypsies' and Travellers' culture as a 'choice' and thus viewing them as members of a larger group of itinerants, sets up an explicit desire for them to be assimilated in sedentary society. A similar discourse has also been found in Finland: attitudes towards Roma have been either to get rid of them, or to 'tame' them and make them settle (Grönfors, 1979: 4; Pulma, 2006).

Overall, although discrimination and marginalisation of Roma, Gypsies and Travellers has strong historical roots, it is important to acknowledge that it is also influenced by current social, political and economic processes such as the economic crisis that hit Europe in 2008. Minorities without strong access to economic capital or visible affluence are easy targets to blame for one's sufferings as such (McGhee, 2005; Smith and Greenfields, 2013) and (whilst not the subject of this thesis) it has been noted that Roma migrants to the Western welfare states are particularly subject to such negative discourse (McGarry, 2013) building upon the stereotypes and assumptions commonly attributed to 'citizen' Gypsies and Travellers that of being parasitic outsiders.

1.3 RELIGION[1]

Although this study mainly evaluates the role of the Finnish and English States and civil societies in seeking to assimilate Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers (concentrating on their housing and employment related well-being), it is necessary (as touched upon above) to acknowledge the extremely important role of religion in these processes. Nonetheless, to avoid this thesis expanding too much, the role of religion is purposely treated to less in-depth analysis. This section is therefore dedicated to a brief discussion of the influence of religion in assimilating Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers in England, and in later sections of this thesis religion will only be considered when the issue in hand specifically calls for analysis of this theme.

Undoubtedly religion has played a major role in assimilating Finnish Roma, and to a certain degree impacted on Gypsies and Travellers in England. More specifically, revival Pentecostalism has attracted and continues to attract, many Roma, Gypsies and Travellers to open their lives to its teachings, and to abandon some traits of their previously 'sinful' life, e.g. use of alcohol, drugs, tobacco, and marrying at an early age (Ridholls, 1986; Thurfjell, 2013).

The national or established churches of England and Finland (The Anglican Church of England and The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland) have both since the 17th century consistently attempted to assimilate their Roma, Gypsy and Traveller populations by targeting their itinerant lifestyle and differing (from the 'mainstream') ways of earning a living (Mayall, 1988; Lindberg, 2012; Thurfjell, 2013). Religious individuals' and organisations' need to evangelise and assimilate these 'heathens' or 'savages' became ever greater in the nineteenth century when the main responsibility for this task was placed, in both countries, on churches, and perceived of as a sacred moral duty (Mayall, 1988; Thurfjell, 2013). Regardless of these assimilatory efforts, neither Finnish Roma nor Gypsies and Travellers in England have typically chosen state churches as their spiritual homes, arguably because of the churches too strong insistence on a change of lifestyle and abandonment of their community, as well as resistance to the churches' connection to States' discriminatory policies and practices (Pulma, 2006). In contrast, in the last decades adherence to Pentecostal Christianity has grown significantly in both countries, attaining a set of 'authentic' Roma(ni) characteristics which makes it more attractive to adherents than state-mandated forms of worship. Furthermore, Roma have allegedly always had strong a belief in God, and often sought to conform their religious views to their country's religion in order to have better chances to earn their livelihood (Lindberg, 2012: 147) whilst being recognised as a member of a wider faith community.

Pentecostalism is a 'renewed' form of Christianity that believes in its members' direct experience of God through baptism. The open, unofficial and charismatic

[1] It is useful to acknowledge that the worldwide Roma (Gypsy & Traveller) population do not have a common religion that all or even most of them practise. Instead, certain cleanliness morals and rules, also common to different established religions such as Judaism or Hinduism, and that affect interaction between generations and genders, exist (Thurfjell, 2013).

style of Pentecostal tent meetings and the early involvement of Roma personnel within the movement have arguably attracted more Finnish Roma than does traditional Lutheran worship, as Roma are/were often disadvantaged and marginalised people typically not as comfortable with official state churches and their rites as are more privileged community (Lindberg, 2012; Thurfjell, 2013). In the 1950s and 1960s, at about the same time as Pentecostalism started to gain more popularity among their community, Finnish Roma started to become more active in societal and political issues affecting their lives, and to embrace the lifestyle of the Finnish majority in terms of aspirations, education and employment practices (Thurfjell, ibid.). Whether becoming a Pentecostal inspired and impacted Finnish Roma to settle and look for waged labour and engagement with wider society, or vice versa, cannot be verified. Most likely these occurred simultaneously, supporting one another in creating a different form of lifestyle.

The popularity of Pentecostalism is considerably more recent among Gypsies and Travellers in England, and only in recent years (since around the year 2000) has this movement started to spread significantly in the UK, with over 30 'Gypsy churches' having being opened nationwide (The Economist, 2012). One of the reasons why Finnish Roma became attracted to Pentecostal meetings in the 1950s was their unofficial-feeling 'open tent' meetings. English Gypsies and Travellers in contrast had been introduced to religious tent- meetings as far back as the 18th century when missionaries tried to encourage their local Gypsy population into 'formal' Christianity through targeted conversion meetings. These were often highly successful, gathering hundreds of Gypsy-Travellers in worship, but overall were considered unlikely to have had any significant effect on their view of life in general as they continued in their nomadic way of life and traditional employment practices. Arguably this lack of assimilatory success resulted from the missionaries patronising stance towards Gypsies, as well as these communities' nomadic lifestyle that made continuous preaching and engagement with them impossible. (Mayall, 1988: 125.) It remains to be seen whether the current popularity of the Pentecostal movement will have a similar effect in assimilating Gypsies and Travellers to the lifestyle of the English majority society, as it has had for Finnish Roma. If there is an assimilatory drive within Pentecostalism it arguably has a better chance of succeeding in its aims than did the missionaries in the nineteenth century since most Gypsies and Travellers have settled and are therefore closer to sedentarised society's way of life than in the past. Furthermore in this 'new' form of missionary Christian activity many of the key leaders are themselves Gypsies, Travellers or Roma and therefore closely attuned to their congregation.

Irish Travellers' religiosity has not been widely studied, and when it has, there have been controversies in interpretations between different researchers (Griffin, 2008). Most agree that Irish Travellers differentiate from Roma in being overwhelmingly Roman Catholics, and that similarly to Romany Gypsies, and Finnish Roma, display most of their religiousness outside the official church within their families (except attend funerals and sometimes Sunday Mass). This overt religiosity is visible, for example, by the numerous Catholic symbols and icons Irish Travellers use to decorate their homes. (Ibid., pp. 286-287.)

Although Thurfjell argues, after studying Finnish Roma's involvement in Pentecostalism in Sweden and Finland, that Pentecostal churches had no motivation for assimilating Roma into the majority lifestyle (2013: 43), he also reports his Roma informants associating becoming a Pentecostal with getting an organised life. An 'organised life' is taken as meaning accessing mainstream education and 'proper' work (ibid., p. 134), or in other words living according to the norms of the majority society. Therefore, it is argued here that the Pentecostal movement occupies an important role, together with the Finnish state's assimilative (housing) policies, in assimilating Finnish Roma into the norms of wage labour and individualistic, settled lifestyle. Hancock (The Economist, 2012) describes the rules and prohibitions that (Pentecostal) church poses on its members as a "gross cultural imposition" that will eventually erode differing cultures. Finnish Roma can be seen as an example of this cultural erosion in some areas of life, as after religious 'awakening' numerous Roma embraced education and a settled home life in order to better succeed in economic life and to become more established members of the Finnish society (Lindberg, 2012).

As will be further discussed in Chapter 7 (7.4), Finnish Roma individuals' reputations are closely tied to their family's reputation and history. Families with 'questionable' history and/or reputation are judged and discriminated against by 'more affluent' families, which impacts on many aspects of their lives e.g. their chances of choosing where to live. Those who are considered 'good' and honourable Roma families, are also often the most active members and leading figures of the Pentecostal church. Therefore, the effect that religion and Pentecostalism in particular, has had on Finnish Roma's values and lifestyle is also effecting 'change' within the community. These processes of assimilative in-group control will be introduced and discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 9: 9.2.1.

2 *Assimilating lifestyle deviance*

The central thesis of this study is that settled accommodation and engagement with wage labour have the status of *'moral norms'* in Western welfare societies and therefore are often at odds with traditional Roma, Gypsy and Traveller cultural preferences and traditional community patterns in which modes of work and the significance of place of residence are conceived of in a manner which varies significantly from that of surrounding settled populations. Stebbins (1996: 2) defines moral norms as "the broad directives by which community members implement their institutionalised solutions to the problems significantly affecting their valued way of life. These directives serve as guidelines for behaviour. They indicate in a general way what the community expects of its members in a particular area of social life and what it considers rejection of those expectations."

As such, Roma, Gypsies and Travellers, who have challenged, or who continue to challenge, these moral norms (in both Finland and UK), have become objects of the emerged nation states' corrective assimilative and regulatory policies that attempt to both coerce members of these communities into particular models of behaviour, and to 'civilise' them (Elias, 1994) in line with the demands of post- industrial behaviour. Gypsy, Traveller and Roma communities' differing (past or present) lifestyle can thus be seen by western welfare societies as threatening their values and therefore perceived of as intolerable (Stebbins, 1996: 5).

In this thesis therefore, following Bancroft (2005: 18, 20, 25), modern (and later post-industrial) nation states -are seen as gathering empirical and scientific information about nature and humanity, and using that information to assimilate individuals and the population into the states' desired vision of the society. The structures, institutions, practices and identity formations, that are used to control (and assimilate) people, can be utilised to create significant structural challenges for those who are outside of the shared 'vision' (also Bauman, 1989). In fact, Bancroft (ibid., p. 16) sees the establishment of the nation state and its property rights, and the emergence of work ethic as the prophets (and fore-runners) of the modern idea of spatial control and order that rejects all forms of vagrancy. Therefore, because of their nomadic lifestyle, Roma, Gypsies and Travellers have been outside modern nation states' vision of society and as such continue to be the targets of their institutionalised social control. The pressures brought to bear upon them by

agents of the state and repeated policy enactments has damaged their traditional family structures, economy and living patterns by enabling them to be perceived of and treated as the 'internal outsiders', or deviants, opposed to modern society and lifestyle. (Ibid., p. 150.)

This Chapter sets the scene for the remainder of this thesis by firstly introducing how the concept of assimilation is used in this study, then subsequently presenting the theoretical background of this thesis by defining state assimilation as 'normalisation' that socialises its citizens into viewing difference in lifestyle as a threatening deviance from the norm that has to be repressed or eliminated.

2.1 STRUCTURAL ASSIMILATION AND FORCED INTEGRATION

Given the centrality of the discussion of how the norms and culture of 'mainstream' society are afforded priority in post-industrial Western states, and the problems and pressures which occur when Roma, Gypsies and Travellers experience difficulties in, or refuse to, assimilate into normative 'mainstream' culture, it is important to identify a theoretical model which helps to explain both the process and the resistance encountered in this process.

By discussing majority societies' culture and the Roma's, Gypsies and Travellers' difficulties or refusal to assimilate into it, 'acculturation' might be the most appropriate concept with which to explore this issue. Acculturation is defined by several scholars (e.g. Gordon, 1964; Alba & Nee, 1997; White & Glick, 2009) as emphasizing the minority group's wholescale adoption of the cultural patterns of the majority, and as such it is distinguished from 'structural assimilation' which is, as defined by Gordon (1964:81) as "large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of host society" (e.g. school attainment, employment and residential patterns). Since housing, education and employment are identified throughout the specialist literature reviewed as the areas causing most difficulties for the Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers in England (Chapters 4-8), it is justifiable to use the concept of assimilation instead of acculturation when discussing these communities housing (and employment) related well-being.

Gordon (1964: 81) discovered when studying assimilation into American life that 'structural assimilation', as described above, was the cornerstone in the processes experienced by minority groups. The price of such assimilation however was the disappearance of the ethnic group as a separate entity and the fading of their distinctive values into a homogenous cultural whole which blended American and other cultural practices (ibid.). The use of 'structural assimilation' as used by Gordon resembles the concept of integration, which similarly to assimilation, advocates the movement towards a common culture, but sees it instead as a two-way process where the host country and its majority also have some responsibilities for adapting into the new situation (e.g. Parekh, 2005). In fact, some authors consider that structural assimilation is essentially integration into majority

society (Alba & Nee, 2003). Since this current study concentrates on housing (and employment), which, it is argued, are constituent elements of the 'moral norms' of post-industrial western life, integration, (in the sense of being a process which expects mutual adaption by the majority as well as the minority group), is not seen as a suitable concept to use.

In support of this theory, Helne (2004) calls the state policies, which were focused on Finnish Roma for a number of centuries, 'forced integration' in which people are forced into groups, places or institutions that operated contrary to their own needs and beliefs. That the terms used to explore the processes of state melding of communities to conform to norms is not agreed by all theorists, is underlined by the fact that whilst the concept of 'forced integration' is used by Helne (ibid.) others (e.g. Berry, 1997) use the concept of 'assimilation'. This choice of concept is to argue that 'integration', as it is seen by nation-states, is an ideological-political creation, designed to prevent minority groups from questioning the prevalent order of the society in question.

Thus (perhaps controversially), governments' welfare services, such as social housing or income support, can be perceived of as ultimately demolishing Roma, Gypsy and Traveller lifestyles by forcing them into contemporary settled accommodation and waged labour (Vanderbeck, 2005: 308- 309). Furthermore the school system can be seen as an example of 'forced integration': indeed Finnish Roma were originally opposed to their children receiving education in public schools, since state education was believed to teach only about the culture and values of the Finnish majority and disregard everything relating to Roma tradition. Eventually Finnish Roma have been 'forced' to endorse the Finnish official education system in order to fare well in the labour market (Pulma, 2006), which in itself can be seen as an institution of 'forced integration' promoting the nine until five lifestyle, where individuals work to support their nuclear families, a form of household structure culturally alien to traditional extended family groupings common to Gypsies, Travellers and Roma.

On the other hand, as Vanderbeck (2005) notes, once minority groups become involved in the process of (forced) integration/(structural) assimilation, they are likely to become more willing to accept or even embrace the laws, norms and practices of the majority society and culture, thus creating a cycle of acceptance of 'moral norms' as well as subsequent rejection of a set of 'flawed' values and former cultural patterns.

Since this thesis argues that education in state schools, participation in paid waged employment, and residence in conventional housing, (and therefore individualism), are the most characteristic features or 'moral norms' of the Western post-industrial society, for individuals or groups that have not completely accepted these 'values' and whose lifestyle differ even slightly from that of the dominant group, different policies aimed at enforcing compliance (e.g. forcing travelling people into settled housing by not providing enough sites) and 'use' of post-industrial services (i.e. official education becoming necessary to obtain access to bureaucratic welfare institutions), are, or will become, a necessity. That these systems

have become more than familiar to targeted populations was illustrated 1.1.1 and 1.2.1 which introduced the reader to the history of Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers in UK.

As such, throughout this thesis the concept of 'integration' is utilised and understood as if it was structural assimilation (Gordon, 1964) or 'forced integration' (Helne, 2004). Accordingly, since the subject matter of this study is well-being in housing (and employment), the term 'assimilation' is used explicitly to refer to the situation of Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers in England. Furthermore, as explored in depth in Chapter 2 (2.2) assimilation is considered to be part of the process of 'normalisation' which defines non acceptance of 'moral norms' as non-normal and hence stigmatising behaviour. Use of such controversial language is justified through a detailed exploration of the history of Roma, Gypsies and Travellers, whose lifestyle is still being targeted by state policies in attempts to 'normalise' them (see further Chapters 1 and 2.2.4).

The argument foregrounded within this thesis in relation to resistance to assimilation is not to say that all cultures should stay stable and that communities should object to all change, but instead to show that forced assimilation (often 'discussed' as integration) still occurs in post-industrial, Western societies. While there are those Gypsies and Travellers, as well as other minorities, who actually want to be assimilated e.g. in economic inclusion issues (e.g. Ryder & Greenfields, 2010), and as we see in the Finnish context (chapter 4.3.1), there are also those who do not have any other choice, and as such they (in common with formerly colonised peoples) are communities at greater risk of social exclusion, enforced cultural trauma and the destruction of traditional patterns of life, with devastating effects on their well-being (Alexander, 2012). This argument, that there is little socially and policy permitted alternative to assimilation gains greater traction on viewing Garner's comments (2007: 164) on integration, in which he states the term is understood by the contemporary British public as a synonym for creating a homogenous mass who adhere to a particular set of British, Westernised values.

By discussing how minority individuals' and groups' assimilation into a society has increased (or could) increase is not of course to argue that everyone should assimilate to the norms of majority way of life. Instead, the argument made here is that as a result of state power structures and policy enactments assimilation into these post-industrial Western norms of settled living, individualism and wage labour, increases individuals' and groups' well-being within that society and thus resistance to such assimilation may 'cost' the resistant community highly in terms of economic, cultural and social well-being. As such this thesis sets out to explore the social and cultural cost of such resistance and in so doing considers the strength of feeling and reasoning behind such counter-intuitive enacted behaviour.

In the next section, the processes by which the State 'normalises' particular behaviours and punishes those who resist these norms are set out.

2.2 ASSIMILATION AS NORMALISATION

It is argued that society's knowledge -based (welfare) institutions and practices are set in place to maintain dominant ways of life that are socio-economically beneficial and productive for the state (Foucault, 2003b; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011: 21 – 22). Through case studies of Finnish Roma and Gypsy and Traveller communities, this thesis sets out to reveal, how majority norms, stereotypes and ways of life are reinforced, demonstrating how control of those processes, benefit those in power (ibid.), and how in the process, minorities such as Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers in England, have to assimilate and/or hide their ethnicity in an attempt to escape racism, discrimination and prejudice.

2.2.1 The Age of Reason

Enlightenment or the 'Age of Reason' can be seen as the beginning of the time when scientific knowledge and individualisms triumphed over tradition and particularity. This meant that increasingly from the late 17th century onwards, those individuals and communities in Europe who differentiated from the modes of rationality were stigmatised and perceived as irrational, backward and even dangerous (Turner, 2007), and accordingly were subjected to more systematic control. This resulted in local minority practices, customs and ways of life becoming perceived of as in opposition to a centralised, normalised (and civilising) trope of universal progress, grounded in the practices of those in power (Elias, 1994), who saw 'peasants' and/or linguistic or ethnic minorities as in need of education, modernisation and assimilation (Turner, 2007).

Similarly, at this period, the emergent idea of a nation state helped the ruling bourgeois to stabilise and assimilate the working classes (Bancroft, 2005) by defining normality and deviance within the borders of the state. The generalised, historical discourses which nations began to form of themselves and of their peoples (Anderson, 1983), for the first time enabled the systematic use of knowledge and power in a tactical way utilised for political, and economic, purposes (Foucault, 2003b: 190, 217). These processes thus brought deviant people and customs more closely under the influence of assimilating state institutions (Bancroft, 2005). Institutions such as prisons, workhouses, poor-law (welfare) payments and hospitals were necessary novel means to manage community life after the rapid population growth of the seventeenth century that created far more complex political, economic and social situations within emergent modern, urban society (Debrix and Barder, 2009: 405). These institutions helped to maintain a common denominator and to establish equilibrium within populations that would otherwise be highly variable and unpredictable (Foucault, 2003b: 246).

As will be argued throughout this thesis, these (welfare) institutions and the 'normative' lifestyle they promote (which benefited the 'deserving' and punished those who breached norms) are still brought to bear upon those Gypsies and Travellers who are resistant to societal norms, generating negative consequences for those communities who are relatively powerless in the face of State and socio-cultural oppressive practices.

2.2.2 'Lifestyle Deviance'

Since the Enlightenment, Europe has increasingly treated workless and homeless people as criminals whose lifestyle had to be corrected, at times forcefully through imprisonment and enforced hard labour. Since that period, 'idleness' has been considered as the "mother of all evils" (Foucault, 1967: 53). Therefore, the 'abnormality' of Roma, Gypsies and Travellers' itinerant lifestyle, (in which periods of intense activity alternated with apparent 'idleness' or meaningless wandering) can, when compared to the norms of modern European majority lifestyle, be seen as an relevant example of *lifestyle deviance*, if lifestyle is viewed as a cultural phenomenon manifested in patterns of *daily behaviour* and justified by adherence to the norms, beliefs and values of the (dominant) community in question (Stebbins, 1997: 350-352). Since *deviance* is defined as "… a culturally unacceptable level of difference which is subject to constant suspicion and surveillance from social control agencies" and which "always holds a threat to the social fabric" (Sumner, 2006: 126), those patterns of daily behaviour that differ from majority norms, are by definition perceived of as deviant threats to an ordered society and therefore require to be penalised, regulated and sanctioned with the help of social control agencies or institutions.

As will be shown in Chapters 4 – 8, which introduce and discuss housing and living related daily behaviours of Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers' in England, there are significant differences in practice and approach to that of the communities amongst whom they live. Analysis under the areas of: 'relationship with state' (welfare institutions & employment), 'home' (sedentary living), 'family' (individualism), and 'interaction with society' (racism & discrimination) will help to illustrate and support the argument that all Roma, Gypies and Travellers are positioned as deviant communities, and will also be used as a tool for measuring the communities' 'level of assimilation' into Finland's and the UK's majority lifestyles.

The correction of 'deviant' lifestyles, as will be discussed under the next subheading, is enabled by assimilation and socialisation practices that affect all areas and levels of life, for example taking place within families, schools, places of worship, the labour market and housing (Foucault, 2007: 94; Hancock and Garner, 2011: 336).

Family as a social construct has changed significantly in the post-Enlightenment period. It was initially perceived of as simply a model of life and cohabitation norms until the middle of 18th century, after which it became seen as yet another instrument to govern the population. By deconstructing the traditional autonomous model of 'family' as a kinship based structure within which the family members were responsible for themselves, their employment, income generation and mutual care, the State could be seen to gain more power over individuals, who over time would began to think of themselves more as part of the population within the nation state borders. (Foucault, 1991: 99 – 100; 2007: 105.) Similarly, it would become possible for employers to emphasise the necessity of an identity as a member of a workforce/employee and part of a particular model of (working) life, rather

than primarily as members of individuals' own kin-based networks and families. From there on, it can be argued, the traditional family model was perceived of as a threat to the economic and social well-being and progress of European populations (ibid.). Similarly, while the fragile and transitory character of working class marriage was historically perceived of as supporting needed labour mobility, it was deemed unwanted during and after the Enlightenment period, when working class stability of residence and household structure became necessary for economic, political and spatial reasons (Foucault, 2003a: 270). After that time, marriage become " … a socially binding mode of living and working … [that] prescribed to men and women what they had to do and not to do even in the details of daily life, work, economic behaviour and sexuality." (Beck & Beck- Gernsheim, 2002: 9). In other words, families were required to settle down in order for individuals to be able to participate in the majority labour market.

In due course as state and philanthropically developed working-class *housing* estates came into being as a means of alleviating the worst conditions of slum-dwelling, these too could be regarded as a double-edged sword. Whilst they mainly and significantly improved peoples physical living standards (for example by access to running water and single-family lavatories), they also acted as means to control individuals by creating normative, aspirational models of respectable housing which placed one nuclear family in each house and one individual (other than a married couple or children of the same sex and under a certain age) in each bedroom (Foucault, 2003b: 251). Housing can thus *also* become an instrument for a state to regulate its population, by obliging people to buy or rent accommodation that would tie them into one place from where they can be monitored by numerous governmental institutions (ibid.).

The triumph of individualism and the nuclear family model that supports settled living and work within the majority labour market, and the difficulties more traditional communities such as Roma, Gypsies and Travellers, are facing in Europe, are thus both examples and the result of states' assimilating power over their citizens in circumstances where communities resist such assimilatory pressures.

2.2.3 Cultural, Institutional Racism

'Racism' is understood here (following Foucault) as a medium for post-industrial states to reduce and control internal threats to their populations and normative lifestyles. Foucault's (2003b: 255) concept of 'state racism' is broadened out from biological threats (i.e. to kill those of a supposedly 'inferior race' such as practiced under National Socialism in Germany) to also include *cultural* threats to those that States and their Governments perceive as deviant and harmful to the norms and values of the dominant population. This claim is justified firstly by reference to the history of Roma, Gypsies and Travellers who have been persecuted mainly for their 'deviant' culture and lifestyle (chapters 1.1.1 & 1.1.2), and secondly because *cultural racism*, defined as

circumstances in which: *"a society may expect its minorities to turn on their own culture and penalize them if they fail to assimilate or at least to conform to the cultural norms of the majority"* (Halstead, 2008: 1117), is arguably the more common form of state mandated racism and threat to communities in post-industrial societies, than (as in the past), biological, (physically exterminatory) racism.

When a custom or group of people is defined as external and 'unwanted', 'racism' (used in the sense outlined above), defined by Foucault as an "object, a technique or technology of power" (2003b: 258), and a mean to bring forth or expose all different groups that exist within a population (ibid.: 254 - 255), becomes society's way of defending itself against abnormal deviants and undesirable practices (Bhandaru, 2013: 231). Therefore, a discourse of 'racism' against 'deviant' individuals and communities typically exist within all societies, although in a modern, (post-industrial) 'assimilating' society, this racism is not often directed explicitly against 'deviants' but instead used as a means of privileging the 'normal' by affording them privileges from which those on the margins of society are debarred. That is to say, institutional racism (defined as MacPherson, 1999) is the form of racism operationalized by state agencies in a post-industrial society to privilege 'normative' groups and behaviours. In other words, although the function of societal norms are not to explicitly reject or exclude individuals or communities but to 'assist transformation' (Foucault, 2003a: 50), in practice, society and the state punishes and disciplines those who object to its norms for living, undertaking this assimilative action with the help of its numerous inherently 'racist' institutions including the police, social services and medical services (Hancock and Garner, 2011: 321). It is however important to acknowledge that in parallel to this form of institutional racism Roma, Gypsies and Travellers also continue to be the targets of, often serious, physically violent, everyday racism throughout Europe (see further Chapter 2: 2.3).

'Normalising' assimilative institutions are thus in place to enable the mechanisms for removing 'deviancies' before they become endemic, and moreover exist to actively socialise citizens to maintain 'normality' within their population (Debrix and Barder 2009: 410). This is achieved by socialising the population to evoke a productive fear not being able to live its own 'normal', regulated life as a member of a nation or society (Foucault, 2007; Debrix and Barder, 2009), essentially emphasising the risk of becoming 'outcast' as a result of deviant behaviours. Socialising eventually develops into a process that turns citizens into assimilated active subjects who can be taught to align their individual choices with governmental goals (Hancock and Garner, 2011: 336), a process demonstrated in the findings presented at 9.4.1 in relation to the aspirations of many Finnish Roma to lead a 'normal life'.

The creation of 'moral panics' (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994), techniques which are operationalised through a combination of media and political discourse, are an extreme way to remind the population about the alleged fragility of their lifestyle. Moral panics "can produce an intense hostility towards the accused, who are seen as enemies of society" (Henry, 2009: 37). For example, the UK govern-

ment's exaggeration of the numbers of Romanians and Bulgarians, (essentially 'coded' as Roma), arriving to claim benefits after these countries entered the EU 1st of January 2014, adds to the already negative perception of Roma, Gypsies and Travellers as unproductive benefit scroungers, and can be used to justify the enacting of tougher immigration laws. Goode and Ben Yehuda (1994: 227) state that "The message of the moral panic is clear: this is behaviour we will not tolerate."

Although it has been argued that both 'deviance' and 'moral panics' are ineffective concepts for analysing post-industrial societies that are allegedly, by definition, too complex and diverse for disturbing deviance or moral panics to be possible (Sumner, 1994; Hall, 2012), the situation of Roma, Gypsies and Travellers in Europe arguably proves that there still are communities that are commonly perceived of as deviant by European societies and their majority populations, and against whom, 'moral panics' can still be effectively created.

2.2.4 Assimilating Roma, Gypsies and Travellers

As was considered in more detail in Chapter 1 (the history of Roma in Finland and Gypsies and Travellers in England) since the 16th century Roma, Gypsies and Travellers have been almost universally considered by European states, as representing a deviant threat to the majority populations' well-being and lifestyle. As such they have been the group represented consistently as the socially 'stigmatized' (Goffman, 1963) whose way of life was seen to be in conflict with the ideals of firstly the Enlightenment, and subsequently both Industrialisation and post-industrial society. More specifically as ethnic groups these populations can be seen as carrying a 'tribal stigma' and being perceived of as deviating from societies' dominant values and norms, whilst not perceiving of themselves as abnormal (ibid.):

> … it seems possible for an individual to fail to live up to what we effectively demand of him, and yet be relatively untouched by this failure; insulated by his alienation, protected by identity beliefs of his own, he feels that he is a full-fledged normal human being, and that we are the ones who are not quite human. He bears a stigma but does not seem to be impressed or repentant about doing so. This possibility is celebrated in exemplary tales about Mennonites, Gypsies, shameless scoundrels, and very orthodox Jews. (Goffman, 1963: 17.)

Importantly, Goffman's characterisation strengthens the idea of deviance, or stigma, as socially determined and not something innate in a person or a community.

To remove these 'deviant' threats from the body politic, Gypsies, Travellers and Roma in both countries studied were firstly, in the 16th and 17th centuries, subjected to corrective labour, expulsion or even death, and then, from the 18th century onwards, to states' assimilation policies that targeted their 'deviant' lifestyle with discriminating and inherently racist practices and (welfare) state institutions, designed, among other things, to 'normalise' the population and enforce sedentarised

behaviour (e.g. Kenrick & Puxon, 1972; Okely, 1983; Hancock, 1987; Pulma, 2006). Furthermore, as was established in 2.2.3, since majority populations and individuals have been socialised into enforcing the normative order, they become, sometimes unknowingly, 'racist' and prejudiced against communities and individuals whose lifestyle or culture they see as posing a threat to their own 'normal' lifestyle, creating a vicious circle which further stigmatises and marginalises Gypsies, Travellers and Roma (e.g. Hawes and Perez, 1996: 5; Hancock and Garner, 2011: 322).

Arguably, performance of this set of assimilating, un-reflexive racisms, is the strongest reason why these communities face often severe discrimination and prejudice wherever they go and across many centuries; as their (past or present) lifestyle and some cultural practices are represented as outmoded and dangerous, whilst stereotypes and common discourse typify them as an unproductive community who are harmful for the economic, social and moral order of the surrounding society, and who should therefore be eagerly resisted.

Having set out the theoretical background to this study of Finnish Roma and (Romany) Gypsies and Irish Travellers in England, it is clear that this thesis identifies them as ethnic minorities (see further Chapter 1 sections 1.1 and 1.2) whose existence was seen, (and is still seen), as a threat to the cohesion and order of post-industrial society and 'good government'.

The problems that Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers in England have experienced and/or continue to experience, in housing and employment are argued to be results of these countries normalising assimilation policies that target these communities 'lifestyle deviance'. It is also argued that since the traditional practices of nomadic lifestyles, close-knit kin-groups and self-employment followed by (some) Roma, Gypsies and Travellers (e.g. Lucassen et al., 1998; Pulma, 2006; Mayall, 1995) explicitly 'clash' with the demands and rules of 'contemporary ways of living', they are seen as communities who are too expensive and 'risky' for governments to tolerate and accept. Thus, for example, in the UK (see 4.2.1) the 1994 Criminal Justice and Public Order Act essentially criminalised the nomadic lifestyle, leading to enhanced rates of assimilating surveillance and control and increasing negative discourse around nomadism. (Bancroft, 2005: 131.)

To pursue this argument, in the UK, official council -managed caravan sites for Gypsies and Travellers, which permit at least some form of traditional caravan dwelling lifestyle albeit of a strictly regulated nature can be seen as allowing the Government to control these communities by requiring them to live at a particular location if they wish to live in caravans. Control is imposed by the requirement of adherence to sets of residence rules (which often preclude working from sites, or the keeping of animals) through regulation of the extent of permitted nomadism and a requirement for payment of council tax and rent from everyone living on these sites, in a manner identical to that expected of house dwellers (Belton, 2005: 137). Ultimately, the 'forcing' of Gypsies and Travellers into contemporary housing can be seen as even better solution to assimilate the 'deviant', and since Local Authorities in England have consistently failed to provide enough caravan sites for Gypsies and Travellers to live on (Hawes & Perez, 1995; Smith and

Greenfields, 2013), this assimilating process has so far been highly successful, with approximately 80 per cent of Gypsies and Travellers now living in settled (housed) accommodation rather than in their typically preferred caravan accommodation (CRE, 2004; LGTU, 2010).

In support of this argument, data from this doctoral study will be used to demonstrate how the majority of Gypsies and Travellers have experienced significantly increased socio-economic problems, and therefore decreased well-being, after they have been forced to embrace (as a result of normalising assimilation policies) the norms of post-industrial life. Key aspects of cultural practice such as a typical preference for communality over 'institutionalised individualism' (Beck & Beck- Gernsheim, 2002: xxi – xxii), early school leaving, large family size and self-employment over waged labour have remained at odds with mainstream norms, leading to ever increasing monitoring or the necessity of experiencing negative consequences if such practices are retained.

In contrast, it will be shown that the socio-economic situation of those Finnish Roma who have adopted (in their own words) the 'normal way of living' in the fields of housing, family and employment and, who yet remain a discrete ethnic group with distinct cultural practices, ethnic identity and often distinct physical appearance, have significantly improved their circumstances. So great has the drive to achieve a 'normal way of life' become for some Finnish Roma that, as will be demonstrated (Chapter 9: 9.2.1), the control and drive to assimilate now comes effectively from inside the Roma community leading to internal stigmatisation of those community members who are (for whatever reason) unable to live according to those norms and/or resist the cultural changes.

This study focuses on the effects of government policies and institutions that support and promote participation in the common labour market, the nuclear family model and 'settled' living. As such, housing associations (public and private accommodation), Employment Offices/Job Centres and the entire school systems are identified as creating a seamless whole as institutions and mechanisms that promote 'normalised' forms of living. In post-industrial society, access to a settled address is prerequisite for most employment opportunities as is access to bank accounts and certain forms of photo-identity cards such as driving licences, library cards or a passport. Official models of formal education reproduce and favour membership of the nuclear family model and participation in wage labour processes, all of which are seen as necessities for social-economic assimilation and acceptance in European societies. As will be argued, acceptance of these moral norms and membership of these institutions are thus prerequisite for individuals' and communities' well-being, with a significant price to be paid by those who resist such normalising assimilatory processes.

Before turning into the methods and methodology used within this doctoral thesis (Chapter 3), the next section introduces and theorises the racism and discrimination experienced by Roma, Gypsies and Travellers in contemporary Western societies.

2.3 CONTEMPORARY RACISM AND DISCRIMINATION

The European Commissioner of Human Rights, Alvaro Gil-Robles noted in 2005 that "Gypsies would appear to be the last ethnic minority in respect of which openly racist views can still be acceptably expressed." (Bhobal & Myers, 2008: 187-188). In the UK, several scholars (e.g. Bhobal & Myers, 2008; Coxhead, 2007; CRE, 2004; Hancock, 1996 and O'Nions, 1995) have found that the most overt and persistent forms of prejudice and racism were utilised against Gypsies and Travellers. Finland's biggest newspaper, *Helsingin Sanomat*, published in 2011 the results of a racism-survey mapping the attitudes of Finnish people towards minorities (Mykkänen, 2011; Mäkinen, 2011). Although the newspaper study cannot be considered as scientifically valid, its results can be taken as suggestive. According to the survey, the most hated minority in Finland are the Finnish Roma, with 37 per cent of the respondents reporting 'negative' or 'extremely negative' attitude towards them. The second and third most disliked groups were Somali people and Muslims.

Whilst contemporary discourse on racial prejudice admits that Roma may have been unjustly oppressed within society, scholars have found that this is justified by those who are prejudiced by the assumption that such oppression has occurred mainly because they (Gypsy, Traveller and Roma peoples) are 'deviants' "whose function, particularly in modern society, is unclear" (Willem and Lucassen, 1998: 42). This above discussed discourse of 'deviance' (also Sumner, 2006), makes it possible for individuals, media and even members of government to express racism against Roma, Gypsies and Travellers without any serious consequences (Foucault, 2003b; Richardson, 2006b; Bhandaru, 2013).

According to Georg Simmel (1968), and as was presented above (2.2.2), modern conceptions of deviance are the result of violation of social norms. Conversely, social control is necessary in order to maintain the existence of society and its peaceful and ethical behaviour (ibid.). Simmel's (1971:143) conception of the 'stranger' fits well into the definition of Gypsies and Travellers in post-industrial societies; with his 'stranger' seen as the person who comes today and stays tomorrow, the one who has not given up the freedom of coming and going. By not assimilating to the norms of conventional settled lifestyle, Gypsies and Travellers are perceived as deviant and this 'deviance' is exaggerated by the rest of the society (Simmel, 1968), leading to negative stereotyping.

The argument that post-industrial societies have difficulties in accepting individuals or groups that differ from the standardised moral norms of post-industrial life, (settled accommodation and wage- employment), and thus will try to assimilate them via various processes, gains further traction if we consider post-industrialism as an era of bureaucracy. It can be argued that bureaucratic structures and procedures exclude Travellers from services, e.g. public services are based on signing on or registration that demands a settled lifestyle; whilst written or numeracy skills that are learned throughout the education process are obligatory to succeed in navigating the bureaucratic systems that require regularity, punctuality and re-

sponsibility. These requirements may be hard to grasp even for the housed Roma, Gypsies and Travellers who are likely to have enhanced literacy skills when compared with nomadic populations (Rutter, 1997 cited in Power, 2004: 37.)

2.3.1 Culture as choice or culture as nature?

Internationally the underlying reasons and difficulties pertaining to assimilation (or even toleration) of Roma, Gypsies and Travellers are often presented as connected with 'anti-social' nomadism and cultural practices as 'way of life'-discourse (culture as choice). On the other hand there is a strand of 'anti-Gypsyism' or 'Romaphobia' racism which presents the rhetoric of 'outsiderhood as 'dehumanising'; in which form Roma, Gypsies and Travellers are seen as a subhuman group no matter what changes they make in their social status or living arrangements and practices (culture as nature) (Valeriu & Slavik, 2007). Since this latter form of racism enables Roma to be viewed as less than human, they can be denied access to human rights that are available to the rest of populations.

This dehumanisation or moral exclusion is based on negative stereotypes and historical persecution of the Roma, Gypsies and Travellers (ibid.). These strong and mostly negative stereotypes, that are often verified by recourse to popular media and folklore representations (Coxhead, 2007:31), are 'institutionalised stereotypes', forms of labelling that support institutional racism. Current examples of this media-agitated stereotyping of the Roma, using historical tropes of 'child-stealing' were witnessed in October 2013, when Roma couples in Greece and Ireland were accused of child abduction after blonde haired and blue –eyed children were found in their households. These children were taken into the custody of Government social welfare agencies, and then quietly returned to their families after it became clear they in fact had not been abducted (e.g. BBC News, 2013).

The mode of normalising control of Gypsy, Traveller and Roma communities is addressed by Richardson (2006b: 79-80) who has analysed the connection between power/control and discourse, by using Foucault's (1969) theories of gaze as a tool of governmental control. The most important element of the gaze is its interpretive nature which is used as a way to normalise and control subjects (Foucault, 1969). Words used in discourse pertaining to Gypsies and Travellers, are for example, based on the speaker's own social norms and characteristics and therefore rely on the speaker's own interpretation of normative behaviour. As discussed above (2.2.3), Foucault believed that the gaze was internalised, so that individuals would act in a socially acceptable 'normal' way without recognising they are behaving according to a social norm. For individuals and groups that do not share the norms embedded in the dominant culture, (i.e. Roma, Gypsies and Travellers) it is likely that they will face controlling measures first through discourse and then via discriminatory and/or assimilating mechanisms prompted by the discourse (Richardson, 2006a: 1-2) (see above (2.2): 'Assimilation as Normalisation'). Using this theoretical formulation, the 1994 Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (discussed above in Chapter 1:1.2) can be seen as a discriminatory mechanism de-

signed to assimilate travelling people who have failed to accept the messages that sedentarisation is normative and desirable.

It might also be argued that even if the members of Gypsy and Traveller communities, (for whatever reason), end up moving into settled accommodation, the stigma of their past 'differing' lifestyle follows them and is externalised as enacted discrimination and anti-Gypsyism by the wider society among whom they seek to settle (culture as nature).

Unlike other marginalised minorities, the Travelling people across Europe have historically always been stigmatised as a criminal group, who by 'choosing' (either in present or the past) a nomadic way of life (culture as choice), have made their own situation worse (Pulma, 2006; Mayall, 1995). Particularly in the UK, by the end of the nineteenth century, almost all of the 'crimes' that Gypsies and Travellers were associated with, and persecuted for, had something to do with their differing lifestyle. When the state succeeded in criminalising these 'crimes' through the legal process, the whole existence of nomadic or semi-nomadic people was made criminal. (Mayall, 1995: 53-54.)

The Travelling people were thus considered as a threat because of their deviant housing norms that lead to their residence at unknown and uncontrollable locations (Belton, 2005). When the criminalisation of the Travelling lifestyle was, in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, typically implemented by not allowing any Travellers to remain in the country and expelling everyone who sought to continue an itinerant lifestyle (Lucassen, 1998), the 1994 Criminal Justice and Public Order Act put Gypsies and Travellers within the gaze of the state and subject to discourse of surveillance and control through a series of enactments, e.g. ruling that six vehicles travelling together can be considered a 'convoy' and thus required to travel separately, thus breaking down family groups who were travelling together into smaller 'manageable', or containable units (Bancroft, 2005). As discussed above, the companion requirements of the 1994 Act which abolished local authorities' duty to provide accommodation for Gypsies and Travellers, and made it a criminal offence to camp on land without the owner's permission (Home, 2006) added to the pressure to 'conform' and be assimilated.

Pulma (2006: 175), discussing the Finnish situation, writes that the framing of legislation in such a way as to enforce 'normalisation' means that in Finland, minorities' rights became the rights to change and move towards the 'normal' way of life, namely the movement into settled accommodation and wage labour (see further Chapter 1: 1.1.1), and it can be seen that for Gypsies and Travellers in the UK this proposition also holds time.

As will be demonstrated within the empirical part of this study (Chapter 8:8.5), in England many Gypsies and Travellers hide their ethnicity in order to avoid racism and discrimination, whereas in Finland the Roma are too visible (as a result of wearing traditional clothing) to be able to do so, and therefore arguably Finnish Roma have been under greater pressure to assimilate to mainstream social norms (in order to avoid racism). Therefore, regardless of their 'level of assimilation' into the majority norms of living, both Finnish Roma's and Gypsies' and

Travellers' in England everyday lives are essentially defined by their ethnic/racial 'difference', strengthening the argument that assumptions exist that 'culture as nature' ('Romaphobia') operates as the source of racism and discrimination against Roma, Gypsies and Travellers.

2.3.2 The 'White Other'

Within this section the issue of 'race and ethnicity' is considered as a mechanism for 'othering'. Being a white minority group, the Travelling people might be said to be overshadowed by the politics and visibility of discrimination experienced by BAME (Black and Asian Minority Ethnic) groups in the UK. Over the past half century policy makers in Britain have focused on skin colour as one of the most important factors in understanding race (Bleich, 2002: 1065), largely excluding the phenomenon of racism experienced by 'white others'. This phenomenon is also illustrated in the report dealing with the situation of Irish Travellers in England (Power, 2004): the common negative stereotypes of the Travellers and their 'whiteness' have until relatively recently, excluded them from policy formulations, race equality schemes and official discourse centred on ethnicity and diversity.

In contrast, 'Whiteness' has not had a specific meaning in the discourse on Finnish Roma, since all the 'old minorities'; Swedes, Russians and Roma and the indigenous Sami in Finland are relatively white skinned. On the contrary, the old (pejorative) name for the Roma, now recognised as a derogatory term '*mustalainen*' actually translates into 'someone black/dark' or 'blackie', explicitly positioning them as 'non-White'[2]. The position of Finnish Roma as a minority might therefore be seen to be comparable to the BAMEs in England, and for that reason in Finland they have they been the objects of more positive discrimination policies in (e.g. in relation to access to housing), than have Gypsies and Travellers in England.

Puuronen (2011) argues that rather than being an explicit and 'real' category 'whiteness' can be seen as an attribute of the ruling class's or race's identity and often has nothing to do with actual skin colour. As such, whiteness as a 'race' marker might be also perceived of as the normalised position of the dominant people against which all other ethnicities are compared (Foucault, 2003b; Dyer, 1997; Garner, 2007). If this is the case, Roma, Gypsies and Travellers may be considered 'not-white' because they resist(ed) the norms of post-industrial Western lifestyle (Greenfields, 2013).

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[2] Finnish Roma still call themselves 'mustalainen' (translating into 'blackie' or someone black/dark, or in fact Gypsy), a term officially declared derogatory by European Council in 2005. In relation to this, the majority Finns are sometimes referred to by the Finnish Roma as 'valkolainen' (translating into 'whitey' or a white Finn). Available from: http://www.romanit.fi/romanikieli/eri-vaestoryhmien-seka-kielen-taustaa-ja-nimityksia/mustalainen/ [Accessed 13 May 2014]

3 Grounded and Critical Theory

3.1. ONTOLOGY & EPISTEMOLOGY

In this study 'social reality' is seen as a complex mixture of interpretations and meanings, where the world is construed differently by every individual, and such interpretations are influenced by the surrounding society's cultural practices, politics and other people with whom they come into contact (Gomm, 2008: 2). The study takes a position that knowledge is not only a reflection of the world, but also a construct of the knower him or herself. Therefore human knowledge is constantly being (re)constructed by the surrounding cultures, structures and people. (Crossley, 2005:248.)

As this is a piece of critical research, it is assumed that knowledge helps us to understand the world better, furthermore it helps to reveal the underlying practices and structures of any given institution or society (Harvey, 1990: 3-4). Therefore this study, by using critical methodology, aims to analyse social and cultural processes and practices that maintain dominant structures which may (consciously or unwittingly) discriminate against those individuals or groups who do not share the values or knowledge of the ones in power. In other words, knowledge is seen as power. Accordingly, it is a central part of this thesis that in 'modern times' (post-enlightenment and more specifically in the last century) empirical and scientific 'truths' about humanity (and nature) are gathered and utilised by the State and their agents, and this knowledge is used to mould, or assimilate, people into membership of an appropriate model of society (Bancroft, 2005: 20).

3.2 COMPARATIVE STUDY: "A TWO SOCIETY (CASE) COMPARISON"

The research which forms the core of this thesis can best be defined as 'cross-national' (May, 1997: 179) micro-study (Kennett, 2001: 6-7), which has the aim of examining the assimilation and/or segregation processes experienced by Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers in England by focusing on their housing and living -related well-being. The selection of 'level of assimilation' as the 'core category' of the research was undertaken through the use of 'Grounded Theory' methods (see further Chapter 3 (3.3)), which highlighted this theme in findings from both samples.

The situation of Finnish Roma in Helsinki and Gypsies and Travellers in London are, in this research, first considered as separate case studies, and subsequently compared to each other in order to find commonalities and differences between Finland's and England's policies and the communities' culture in general, and between these communities in particular. Within this research, 'case study' is understood as a mode of analysis which considers a situation bounded to a specific time, space, and sociocultural and physical surrounding (Gobo, 2011). Therefore, this "two society (case) comparison" research firstly describes and analyses Finland's and England's responses to the issues concerning housing related well-being of the communities under study, as well as introducing Finnish Roma's and Gypsies and Travellers' own subjective experiences of their well-being in housing and mode of living. The aim of using this method is to try to develop a theory(ies) and/or construct models of these communities assimilation/segregation situations in Finland and England, and possibly enhance the scope for policy transfer or borrowing of policies and practices between the two countries (Salminen, 1984). By comparing the official and unofficial minority policies and practices in both Finnish and English welfare systems and societies, and the cultural structures and practices of the ethnic minorities in question, the intention is to try to produce new and beneficial information about minority integration, assimilation and/or segregation processes which minimises harm whilst enhancing knowledge.

It is acknowledged in this cross-national study that there may be non-equivalence in policies adopted by different governments. As such these approaches may not naturally fit inside the same conceptual categories and therefore have to be examined and explained thoroughly before any valid comparisons can be made. Kennett (2001: 2) argues that "a fundamental challenge for those undertaking cross-national research is to grasp the relationship and dynamics between domestic political factors and supranational institutions in the formulation of social policy". By studying Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers in England as separate case studies, this dilemma is largely avoided, although the difficulties and challenges of cross-national comparison are acknowledged when comparing the two separate cases. For example, it is acknowledged that the Finnish National Policy on Roma (FNPR, 2009) is implemented in response to the EU requirement to have a national plan to increase and improve the integration of the Roma (Gypsy/Traveller) populations. Since the equivalent document produced by the UK officials (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2011), has been described as inadequate for its purpose (Ryder et al., 2011), it is assumed here that the pressure from EU agencies to implement the national Roma integration strategy is felt more strongly in Finland than in the UK. The UK, as a bigger European Union member state has greater power to ignore or downplay EU orders and requirements compared to smaller member states like Finland, and may moreover be culturally more inclined to do that as a result of the Government's ambivalent relationship with the EU (Wilson, 2014). These variables are taken into consideration when analysing relevant national policies and practices.

As well as considering the influence of supranational institutions in national policies and practices, it is important to acknowledge the boundaries between state and non-state functions when conducting comparative cross-national research (Kennett, 2001:4). To ensure that the Third Sector and Civil Society (as defined in Oxford Dictionary) are taken into consideration when analysing the well-being of the communities under study, the whole welfare producing apparatus is referred as a 'welfare system', rather than a welfare society. A welfare system is defined as "… the range of institutions that together determine the welfare of citizens. Amongst these are the family and the community networks in which it exists, the market, the charitable and voluntary sectors, and the social services and benefits provided by the state." (Baldock et al., 1999: xxi, 10, 15). This allows comparison of not only the official policies and practices of Finland and England, but also the third sector agencies and community/family support systems that are in place to increase the well-being of Roma, Gypsies and Travellers. This is extremely important for at least two, interrelated reasons: the 'Big Society' agenda promoted by the new UK Coalition government (see Chapter 4 (4.1.2)), and the family and community -oriented culture of Roma, Gypsies and Travellers. These can significantly impact on outcomes and drivers of activity, and as such it is critically important to ensure that analysis goes beyond the more 'standardised' State mandated welfare agencies.

Since discourses of exclusion may differ significantly between different countries, it is highly important to reflect the national traditions contributing to those discourses (Kennett, 2000: 141). This argument is acknowledged by incorporating analysis of the different ideologies influencing the diversity discourse and policies in both Finland and England (4.1).

Since, (based on the findings of 'Policy Analysis' (3.4.1)), elements which most diminish the well- being of Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers of England are (in decreasing order) housing-, employment- and education -related issues (Cullen et al., 2008; Ministry of Social Affairs and Health (FNPR), 2009; Ryder & Greenfields, 2010), a decision was made to concentrate mainly on housing and living issues as this theme prompted most responses from the interviewees and hence produced the greatest weight of interview data. Employment related issues are still seen virtually as important as housing related issues in assimilating and 'normalising' ethnic minorities, but since questions about employment related well-being failed to produce significant amounts of interview data (in part as a result of low levels of employment engagement in the UK sample) to be analysed equally with housing related issues, this fed into the decision to concentrate mainly on housing within this study. Employment related issues are treated to a less in-depth analysis and presented as relevant in various points and in Chapter 4 (4.3). Education was excluded from this research since it would have steered the research towards studying children, an area already widely researched in both countries in question (Power, 2004; FNPR, 2009).

The accommodation situation of Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers in England differ significantly in the sense that in England the vast majority of these

communities still wish to live a 'travelling lifestyle' on caravan sites rather than in contemporary bricks and mortar housing (Cemlyn et. al., 2009). The decision to study housed Gypsies and Travellers in London was made first of all since it has been shown that two thirds of Gypsies and Travellers in England now live in housing (CRE, 2004) and it is believed that in London the percentage is even higher (LGTU, 2010), and secondly; because there is a lack of research in this geographical and policy area. Until now, most of the research on Gypsies and Travellers has been, in one way or another, related to travelling lifestyles and living on caravan sites (with few exceptions i.e. Smith and Greenfields, 2013). The final reason to study housed Gypsies and Travellers in the UK was their equivalence to the housing situation of Finnish Roma. Since the Roma in Finland have not travelled for the last 30 – 40 years (FNPR, 2009) it would have been impossible to compare their housing-related well-being to that of Gypsies and Travellers living on caravan sites.

3.3 CRITICAL THEORY AND GROUNDED THEORY

The theoretical and methodological basis of this study consists of Critical Social Theory, operationalized through Grounded Theory to analyse findings generated via interview data.

Accordingly, this study explicitly sets out to challenge the logic and power structures behind a state-mandated preference for settled accommodation (and wage labour) and in doing so, explore the pressures brought to bear upon those who fail to comply with these practices.

By applying critical research methodology, this study is able to uncover the oppressive nature of prevailing social structures (Harvey, 1990: 2). The data analysed and studied for this research is treated as not independent of its socio-historic context but instead a part of the dominant order (Harvey, 1990:8). On the other hand, Grounded Theory, which is used to analyse the findings from this study (see below), treats data as its own reality, separate from any outside structures or ideas. Whilst in Critical Theory approaches, the data and the theory are seen as mutually influencing each other, in Grounded Theory practice, theory is induced from the data without using any outside theories, and only after being compared to theories found in literature. (Harvey, 1990: 211; Strauss & Corbin, 1990.) As such this thesis combines both approaches, as theoretical frameworks are useful in interpreting findings and therefore act as an encouragement for grounded theorists to read literature which in turn raises their theoretical sensitivity. By comparing theoretical concepts with coded data, the literature can potentially become a part of data itself. (Strauss & Corbin, 2008, cited in Birks & Mills, 2011: 24). Thus, this research is close to a constructivist grounded theory approach that aims to distinguish how actors may be, sometimes unconsciously, influenced by surrounding societies' structures, discourses and norms (Charmaz & Bryant, 2011).

As grounded theory methods are used in this research to analyse and code data, it is necessary to explain here, how this practice is understood.

According to Strauss and Corbin (1990: 24) grounded theory is a "... qualitative research method that uses systematic set of procedures to develop an inductively grounded theory about a phenomenon". This study agrees with Hennink et al. (2011) and Liamputtong & Ezzy (2005) that qualitative (grounded) research and theory building is a constant dialogue between pre-existing theory and observations derived from the data. In other words, both inductive and deductive techniques are used in producing this thesis.

Since the housing and living conditions of Roma in Helsinki and Gypsies and Travellers in London were studied by looking at their current and general situation with the help of the 'Policy Analysis' (literature review) and comparing and contrasting those findings with the interview data (Chapters 4-8), it can be considered as deductive research (where theorizing comes before research). On the other hand, particular areas (housing, lifestyle & employment) of the subjects' lives are also studied in order to derive theories straight from the interview data; theories that might not have been found in the literature (inductive method) (May, 1997: 30). Accordingly, a form of triangulation occurs, that is, comparing culture specific emic explanations to universal etic explanations to assist in recognising the possible contradictions influencing the well-being of the subjects. The reason for choosing grounded theory methods to analyse data in this research comes from the aspiration to study the subjective well-being of the Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers in England, in the specific contexts of housing and employment.

Since the interviews are treated as the most important part of the data, the intention was to disentangle what the subjects themselves had to say about their living situations in housing (and employment), and therefore to look for possible themes, codes and theories that emerged from the interviews. Nonetheless it is emphasized that since the underlying framework of this study is Critical Social Theory, it is not assumed that the interpretation of the data, or even the subjects' own interpretation of their situations are un influenced by the logic and power relations of the societies and communities in question. Instead it is highlighted that the insiders' point of view (emic), perceptions, beliefs and values should be heard in order to find ways to increase their well-being (if this is needed) in their own terms. The in-depth nature of the interviews serve the concept of gaining subjective perceptions of circumstances, and therefore contribute to the emic perspective of the study. The reviewed literature ('Policy Analysis'), for the most part, tells us about the outsider's (etic) opinions and beliefs (Hennink et al., 2011.); combining to create a nuanced whole.

3.3.1 Coding Data

As has been established above, the analysis of the interview data is conducted by utilising the key elements of grounded theory's form of coding. Open coding is a process where data is broken down, examined, compared, conceptualized and categorized (Strauss & Corbin, 1990:61-95). After conceptualizing, the data is put back together by making connections between 'found categories'. This process is called axial coding. This part of the coding process is what makes the theory 'grounded'

by constantly comparing and checking the connections between categories. (Ibid., pp. 96 – 114.) The final stage of the coding process is called selective coding where a core category is selected and related systematically to other categories and concepts (ibid., p. 147). In this study 'the level of assimilation' was identified as the core category. Packer (2011: 59) calls the process of coding in grounded theory as "the twin practices of abstraction and generalization", where the whole is first divided into separate and distinct elements and then put back together by searching for possible commonalities among the separate, distinct elements.

Although it might seem that Critical Theory and Grounded Theory could not be used in the same study, it is noticeable that both of them use similar methods in data analysis. For example, whereas in Grounded Theory *abstraction* and *generalization* (Packer, ibid.) is used to code data, in Critical Theory the practices of *deconstructing* and *reconstructing* or "a constant shuttling backwards and forwards between abstract concepts and concrete data ..." (Harvey, 1990: 29) form the basis for data analysis. Although these practices are used in grounded theory *inside* the data and in critical theory *between* data and literature, their evident resemblance in technique makes it possible to combine these two methodologies, at least if grounded theory is understood according Hennink et al. (2011) and Liamputtong & Ezzy (2005), as using both inductive and deductive techniques. Another resemblance in data analysis between critical theory and grounded theory is the importance of finding a *central concept* (critical theory) from which other concepts are reconstructed (Harvey, 1990:29), or the above mentioned *core category* (in grounded theory) which is systematically related and compared to other categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1990:147).

In order to identity 'level of assimilation' as the central concept/core category within the interview data it was first compared to other categories found in the data, and then compared to concepts found within the literature review to see if additional concepts could be reconstructed. Given that the purpose of this research is to build a theory from the interview data, and to reveal possible contradictions when compared to the reviewed literature ('Policy Analysis') the process was carried out by using Critical Theory as the underlining methodology and Grounded Theory as a methodological practice tool.

3.4 DATA

3.4.1 'Policy Analysis' (literature review)

The literature analysed to support this thesis consists of a range of statutory and third sector documents, reports, professional handbooks and academic research about the current housing and employment situation as well as (grey) literature including 'planned actions' (at statutory and local level) aimed at 'improving' the situation of Finnish Roma or the Gypsies and Travellers in England. The selected

methodology consists of a comparison of the situation of these communities by looking at the policies, practices and the culture within these two countries using critical theory's assumption that the dominant order has built-in oppressive structures that benefits those in power. As discussed above, the focus is primarily on housing and secondly on employment issues since those, according to the studied literature, were the areas that caused most problems for Roma and Gypsies/Travellers in both countries (deductive findings). This finding is also the main reason why the entire study, (including the interviews), concentrated on the accommodation and employment related well-being of Roma in Helsinki and Gypsies and Travellers in London, to seek to explore as near comparable situations as possible (residents in urban settings/capital cities).

The 'Policy Analysis' data is integrated into Chapters 4 – 8 and presented in relation to the Interview data.

A key document used throughout this study is the Finnish Ministry of Social Affairs and Health's "proposal of the working group for a national policy on Roma" (FNPR, 2009) a comprehensive report developed in collaboration with different ministries, organisations and individual advisors both Roma and non-Roma. This document gives a thorough picture of the accommodation and employment related welfare situation of Finnish Roma and introduces the planned actions to be taken to enhance their situation within a particular time-frame. It provides an in depth description of the accommodation (and employment) circumstances of the Roma and also a more extensive view of the policy climate affecting the Roma. The document lists six different Policy Key Areas which reveal the areas Finnish policy will concentrate on in Roma issues in the coming years (Appendix 1). Because of its comprehensive nature, The FNPR is the primary document with which policy literature from England is compared. To ensure reliability and enable triangulation, in relation to policy approaches, a professional practice handbook made for social workers working with Roma (Oulun kaupunki, 2007), the Finnish Ministry of Social Affairs and Health's 'Strategies of the policy on Roma' (Suonoja

& Lindberg, 2000), a report on specific housing -related issues in the Roma culture (Pirttilahti, 2000), and a survey about the housing situation of Finnish Roma (Törmä, et al., 2012) were also analysed in the Finnish context.

Since the extent of the UK Gypsy, Traveller and Roma integration strategy (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2011) is not nearly as comprehensive as the Finnish Roma integration strategy (FNPR, 2009), literature from England is based upon a range of different types of documents e.g. third sector publications, professional practice handbooks and academic research. The findings from the English literature were compared to Finnish literature specifically in relation to housing and employment related issues, but also to find out what are the overall policy, practice and cultural differences between Finland and England that influence housing and employment related well-being and the assimilation/segregation situations of the communities in question.

When analysing literature, it is important to acknowledge that documents might be relevant and interesting also for what they are not saying, as well as

what they are (May, 1997: 164). This has been kept in mind when analysing the literature. In particular, official reports and documents included in the literature review are viewed as constructing social reality, values and actual events, and therefore seen as representing the dominant or 'official' vision of life. Although at first view it might seem problematic to include some scholarly literature within the 'Policy Analysis' data, this is done firstly to enable a comprehensive view of the housing and living situation of housed Gypsies and Travellers (since the UK Traveller and Roma Integration Strategy fails to do so adequately), and secondly to indicate that also academic researchers' interpretations of the world have to be seen as influenced by the surrounding world (Gomm, 2008: 2).

3.4.2 Interviews

The semi-structured interviews undertaken (see topic guides, Appendices 4ab) were themed according to questions about living in a settled house and working in the official labour market. The two capital cities, Helsinki and London, were chosen to enable the comparison of living situations in urban areas. As such rural lifestyles which allegedly have their own specific contexts and challenges are excluded from the study. This decision was made given the emphasis on highlighting characteristics of modern or post-industrial Western welfare societies and their effects on Roma, Gypsy and Traveller communities. Rural areas arguably 'lag behind' in industrial development, or at least present a different kind of lifestyle and social relations which are not of particular relevance to this study.

Within this doctoral research 29 Finnish Roma living in Helsinki and 28 Gypsies and Travellers living in London were interviewed. Interviewees were selected as fitting within two categories: living in a house in Helsinki/London, and being of working age (18 - 66 years old).

Every interviewee was either given a Consent form (Appendices 3ab) to read and sign before starting the interview or asked to state (on audio recording) that they were being interviewed of their free will, could withdraw consent at any time and were aware of the ethics and data protection information which had been made plain to them prior to interview. Interviews were all recorded with participant's consent and lasted between 18 minutes and 1 hour 30 minutes. Since a small number of interviews were considered too short to provide particularly useful information, the number of interviews conducted was raised from the original target of 20 to 30 in each country, after which the saturation point was clearly reached in both countries.

London

To avoid overly determinative findings in relation to gender and age the intention was to control the sample and ensure that half of the respondents in each city were women and half men from two different broad age groups. Furthermore, to take account of cultural differences in the UK, half of the interviewees were intended to be English Gypsies and half Irish Travellers. Selection of respondents in this way would have enabled a gendered and age-related comparison of experiences.

However, it became evident that finding housed English Gypsies in London who were willing to be interviewed proved extremely challenging and after using several different techniques including snowballing, academic contacts, leafleting, and waiting in person in third sector organisations' premises for possible respondents to walk in, the researcher was forced to settle for an interview sample which consisted of only one Gypsy man and four Gypsy women. Housed Irish Travellers were considerably easier to locate, especially within the office of London Gypsy and Traveller Unit, where they came to receive assistance in housing related issues. Regardless of this it was extremely difficult to convince Irish Traveller men to be interviewed. Most of the men approached refused to take part straight away, and eventually, only a total of five Traveller men agreed to be interviewed. It is acknowledged here that since the gender, age and ethnic group affiliation are not equally balanced, the conclusions of this study point mainly to housed female Irish Travellers. However, data from the interviews with Gypsy and Traveller men and Gypsy women are considered highly useful in measuring whether these findings differ significantly from the responses provided by Irish Traveller women.

Problems in identifying housed English Gypsies to interview may also result from the circumstances in which numerous Gypsies hide their identities so that they cannot be identified as members of their ethnic group by the 'outside' society (see further Chapter 8:8.5.1). As an example, in the UK 2011 Census only 55 000 individuals identified themselves as Gypsies or Travellers when in fact there is estimated, based on administrative statistics, to be over 300 000 Gypsies and Travellers in the UK (see Irish Traveller Movement in Britain, 2013). Although residence in housing may be an unfortunate and reluctant situation for participants, it is highly relevant in policy and practice terms to study the housed population of Gypsies and Travellers in England, as accessing any inside view on the matter produces new information which is relevant to the well-being of this community.

After conducting the interviews, the respondents in each country were subdivided into eight different groups for analytical purposes, and each group was assigned a code. These codes are used when quoting directly from respondents.

Gypsies and Travellers are divided into groups by gender; age, younger (18-35) – older (36-66); and by their ethnicity (Gypsy-Traveller). Since English Gypsies have in general been a part of English society for hundreds of years compared to Irish Travellers who have emigrated (from Ireland) more recently, there are strong indications of Gypsies higher level of assimilation and therefore often better socio-economic position, compared to Irish Travellers. For example, Gypsies typically have had more interaction with the wider society in England than Irish Travellers, which means they are more accustomed to its life and for instance not as afraid of everything and everyone that come from outside their own community. Therefore, the Gypsy-Traveller division will also refer to these groups' different socio-economic status, similar to Finnish Roma's Group A and Group B division (below).

The codes for the groups and the number of respondents in each group are as follows (Tables 1ab): Younger Gypsy Female (YGF): 2; Older Gypsy Female (OGF): 2; Younger Gypsy Male (YGM): 0; Older Gypsy Male (OGM): 1; Younger Traveller

Female (YTF): 11; Older Traveller Female (OTF): 7; Younger Traveller Male (YTM): 3; and Older Traveller Male (OTM): 2.

The number of respondents in each group, and their age, is demonstrated in Table 1a, whereas Table 1b displays the codes that will be used when quoting the respondents, and provide examples of such quotes. When segments of interview are presented within this thesis the Researcher is identified by the letter R (researcher) and Interviewee's response preceded by the letter I (interviewee).

Table 1a: Number of respondents by demographic characteristics (age, gender and ethnicity).

	English Gypsy		**Irish Traveller**	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Younger (18-35)	1x(23) 1x(35)		4x(19) 2x(21) 1x(24) 1x(25) 1x(28) 1x(30) 1x(34)	1x(27) 1x(29) 1x(30)
Older (36-66)	1x(36) 1x(41)	1x(45)	1x(38) 2x(43) 1x(49) 1x(50) 1x(51) 1x(54)	1x(47) 1x(66)

Table 1b: Codes used when quoting Gypsy and Traveller respondents, and examples of quotes.

Group name	**Code**	**Example**
Younger Gypsy Female	YGF	22 year old, Younger Gypsy Female = (YGF, 22)
Older Gypsy Female	OGF	39 year old, Older Gypsy Female = (OGF, 39)
Younger Gypsy Male	YGM	25 year old, Younger Gypsy Male = (YGM, 25)
Older Gypsy Male	OGM	45 year old, Older Gypsy Male = (OGM, 45)
Younger Traveller Female	YTF	19 year old Younger Traveller Female = (YTF, 19)
Older Traveller Female	OTF	45 year old, Older Traveller Female = (OTF, 45)
Younger Traveller Male	YTM	29 year old, Younger Traveller Male = (YTM, 29)
Older Traveller Male	OTM	66 year old, Older Traveller Male = (OTM, 47)

As indicated above, in London interviewees were contacted through third sector agencies working with Gypsies and Travellers. The London Gypsy and Traveller Unit (LGTU) and the London office of Irish Traveller Movement in Britain (ITMB) were initially contacted and meetings held with staff on at least two occasions in order to introduce the researcher and the research topic and to build trust.

The Participant Information Sheet (Appendix 2a) which had been reviewed and passed by Buckinghamshire New University's ethics committee was sent to both offices to provide them with information which they could hand out to potential interviewees. In addition, the third sector agencies were asked to publicise the research and the need for interviewees to potential participants. After intensive

discussion with the personnel working at LGTU (many of whom are Gypsies of Travellers themselves) about the advisability and confidentiality issues pertaining to recording interviews, two of the staff members, an Irish Traveller woman and an English Gypsy woman, agreed to be interviewed as pilots to test the topic guide. The ITMB personnel asked to see the questions beforehand, in order to be sure they were appropriate and would not offend anyone – creating a situation where there was potential for community input and co-production of research design.

Following discussions with third sector agencies and supervisors, at this point the researcher decided to offer every interviewee a small token incentive (£10) for taking a part in the study. Although it has been argued that payment undermines the free choice of an individual to participate in research and can be seen as an inducement (Holloway and Jefferson, 2000, cited in Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005: 217), this study takes the stand that the contribution and knowledge of the participants should be valued and rewarded. Booth (1999, cited in ibid.) writes that paying participants for their time is especially important if their financial situation is weaker than that of the researcher, which can often be the case for many Gypsies and Travellers in England (Ryder and Greenfields, 2010).

Most of the interviews took place at the back of the LGTU office in London and some of them at ITMB office in London. One interviewee was contacted through a local authority social worker specialising in issues concerning Gypsies and Travellers, and a further three participants were met in community conference settings. Three of the interviews which took place outside LGTU or ITMB offices were conducted in participant's own homes and one at a coffee shop. Three of the respondents were better educated and significantly socio-economically wealthier than the majority of respondents and as such it was felt inappropriate to offer them money, instead the researcher offered them coffee or a box of chocolates. It was felt important and necessary to include more educated participants in the study to show that there is variation within the community and to learn what are the similarities and differences between more educated and less educated housed members of these populations in terms of attitudes and experiences. All the more educated participant were English Gypsies, which in itself provide indications of the level of assimilation of English Gypsies compared to Irish Travellers in England as well as being suggestive of the duration of settlement of a particular population.

Given that some of the interviewees who participated through the LGTU research site had only had negative experiences with people outside their own community and only interacted with their own community members, they were felt to be quite cautious towards the researcher while been interviewed. In this situation interviews, (even though in one case it was only 18 minutes long), are considered important given that they provide first hand accounts of circumstances which are rarely discussed outside of the community and moreover produce valuable data in response to research questions.

It is accepted that researcher's self-disclosure (i.e. purpose and benefit of the study to the interviewer, their personal identity and interest etc.) is especially important when undertaking research with ethnic minorities or vulnerable com-

munities because of the suspicion and distrust they may have towards outsiders (Dunbar et al., 2002, cited in Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005: 220). The interviewing style used in this research was therefore somewhat self-disclosing as in a way that, before the recorder was turned on, the researcher shared her own experiences of a range of issues and experiences with the respondents in order to build up a rapport. It transpired that the best place to build trust and facilitate rapport in London was while "sharing a smoke" (having a cigarette) outside the LGTU and ITMB offices with potential interviewees. This situation brought the researcher 'into the same level' with the interviewees and stories about life were shared in several occasion – in fact it was this ice-breaking situation which led in some cases to people who might not have agreed to be interviewed participating in the study. In London the researcher felt that since she had a foreign accent it was easier for the participants to trust her as she was seen to be outside of the 'English' paradigm. The most significant thing, that enabled the researcher to conduct the interviews, was the support of the LGTU and ITMB employees, who treated her as 'one of themselves' and someone who could be trusted with the community.

In Helsinki in contrast, finding participants and gaining their trust was significantly easier than in England. None of the respondents were felt to be cautious when talking with the researcher, and most of them (particularly in 'street' settings) were happy that someone had the courage to come and talk to them as well as the interest to hear what they had to say. The researcher felt she was treated with hardly any suspicion, indicating Finnish Roma's higher level of trust for the Finnish society and the majority population (see Chapter 4:4.2). As will be shown in Part 2, Finnish Roma interact daily with majority Finns (Chapter 8:8.2), and consider themselves "almost the same as other Finns" (6:6.2), which will arguably have a decreasing effect on the insider – outsider juxtaposition.

Helsinki

In Helsinki the distribution of interviewees was more equal, out of the 29 interviews 11 were men and 18 women. There are number of reasons for the more equal distribution of gender within the sample in Helsinki when compared to London: The researcher has a longer history of cooperation with Finnish Roma individuals (particularly those who could act as gatekeepers) working in different government and third sector organisations. These individuals already trusted the researcher and happily provided her with names of individuals whom they thought would be willing to be interviewed. In London the researcher only met the gatekeepers when she first began the fieldwork phase and had to get participants to agree to interview 'on the spot'. Only later was it possible to contact some individuals in the UK through other routes and personally ask them to be interviewed. Another reason which potentially makes it easier to find respondents in Finland is Finnish Roma's distinctive way to dress that makes them stand out from the wider population (see further Chapter 1 (1.1.1)). As such the researcher approached half of the respondents on the street, where most of the Roma (both male and female) who were approached in this way were happy to participate, perhaps being indica-

tive of their confidence in being publically identified as Roma and willingness to cooperate as a result of overt identification with their community and heritage in public settings.

In common with the English Gypsy and Traveller sample Finnish Roma were divided into eight groups by their gender; age, younger (18-35) – older (36-66); and by their socio-economic position (Group A – Group B). The Group A Roma are respondents contacted through Roma gatekeepers working in prestigious government and third sector organisations, whereas Group B Roma are respondents approached on the street in more deprived areas in Helsinki. The purpose of Groups A and B is to highlight the potential different position and starting points of Finnish Roma individuals and families, and to demonstrate how (recognition) policies, often influenced by Group A Roma, can ignore the situations of the less well-off and marginalised (often Group B) Roma (see further Chapter 4 (4.2)).

The eight groups and the number of respondents in each group are: Younger Group A Female (YAF): 5; Older Group A Female (OAF): 7; Younger Group A Male (YAM): 3; Older Group A Male (OAM): 4; Younger Group B Female (YBF): 3; Older Group B Female (OBF): 3; Younger Group B Male (YBM): 2; and Older Group B Male (OBM): 2.

The number of respondents in each group, and their age, is demonstrated in Table 2a, whereas Table 2b displays the codes and examples that used when quoting the respondents. When displaying parts of discussion, the researcher's initial is marked as R (researcher) and respondents' as I (interviewee).

Table 2a: The number of Finnish Roma respondents in eight different groups divided by their age, gender and socio-economic position.

	Group A		**Group B**	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Younger (18-35)	1x(26) 1x(27) 2x(28) 1x(34)	1x(21) 1x(23) 1x(28)	1x(19) 1x(27) 1x(34)	1x(19) 1x(22)
Older (36-66)	3x(40) 2x(45) 1x(55) 1x(58)	2x(42) 2x(45)	2x(55) 1x(66)	1x(40) 1x(46)

Table 2b: Codes used when quoting Finnish Roma respondents, and examples of quotes.

Group name	**Code**	**Example**
Younger Group A Female	YAF	23 year old, Younger group A Female = (YAF, 23)
Older Group A Female	OAF	42 year old, Older group A Female = (OAF, 42)
Younger Group A Male	YAM	26 year old, Younger group A Male = (YAM, 26)
Older Group A Male	OAM	45 year old, Older group A Male = (OAM, 45)
Younger Group B Female	YBF	19 year old, Younger group B Female = (YBF, 19)
Older Group B Female	OBF	66 year old, Older group B Female = (OBF, 66)
Younger Group B Male	YBM	22 year old, Younger group B Male = (YBM, 22)
Older Group B Male	OBM	40 year old, Older group B Male = (OBM, 40)

Half of the interviewees in Helsinki were contacted through Finnish Roma individuals (gatekeepers) with whom the researcher had worked before (Group A), and half of the participants were approached personally in the surroundings of a shopping centre located in one of the 'rougher' areas in Helsinki (Group B). This combination of research sites was undertaken to make sure that the voices of Roma in different situations were heard. At the beginning of the research the researcher was provided by some 'gatekeepers' with a list of names of people to interview who was said to be able to provide 'good results' for the study. For this reason it was felt necessary to find half of the respondents 'on the street' to ensure that there was not an overt or unwitting selection of respondents who would provide a particular form of narrative.

Two pilot interviews were conducted with two women employees of a third sector organisation, and as a result of these interviews a few modifications was made to make the topic guide more suitable for the Finnish case. Participant Information sheets, which had been reviewed and passed by University of Eastern Finland's ethics committee (Appendix 2b) were shown to all respondents and permission was asked to record the interviews, before conducting the interviews (Appendix 3b).

In Helsinki, it was felt inappropriate to offer the interviewees money for cultural reasons, and, instead the researcher offered to buy coffee and pastry to any potential respondent approached on the street. Some of the respondents (even where they agreed to be interviewed) refused to take anything from the researcher in which case interviews were conducted outside the shopping centre. Some of them accepted the offer of coffee and pastry in the near coffee shop while being interviewed, while some preferred to go to MacDonald's instead for a 'fast food' meal. In contrast, the participants contacted through gatekeepers where either interviewed at their home or work place. When the researcher was invited to people's homes she took chocolates or pastries for the interviewees, as she was raised with the cultural practice of taking a gift to someone's home when visiting and moreover this provided a small 'thank you' for respondents participation. When interviews took place in someone's office it was felt appropriate not to take a gift as a risk existed of being seen as unprofessional.

3.4.3 Topic guides

The Topic guides (Appendices 4ab) were designed based on the findings of the literature review ('Policy Analysis') which provided indications of specific issues and concerns. Since from the earliest stage of the research documents, reports and academic literature identified that housing and employment (and education) issues were the most problematic areas for Roma communities in Finland and Gypsy and Traveller communities in England, questions about housing and employment began to emerge when it was possible to identify what areas of information were missing from existing literature. The issue of including cross-national equivalence was also important when designing the topic guides. By concentrating on housed Gypsies and Travellers in London, most of the problems of equivalence in questions vanished allowing as far as possible 'like for like' analysis, although some terms and phrases had to be altered in the Finnish topic guide. For example, questions such as "Have you lived in a settled house before?" or "What are the differences of living in a caravan and in a house?" were removed from the Finnish questions, given that the Roma in Finland have not travelled for the last 30 – 40 years (FNPR, 2009). Otherwise the content of topic guides used in Helsinki and London are very similar allowing for comparative analysis.

When interviewing any kind of minorities or vulnerable groups, it is important to formulate the question in words familiar to the people being interviewed (Berg, 1998). This is especially important with the Roma, Gypsy and Traveller communities, where access to mainstream/majority culture language is typically learned orally, and where illiteracy can still be highly relevant (Syrjä & Valtakari, 2008; Ryder & Greenfields, 2010; LGTU, 2010). As an example, when conducting the pilot interviews in London, it became clear that 'to define' was a concept not necessarily understood by everyone. Therefore the question "How would you define a good life?" was changed into "What is a good life for you?"

After conducting the pilot interviews in London, only a few changes in phrasing were made. To avoid too much repetition, some of the questions were removed and minor changes to the order of questions took place. In Helsinki it became evident early on that there should be more questions and probes about the 'moving permit' custom of Finnish Roma (Chapter 7(7.4)), a situation not found in England, and therefore questions such as "Why don't you want to live near other Finnish Roma?" were added to the interview schedule.

By choosing semi-structured interviews for gathering data, it was emphasised that the research is approaching the world from the subject's perspective (Berg, 1998). This is refined by the use of unscheduled probes that emerge while interviewing, for example, seeking clarification on particular circumstances or phrases such as in the 'moving permit' example given above.

All the 57 interviews were transcribed by the researcher herself. This was undertaken both in order to 'relive' the interviews and to 'get deeper inside' the data through picking up on nuances and tones of voice in the recordings. Altogether the interviews when completed generated 830 pages of text, 432 from Helsinki and 398 from London (Times New Roman; font size: 12; line space 1, 5).

Part 2

4 Roma's, Gypsies' and Travellers' Relationship to State

The nature of the relationship that minorities have with the State and its institutions arguably has an extremely important role in defining the character and the level of their assimilation in a society as well as an effect on their overall well-being. Trust in government and its motives toward minority rights and issues is necessary for communities aspiring to succeed socio-economically. Therefore, this Chapter first briefly introduces the concept and meaning of 'the welfare state' in Finnish and English contexts. After that it turns to exploring the ideologies that have had an impact on Finnish and UK minority policies in the 21st century (4.1), before introducing specific, Roma, Gypsy and Traveller - related policy trends within these countries (4.2). Then, Roma, Gypsies and Travellers' stance on official labour markets and employment will be scrutinised in 4.3, and their relationship with their respective states through their experiences of public services and social/private housing in 4.4 and 4.5. Finally section 4.6 integrates the findings into the theoretical framework of this thesis.

Given that housing (and employment) are the areas under study within this thesis, 'the (welfare) state' is understood here as those actors who represent the state within the studied policy documents, mainly the institutions, public authorities and the public sector employees working in those areas. Although it is acknowledged that this definition of 'the state' or rather 'the welfare state' is very limited, it is felt to be sufficient for the purpose of this thesis. For example, although there are individuals from the studied communities working within state institutions (in Finland), which suggest a more complex power relation between the state and the Roma, those individuals are seen here as using that power as individuals who have assimilated into the state's normalising apparatus and therefore as a part of that state's power.

The Finnish welfare state belongs in the category of Nordic models of welfare states. That is models which have traditionally been described as having an 'ac-

tive' state, support a large public sector and hold a broadly accepted public responsibility for the welfare of citizens (Kautto, 2010:587). The transfer of 'poor relief' responsibilities from the church to the state (as a result of the Revolution and conversion to Lutheranism in the 16th century), and the strong role of local municipalities in managing welfare policies have also played a role in the formation of the Nordic model. In addition, when social welfare has elsewhere mainly been regarded as a 'working class' issue which most benefits the poorest citizens, in the Nordic countries, because of late Industrialisation and a strong, autonomous farmer population, it has also always been seen as including the needs of rural population. The resultant tri-party system (farmers – working class – upper class) has been a significant element in the formation of the principle of universal welfare (ibid.), and therefore has indirectly also positively affected the situation of ethnic minorities like the Finnish Roma (see section 1.1). The Nordic welfare states place a right and an obligation to work for all their citizens (men and women), while offering them universal welfare delivered by institutions that are almost exclusively run by the state (Alestalo, 2000: 65). This strong 'stateness' in welfare institutions, arguably, and as will be shown below in the case of Finnish Roma, has had a significant role in creating a stronger and often more positive relationship between the state and its citizens, compared to states like the UK which, by providing a larger share of welfare services through private sector organisations, also remain more distant from their citizens.

The first time the principle of universal social welfare has really been questioned in Finland was during and after the 1990s recession. Now with increasing demands for cuts and austerity in all areas of the welfare state, because of the new ongoing recession (2008 onwards), Finland is arguably moving away from the Nordic welfare model towards more conservative and/or liberal system of state welfare (e.g. Kautto, 2010). This will inevitably have an impact on how 'difference' is perceived, tolerated and handled within the Finnish state.

In Britain (and elsewhere in Europe), Industrialisation and urbanisation not only increased social welfare problems but also generated the resources that enabled the birth of state-provided social services that have primarily impacted the lives of the urban working class. This cycle of co- dependence has increased the extent and reach of public bureaucracies, enhanced the State's capacity to collect information (e.g. Harris, 2004:18), and reinforced and emphasised the divide between the upper class (typically land owning or industrialists) and – working class that still characterises British society (e.g. Hills, 2014).

The crucial impact on policy developments of social change following both the First and Second World Wars played a significant role in the creation of the **British welfare state**, most particularly after the landslide Labour Victory in 1945 (Brown, 2001). Even if the changed society which arose after the Wars meant that these conflicts were not the sole 'engineers' of innovative approaches to British welfare, the desire to rebuild a more 'positive' society after such catastrophic loss of life and infrastructure, helped to create a new political will that aspired towards change in the structure and delivery of social services (Harris, 2004:300). For example, the

poverty of the 1930s recession and widespread physical devastation and disability amongst ex-soldiers post-War, helped to shift discourse on poverty by demonstrating that it was frequently not simply the person's own fault if they were poor or unemployed. Moreover, public health initiatives of rationing during wartime demonstrated that more even food distribution significally improved general public health (ibid.: 284-288) and acted to the benefit of the State as well as individuals.

After 1948 the newly emerging British Welfare state was clearly intended to differentiate the new model from the earlier Poor Laws and therefore not to simplify, categorise and alleviate 'deserving' poverty, but instead to provide social services for citizens in time of need in the same way the state provided a range of other public services (Spicker, 2014). However, just as the first UK state social policies in the sixteenth century were based on existing 'poor laws', so are current social policies which are dominated by poverty and problems created by poverty, regardless of any other intentions (ibid.). During the 70s, Britain's extensive welfare provision came under criticism from both left and right and formed a hotly contested element in general elction. Finally in 1979 the election of Conservative government, hostile to the principle of state provided welfare, led to a stripping back of the welfare state and neo-conservative entitlement principles imposed on recipients of all forms of welfare. Welfare provision in Britain did not return to its old more generous level when Labour returned to power in 1997 as in the intervening decades a new approach to Welfare had become part of the political consensus. The 'new Labour' party wanted to distance itself from the 'big state' thinking, and from the belief that all social problems are solvable by state intervention and support. From this time on and even more so since the Conservative led coalition government came to power in 2010 the British welfare state has promoted more individual responsibility for social and economic well-being and a bigger role for the voluntary sector in delivering social services (Harris, 2004:1.) Although the principal elements of the British welfare state still guarantee a minimum standard of living, social protection during life difficulties and service provision at the best level possible, the practical situation is very different. Regardless of its extensive welfare coverage, social protection in Britain is patchy and highly rationed. As within other English speaking, or the 'liberal welfare model' states, social services delivery has increasingly been tendered out to independent commercial providers who guarantee to deliver services at the lowest possible cost, and therefore the quality of these services have become more difficult to control (Spicker, 2014). This arguably, and as will be seen with the case of housed Gypsies and Travellers in England, negatively affects the situation of vulnerable people, and hence diminishes their trust for the British state along with their level of well-being.

4.1 MULTICULTURALISM – COMMUNITY COHESION

> 'Community' is these days the last relic of the old-time utopias of the good society; it stands for whatever has been left of the dreams of a better life shared with better neighbours all following better rules of cohabitation. (Bauman, 2001: 92)

The above quote from Bauman speaks not only about the aspiration of Western individualistic societies to return to a lifestyle we once (apparently) had, but can also be seen as a description of the circumstances of some Roma, Gypsy and Traveller communities, who still follow a lifestyle that we may identify as 'traditional' and rooted in extended families and traditional gender roles. Beck (1997) writes too about the increased focus on closer communities and people's longing for traditional values in times when life is characterised by risks and ambivalence.

In England, the notion of 'community' has officially been grounded in political discourse and agendas since New Labour's 'community cohesion' agenda in 2007 - 2008, and subsequent Coalition Government's Big Society drive (2010-12) culminated on the Localism Bill (see above) published in 2011. Community used in this way, by definition consists of acceptance of a set of group norms and a reflection of shared values which often have little time for non-normative beliefs.

In Finland, political discourse in contrast, still concentrates on the concept of multiculturalism (used here to denote policies which promote the maintenance of cultural diversity and respect of differences between ethnic groups, see further Modood, 2013). The differences in minority policies and policy discourses in England and Finland can be seen clearly in relation to policies affecting Roma, Gypsies and Travellers. Arguably in England, Gypsies and Travellers have in recent years been facing tougher assimilation policies created in an attempt to make communities more cohesive, whereas in Finland policies on Roma have in recent years concentrated on preserving their unique language and some aspects of their cultural heritage (more closely linked to classical multicultural theory). Accordingly the debate currently oscillates between scholars who see 'old' multiculturalism as morally unjustified and a failure in practical terms and others who see the new replacement model(s) in Britain as the abandonment of multicultural values and a return to assimilationist practices (Kymlicka, 2003; Modood, 2013).

4.1.1 Finland

From the beginning of the 21st century, the primary ideological frameworks which underpin British and Finnish policies on handling diversity have been 'community cohesion' (UK) and 'multiculturalism' (Finland) (Cantle, 2008; FNPR, 2009). Finland as a country with a shorter history of immigration and less multi-cultural population has essentially wanted to highlight both the differences of communities and the possibility of living in a 'multicultural' society, whilst Britain has moved away from this approach towards the concept of 'community cohesion' in which it is believed that embracing similarities will bring communities closer together. 'Multiculturalism' as a concept has as many meanings as it has definers, for example the definition given by the Finnish Minister of Migration and European Affairs, Astrid Thors (Finnish Ministry of Interior, 2011) of 'multicultural Finland' suggests a country where everyone has the right to learn either one of the national languages (Finnish or Swedish), and at the same time the right to sustain their own cultures and identities. In other words difference is tolerated, and to a certain extent even encouraged.

This atmosphere of relative tolerance might be one reason why the Finnish National Policy on Roma has "Supporting the preservation and development of the Romani language and culture" as one of its Key Policy Areas (FNPR, 2009) (Appendix 1). This emphasis indicates there has been a slight focus shift in Finland away from securing the social status of Roma to enhancing and 'preserving' their culture (Pulma, 2006: 187). As noted above, one of the key aims of FNPR (2009) is to enhance the preservation of the Romani language and the Romani population's cultural rights, and these are also secured in the Finnish constitution that guarantees the indigenous Sami and national minorities, such as the Roma, a right to study in their own language. (Oulun Kaupunki, 2006.) In fact, the Romani language has been taught in primary schools in Finland since 1989. The definition of 'culture' in FNPR and in the law however seem to be rather narrow, excluding some extremely important features of Roma culture, such as traditional employment and living arrangements. By mainly concentrating on Romani art and heritage, the everyday problem-causing issues such as housing, are easily forgotten and side-lined in policy terms.

Analysis based on the above emphasis on Roma language and cultural issues (rather than social and economic -matters), suggests that in the case of Finnish Roma policies, recognition (of difference) is currently a more burning issue than redistribution (of resources). More evidence for this discourse and emphasis comes from the "Strategies of the policy on Roma. Reports of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health" -report (Suonoja & Lindberg, 2000). It was recommended in this report that the Finnish Advisory Board on Romani Affairs[3] should be moved away from the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health to the Ministry of Education on the basis that the policy on Roma should be linked more closely to cultural, language and school policies, which are, according to this report, essential for the protection of Romani culture and prevention of social exclusion.

It might therefore be agreed that although there is an official emphasis on cultural rights of the Finnish Roma, these are legitimatised and prioritised according to the extent of their assimilative function and not because of their intrinsic value to the State or community itself (Nordberg, 2006). In either case, there is some evidence of multicultural policies that are in place to 'preserve' features of Roma heritage and which in so doing tend to ignore cultural change. For example, Jäppinen

[3] "The task of the Advisory Board on Romani Affairs, is to enhance the equal participation of the Roma population in the Finnish society, to improve their living conditions and socio-economic position, and to promote their culture. Its work includes cooperation and expert help in matters involving the Roma and the authorities in Finland. The Government appointed the first "Advisory Board on Romani Affairs" in 1989, but its work actually began in 1956 under the name Advisory Board on Gypsy Affairs. The Advisory Board functions in conjunction with the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health. The Government appoints the Advisory Board for three years at a time. The Advisory Board includes a chairperson, a vice-chairperson and a maximum of 16 other members. Half of the members represent the Roma population; the other half represent the administrative sectors of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Labour, Ministry of the Environment, and the Association of Finnish Local and Regional Authorities. The Advisory Board employs a full time General Secretary and a secretary. The General Secretary prepares the work of the Advisory Board and carries out its decisions." (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health [online]. Available from: http://www.stm.fi/en/publications/publication/-/_julkaisu/1083778 [Accessed 3rd September, 2013].

(2009: 86) states that the official multicultural policies in Finland may not have had purely positive implications for the Roma; as the adoption of such policies by the government supports static views about Roma culture while enhancing the perspectives and visions of the 'official' voices of the Roma population, who may have a particular vested interest in the approach which emphasises a particular 'way' of being Roma (see further discussion on 'moving permit' customs, Chapter 7: 7.4).

4.1.2 England

While Finnish immigration and diversity policies still concentrate on multiculturalism; England as a country (and in particular London as the economic and politcal powerhouse of the State) has been heavily influenced by and reliant on migrant workers, most particularly as a result of post-colonial migration (Winder, 2004). In response to the need to integrate very diverse populations from the end of the 20th century England has moved, in policy discourse, towards highlighting the similarities of all people and the the desirability and positive potential of living in cohesive communities. The policy change away from embracing differences to highlighting similarities as a way of encouraging 'community cohesion' was brought about following the Government commissioned review of the 2001 race riots in three different towns in Northern England. During the in-depth review of the circumstances surrounding the riots it was reported that people lived in such distinct and separate communities that little interaction occurred between ethnic groups. In the review undertaken by Lord Cantle (2008), it was argued that if communities are too diverse and discrete, they will not have anything on which to base interaction and this will create serious problems when conflicts arise (Cantle, 2008). This idea is based closely on Robert Putnam's (2000) theories of 'bonding' and 'bridging' social capital, where bonding social capital means tight and closed family networks, and bridging social capital wider and more inclusive networks. Indeed Putnam (2007) appears to agree with the recommendations of the Cantle report in stating that his evidence suggests that the greater the degree of ethnic diversity in a neighbourhood the more likely that trust and community cohesion are lost.

Under the British Coalition Government's Big Society agenda, the same theories of 'social capital' are used when defining how English society needs to change in order to survive (Cabinet Office, 2010). The difference between Cameron and Cantle however seems to be that when Lord Cantle mainly called for more 'bridging' social capital to strengthen community bonds, PM Cameron wants to enhance both, 'bridging' and 'bonding' social capital in order to make communities more active and cohesive. (Cantle, 2008; Cabinet Office, 2010.) The irony here is that it is the Gypsy and Traveller communities that often still have these strong communal features so longed for by New Labour and Coalition governments. This is best illustrated by quoting an Irish Traveller giving evidence to the Panel Review into the Coalition Government Policy on Gypsies and Travellers (Ryder et al., 2011: 39):

> I don't know what Big Society is. If, as has been suggested, it is local communities, neighbourhoods and families looking after each other, then Gypsies and Travellers have always been members of a Big Society; it has been the only one we could rely on.

This quote sums up the ironic reality that it is Gypsy and Traveller communities that are expected to suffer most from the planned localism and decentralisation agendas (ibid.) as a result of being perceived of as 'outsiders' by the majority of sedentary populations.

Arguably one of the most common critiques in the UK against the way 'old' multiculturalism model and policies have been utilised to support celebration of 'difference' is that by failing to engage with the exclusion often experienced by non-White groups, multiculturalism remains blind to and ignorant of economic inequalities. In other words multiculturalists are said to prefer recognition over redistribution (e.g. Bauman, 2001: 88). Claims of multi-cultural recognition in this form are said to include *only* cultural issues, and thus to only promote division, separation and a breakdown in dialogue (ibid., p. 78) rather than engaging with the exclusions which can drive divisions between communities of different cultural or ethnic origin.

Accordingly, there are calls for more rational approaches to immigration and integration issues which break away from the 'old' multiculturalism, with demands that such new approaches should also include economic and international human rights issues (Alibhai-Brown, 2000: 80.) On the other hand Parekh (2000) writes that all citizens should *also*, not only, be able to enjoy cultural rights [*italics added*], indicating that *both* cultural and economic rights are important. He answers his critics by stressing that oppression and inequality can have many forms, not only economic, and that the politics of recognition are important since they challenge the cultural bias and domination of the state which can create a normative 'White British' model which fails to take account of the cultures of other communities. The situation of Finnish Roma plays to Parekh's comments by demonstrating that both, recognition and redistribution policies are needed, in order to increase a whole community's well- being across multiple domains, as explored in more detail in Chapter 9.

Although criticizing multiculturalists for ignoring economic inequalities, the concept of 'community cohesion' itself is also flawed, as it does not include variables by social class and access to resources and instead concentrates on identifiable faith or ethnicity based communities, whereas broader concepts of 'social cohesion' correctly include more general socio-economic factors which impact on cohesion and engagement (Hickman et al., 2008). This narrow focus on 'cohesion' must cast a doubt on the New Labour and Coalition Governments assertions that such models seek to reduce economic inequality, and instead potentially reveal their hidden assimilative aspirations and a desire for a homogenous community. For example, it has been argued that in the future everyone will have the right to practice and express their cultural traditions only if; they are competent English speakers,

embrace 'British culture', and are integrated with communities other than their own (McGhee, 2005: 180). Studies have shown that ethnic minority peoples' view of social cohesion on the local, neighbourhood level, are focused on their ability to be able to live in peace with other ethnic minority and mainstream communities while being allowed to hold on to their own beliefs (Temple and Moran, 2005). Imposing a model of community cohesion built on majority values and norms, on all minorities is arguably not the best or wisest solution in managing an increasingly multicultural society (Cheong et al., 2007). To emphasise this theme, following substantial debate, it was noted that a general wish amongst the diverse Gypsy, Traveller and Roma communities represented at the Irish Traveller Movement in Britain's annual conference in 2011 was to see a greater emphasis on policies and practices which respected their culture whilst simultaneously improving the well-being of the communities.

4.2 POLICIES

Three distinct trends can be identified from the 21st century official policies aimed at assimilating Roma in Finland and Gypsies and Travellers in England. These trends may be described as *mainstreaming*, *localism* and (political) *activation*, and can also be seen as a part of the more general process of welfare state restructuring in Europe. As was indicated above, this development is currently shown particularly strongly in the UK with the Government emphasis on a 'Big Society' agenda that emphasises governance at the local level (leading to local variability), and a stronger family and community support in providing welfare in tandem with a roll-back of state provided universal services.

The most strongly emphasised practice used to assimilate Roma into the Finnish labour market, as found in the Finnish National Policy on Roma (FNPR) (2009), is *mainstreaming*. It is argued in the FNPR that the "present legislation and service system should create a good foundation for promoting the equal treatment of the Roma population." In accordance to this principle of foundational 'mainstreaming', the role and influence of NGO's have been consciously decreased in current Roma (and other minority) policies (Pulma, 2006) with the intent of encouraging the Roma communities to engage fully with services targeted at all Finnish citizens and ultimate create a situation where no specialist services are required or desired. Official policies, often influenced by more affluent Roma, advocate the redundancy of specialised services in order to get rid of the social problem stigma placed on the community. In other words, the favouring of recognition policies over redistribution policies has decreased the amount of specialised *preventative* services designed to help the Finnish Roma. It must be added that there are NGO's that work with marginalised Finnish Roma customers, but often their customers are Roma that already are in extremely difficult life situations.

Mainstreaming is also an important part of minority policies in England (Richardson and Ryder, 2009), although given the larger 'gap' between the com-

munities and mainstream services (considered in more detail in section 4.4.1) targeted support and personalised services have been identified as more effective among Gypsy and Traveller communities (Ryder and Greenfields, 2010: 143) than are 'mainstream services' available to all.

Even if mainstreaming is recommended in Finnish and English minority policies, localism is also encouraged in both countries. Britain's Coalition Government, elected in 2010 has a strong commitment to this process, enacting the Localism Act (2011) shortly after coming to power. The Act is designed to decentralise power by giving local authorities greater power to take decisions on local issues such as planning and the provision of previously statutory organised welfare services. Inevitably this creates a situation where services will vary from region to region with 'unpopular' groups potentially missing out on funding. Furthermore, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland's Strategy for Roma integration (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2011) concludes that the communities' problems are far too complicated to resolve by singling out specific actions for specific groups or by centrally dictating blanket solutions, and therefore local areas are urged to take the lead in tackling their local communities' issues by mainstreaming at the local level. As such, a considerable degree of local autonomy exists in relation to how Gypsies and Travellers are engaged with at local level. Local authorities' role in promoting equal treatment and inclusion at the local level, and in everyday life, are also emphasised in the FNPR (2009: 21) by highlighting the co-operation between municipalities and the Regional Advisory Boards of Romani Affairs2.

When studying the Roma, Gypsy and Traveller communities in both countries, family and community provided support may well be equivalent to (or better than) the support that the welfare state offers through its services. Although the idea of empowering the civil society to produce welfare outcomes, and decreasing the role of the state in the process has been more prominent in British policies and approaches; privatisation and localism discourses have also reached Finland (e.g. Palola and Karjalainen, 2011) and are one of the burning issues of current policy debate at the time of writing (2014). Privatisation and localism discourses highlight the importance of strong family and friend networks in building the new 'bigger and more active' society (Cameron, 2011ab). Ironically it is the Roma, Gypsy and Traveller communities who still appear to have these strong communality features (e.g. Pirttilahti, 2000), that are so longed for within these discourses and which are noted to be more in decline in mainstream societies (e.g. Bauman, 2001). This is particularly ironic because (as noted above in section 4.1) it is these communities which are lacking in power that are expected most to suffer from the planned localism and decentralisation agendas, at least in the English context (Ryder et al., 2011).

Another feature common to policies in both countries is the emphasis on the importance of Roma, Gypsy and Traveller population's *active involvement* in issues concerning themselves (FNPR, 2009; Ryder & Greenfields, 2010). Finnish Roma have over a number of decades (Pulma, 2006) had a more active role in tackling

issues concerning themselves than have Gypsies and Travellers in England whose political awareness commenced relatively late (Acton, 1997) and has really only begun to burgeon within the last decade or so (Glover, 2012). Since the State is often perceived of by Finns as a friendly and familiar force which serves its citizens (Ervasti et al., 2008: 4), it is arguable that the Finnish Roma also relate to it in more positive terms than do their community members elsewhere in Europe. Such positivity exists not least because of the support different Roma organisations receive from the state e.g. through Finland's Slot Machine Association (RAY), and the active role of some politicians, such as the former President Tarja Halonen, in advancing Roma -friendly policies and atmosphere. Gypsies and Travellers on the other hand, in addition to still experiencing severe institutional discrimination (Cemlyn et. al., 2009), may be likely to perceive of the state in accordance with the general UK view: as a source of repression and control (Outram, 1989: 49; Ryder & Greenfields, 2010).

It can be argued therefore that Gypsies', Travellers' and Finnish Roma's situation has several parallels to feminist debates on women's position within welfare state regimes in the 1980s, when the assumption of welfare states' empowering influence was not seen as uncontroversial. In fact, it was generally agreed that welfare states make women and children increasingly dependent of the outcome of public policies (e.g. Hernes, 1987), and therefore of state provided welfare. With the increase in recent decades of unemployment and social exclusion amongst ethnic minorities (de Haas, 1997; Palmer & Kenway, 2007) the 'feminization of poverty' (Pateman, 1987:233) has seemingly changed into 'ethnicization of poverty' (e.g. Lin and Harris, 2008), a situation which impacts Gypsies, Travellers and Roma as much as 'visible minorities'. As has been discussed above, 'the state' sees (or has seen) the Roma, Gypsies and Travellers as deviants who are opposed to the dominant ideology of an individualistic society and in particular as groups who are too tighly bound to the norms of their own communities. This has led to a situation where these communities are increasingly dependent on state welfare. For example, since in England their traditional way of life (independent work outside the common labour market while living on and travelling from caravan sites with extended family groups) has been made if not illegal, at least extremely difficult, Gypsies and Travellers have become dependent on state provided welfare (Power, 2004: 32-33) (social housing, housing benefit, Jobseekers allowance etc.). Although Finnish Roma have arguably better adapted to modern life, regardless, most are highly dependent of public sector jobs and municipal and non-profit rental housing as a result of discrimination in access to private-sector employment or private rental accommodation (FNPR, 2009; Törmä et al., 2012).

Although there are similarities to the excluded situation of Roma, Gypsies and Travellers in both Finland and England, when comparing gender and ethnicity-based exclusion, it must be stated that women have (at least since the early 20th century) always had an active role and a recognised place within the State system as

members of families and the civil society, (even when that role has been highly unequal to men and lacking full citizenship participation or status (Pateman, 1987)), whereas the Gypsies', Travellers' and Roma's role in state relationships has mostly been constrained to passive response as 'outsiders', strangers and/or deviants against whom state 'approved' behaviour is mirrored as 'normality'. To follow up this contrast in the situation of ethnic (Roma, Gypsies and Travellers) status and gender status in welfare state, while there is hardly any doubt that feminists' fight for women's rights and for their more established role within welfare state provision has benefited ethnic minorities in introducing different life paths inside the frame of 'normality' (Hernes 1987), unlike women who constitute fully half of all populations, argument which focus on rights for small minorities following 'deviant' ways are less likely to give rise to any meaningful changes in public policies.

4.2.1 Housing policies

As will become evident through an examination of the primary interview data, it seems that one significant difference in housing issues between the Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers in England is that the Roma in Finland are 'more assimilated' into mainstream society, as evidenced by the way in which they live in the same areas and same standard of housing as other Finns (FNPR, 2009), while Gypsies and Travellers have in recent decades often been forced to settle, and to reside in the most deprived areas and housing estates (Cemlyn et al., 2009). This variation in housing circumstances is mostly due to successive Finnish Governments' positive discrimination policies towards the Roma in relation to housing during the 1970s, and the active role of Roma organizations in promoting issues affecting them and ensuring equity of access to good quality homes.

In the mid-1970s and early 1980s a special housing law was introduced to help the municipalities provide accommodation to Roma as well as assist private Roma individuals to apply for government supported (low cost) mortgages (Oulun kaupunki, 2006: 68). Grants were made available to municipalities, Christian congregations and registered associations such as Roma groups, for building, obtaining and updating/repairing rental apartments for the Roma population (Pirttilahti, 2000: 3). Despite the upgrading work carried out at that time, the condition of these rental apartments today are not generally considered to be suitable for living (Asuminen & Yhteiskunta, 2007) leading to a gradual diminishing of quality of accommodation for some Roma households. Further hardship has been gradually caused by the ending of the special financing schemes (Finnish Government loans, available between 1987 - 1995) which provided funding for apartments for homeless people, refugees and Finnish Roma. As access to this loan has now ended with the increased emphasis on 'mainstreaming' of services, improvements in the living situation of Roma requiring accommodation who are unable to compete on equal terms with wider mainstream society has ceased. This decline in state support, manifests, among other things, in increased overcrowding and prolonged periods of homelessness for vulnerable Roma (Pirttilahti, 2000; FNPR, 2009).

The large amount of housing related communication and reports on hous-

ing related discrimination, received by the Finnish Advisory Board on Romani Affairs[2] and the Ombudsman for Minorities (FNPR, 2009; Annual report of the Ombudsman for Minorities, 2009 - 2012) in recent years provides evidence of the magnitude of the housing problems faced by the Finnish Roma population. For example, in 2009 40 per cent of all housing related communication received by the Ombudsman for Minorities addressed concerns pertaining to Finnish Roma. In 2012, the Ombudsman for Minorities received a total of 60 cases relating to Finnish Roma of which 40 (66%) concerned problems experienced in housing. To demonstrate the growth rate in housing related problems in 2009 the comparative figures were 100 contacts/complaints in total, of which 35 (35%) were housing-related. The Finnish Ombudsman for Minorities (2009; 2012) states, that most housing related problems reported by Roma relate to the lack of availability of government subsidised rental apartments; problems in changing apartments due to unavoidable culture -related issues and/or practices e.g. young Roma getting to certain age where changes of accommodation are required for space and appropriate cultural practices such as gender segregation or who lives above/below relatives etc.; the bereavement of a family member leading to the necessity of changing accommodation; or issues relating to the avoidance -practices of Finnish Roma (for all of these see further Chapter 7: 7.4), or with problems of everyday life e.g. excessive use of laundry rooms (discussed further below).

A particularly interesting change over time consists of the fact that when compared to the 2009 report, the 2012 report specifically emphasises 'internal community conflicts' as a cause of Roma's housing problems. Although the 2012 Annual report states that discrimination against Roma by the wider society is a much more significant issue than internal discrimination/conflict, this issue of discrimination by wider society is only mentioned with one sentence whereas Finnish Roma's 'avoidance practice' and 'moving permit' customs (internal conflicts/discrimination) are discussed in much more depth (see Chapter 7: 7.4). It can be argued that by focusing on this aspect of accommodation difficulties the authors of this report have placed a large share of the responsibility for their housing related problems on the Roma community itself, whilst avoiding discussion of external discrimination and prejudice.

Studying the English literature leads to the conclusion that the single overall theme that stands out most is the pressure to assimilate which successive UK governments have exerted on the lifestyle of travelling people. It might even be argued that this effort to sedentarise Gypsies and Travellers has been successful since, as noted above (Cemlyn et. al., 2009; Smith & Greenfields, 2013), two thirds of these ethnic minorities now live in settled housing. All the evidence shows that the reason for most Gypsies and Travellers in England to abandon travelling has to do with the insufficient numbers of caravan sites provided by the State and Local Authorities; problems in obtaining planning permission for 'privately owned family sites', and because of the poor conditions of public sites that are badly maintained and frequently constitute serious health risks (e.g. Cullen et al., 2008; London Boroughs' Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Needs Assessment,

2008; Department for Communities and Local Government, 2012). Although it is also worth mentioning that some Gypsies and Travellers decide to move into housing in order to gain better access to services and stable employment opportunities (Ryder & Greenfields, 2010), evidence shows that over half of housed Gypsies and Travellers would still prefer to live on caravan sites if possible, and feel unable to settle into contemporary housing (London Boroughs' Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Needs Assessment, 2008; Cemlyn et al., 2009; Smith & Greenfields, 2013).

The exact number of Gypsies and Travellers in conventional housing remains uncertain since local authorities and housing associations rarely include the numbers of applicants or details of needs of Gypsies and Travellers in monitoring processes, and also because many of the community still hide their ethnicity from the authorities (Cullen et al., 2008; Smith & Greenfields, 2013). It might be that since in England most of the focus on Gypsy and Traveller housing issues is directed to tackling the issues of providing caravan sites and pitches for the travelling members of these communities, that not enough has been done for the needs of those who want to live in housing or are forced to settle. The London Gypsy and Traveller Unit (2009; 2010) support this argument by stating that the London Housing Strategy and the draft of the London Plan puts housed Gypsies and Travellers needs as secondary to those living on sites even though housed families are very much the majority in London and the UK more widely.

As noted above, while Finnish Roma do not live in deprived areas any more often than the rest of the population, in contrast, in England, housed Gypsies and Travellers typically reside in the most deprived housing estates (Cemlyn et al., 2008; Smith & Greenfields, 2013). This is likely to make these communities become more marginalised over time as they will also experience environmental disadvantages common to all people living in these areas (Ryder & Greenfields, 2010). On the other hand, it is worth acknowledging that one reason for these communities mainly moving into deprived areas is their preference to live near family and friends, so that when someone gets offered an apartment in a rough neighbourhood, others may follow just to be close to their community (Smith & Greenfields, 2013).

One explanation for the continued 'dumping' of Gypsies and Travellers in poor accommodation may be that in England these communities have, compared to Finnish Roma, been less active in promoting themselves politically and challenging the issues affecting them (Cemlyn et al., 2009). This lack of political engagement may be explained largely by the hostile role of the local authorities in implementing new policies towards Gypsies and Travellers throughout history leading to the reluctance for members of these communities to engage with 'authority' (Mayall, 1995; Ryder & Greenfields, 2010). In recent decades most conflicts have had to do with planning permission for Gypsy and Traveller sites as these usually evoke strong and racist opposition among the local residents, who often lobby the local authorities into making negative decisions about applications for Gypsy and Traveller sites. Richardson (2006b: 88) writes about the power that local authorities and the media have when they produce negative and discriminatory discourses which classify Gypsies and Travellers as 'folk-devils', and re-

inforce the image of these communities as something that is not normal and to which objections should be raised. She argues that Gypsies and Travellers are represented as "unpopular in public discourse and seen as 'costly' to society", an argument reinforced by the theoretical discussions of 'deviance' and 'moral panics' in Chapter 2 (2.2.2).

The accommodation situation Gypsies and Travellers have encountered in the past was highly unpredictable, since they historically have not had supportive agencies or equal access to the law to turn to for support (Mayall, 1995: 91). Circumstances have however become slightly better in the last few decades, for example, Ryder and Greenfields (2010) refer to the introduction of numerous good practices within statutory and voluntary sector agencies that offer support for Gypsy and Traveller communities in relation to social inclusion and improving access to accommodation.

4.3 EMPLOYMENT

Unlike the norms of 'settled' society, Gypsies, Travellers and Roma have not traditionally separated work and home-space, either psychologically or spatially (Lucassen et al., 1998; Bancroft, 2005; Syrjä and Valtakari, 2008; Tervonen, 2012). In fact, 'the job' which is undertaken for set hours in a different location from residence is a modern invention, whereas in pre-modern societies work was widely entangled with other life activities (Franks, 2000). As such Gypsies, Travellers and Roma have continued with an older way of life which is largely lost to settled society.

The persistent stereotype of Roma, Gypsies and Travellers being lazy and workshy (e.g. Lucassen et al., 1998; Tervonen, 2012), still casts a shadow over their integration into the labour markets of modern Western societies. Lucassen and colleagues argue that by changing the way we look at the history of travelling peoples' working culture, a whole new picture of their economic activities presents itself. Gypsy economy has been described as *"a mobile way of life in family groups aimed at self- employment"*, and should be looked as a rational, although different from mainstream, economic behaviour. (Lucassen et al., 1998: 155.) Studies of Gypsy history have mainly concentrated on the group level (i.e. simply looking at the community in question) and for that reason often ignored the forms of interaction Gypsies had with the rest of the society. This has led to a situation where our knowledge of the functioning of these groups is relatively one-sided (Willems, 1998: 17).

In fact, the whole history of itinerant groups can be said to be written from three perspectives that differ significantly from any other communities' histories. These three perspectives are criminality, marginality and poverty, and because of this focus, historians have ignored (intentionally or unintentionally) the social and economic functions of the travelling peoples (Tawney, 1967 in ibid.), and hence their lifestyle have persistently been perceived as deviant.

Lucassen's (1988: 155 above) description of 'Gypsy economy' consists of three fundamental elements which separately are (or were) all general phenomena in Western societies historically, but when put together, form a unique entity found within Gypsy, Traveller and nomadic households. The first of these is family as a work unit, a common feature everywhere in the known world before 'individualism' and single person work units became the norm. The second; mobility, was considered a normal element of economic activity until the twentieth century, at least for seasonal workers, and which has again become important in terms of employee flexibility. The third element; self- employment, arguably is a desirable or at least accepted feature in a world full of entrepreneurs. (Lucassen, 1998: 154–155.) Several studies demonstrate that when itinerant groups' activities are looked at from a labour migration perspective, the image of nomadic employees becomes considerably less negative. For example, traditionally, Finnish Roma were multitasking handymen and women, flexibly combining the ways of living and variable locations to earn their livelihood depending on the season. Because of their constant moving between jobs and areas, officials had difficulties in defining Roma's occupations and therefore usually marked it only as 'itinerant' (Tervonen, 2012: 99). In fact, it has been proved that Finnish Roma did every form of work found in the Finnish agricultural society, including temporary farming on fields and forests, and whose commerce with settled country people was irreplaceable (ibid.). Similarly Irish Travellers had a mutually beneficial relationship with the settled rural people of Ireland before urbanisation and industrialisation made self-employment harder in the 1960s (Power, 2004).

Some scholars have argued that Roma, Gypsy and Traveller communities possess flexibility and willingness to move, and therefore are well placed to be able to help economies suffering from labour shortages (e.g. Mayall, 1995; Lucassen, 1998). On the other hand, 'freedom of movement', whilst theoretically possible for all EU citizens, has been argued not to apply in practice to all individuals and groups, as has been seen with regard to hostility towards migrant Roma from Eastern and Central Europe (e.g. Spaventa, 2007; Cahn and Guild, 2010). Thus in the case of Finnish Roma, who have been settled for the last 40 years, and Gypsies and Travellers in England, who are been forced to settle, moving around for, and to undertake, casual or shifting forms of work does not seem to be a current option for making a living.

Accordingly, the next two sub-sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2 introduce how these previously itinerant communities have (or in some cases have not) assimilated into the majority labour markets of their countries.

4.3.1 Finland

It is stated in the Finnish National Policy on Roma (FNPR) (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2009: 20) that employment has only been introduced as a central part of Finnish Roma policies in the 2000s, after it was officially recognised that industrialisation made 'traditional' Roma work almost impossible to carry out. In the late twentieth century, policy on Roma was overwhelmingly focused

on improving Roma's living conditions, protecting their culture and preventing discrimination towards them as a national minority group. This emphasis means that even references to education and vocational training have been included within Roma policies for a longer period of time than employment issues (ibid.).

Changes in Finnish Roma policy occurred only in the 21st century, and since then work has been considered as the most important element to guarantee successful assimilation of the communities. One of the *Key Areas* of the FNPR (Appendix 1) calls for enhancement of the work situation of Finnish Roma: *"Enhancing the participation in education of the adult Roma population and promoting their access to the labour market."* Two Policy Guidelines within this *Key Area* promote the need for more vocational education and training, as well as more support for employment for the community. These policies are designed to help Finnish Roma to find work, by supporting job-seekers in various stages of the employment process e.g. via individual customer service situations, access to employment counselling services, employer contacts, and in developing new forms of employment (FNPR, 2009: 53 – 54). Interestingly in this thesis, respondents have identified a need for more individualised services, and help in contacting private employers as the kind of assistance they would most like to receive from official employment agencies (see further section 4.4.2).

Historically, education has not been highly valued among Finnish Roma since their traditional occupations did not require skills taught at schools but were learnt alongside family members. In addition, adulthood was reached and families started at an early age which kept, girls at least, out of school (FNPR, 2009: 91) as a result of caring responsibilities. Grönfors, writing in 1981, argued that the most descriptive features of Gypsy (Roma) occupations are first: independence and the fact that no Roma should be in subordinate position to another Roma; and second: that the role of family and kin are the most important things in life. However even if most of Grönfors' observations are still valid, opinions have lately started to change in terms of priorities, and now the majority of Finnish Roma think of education and further training as something that will help them to find work within the common labour market (Syrjä & Valtakari, 2008; FNPR, 2009). Moreover, as this study will demonstrate; education is valued as assisting them in better integrating (where integration is understood as a two-way process) into Finnish mainstream society and ways of life.

Vocational training together with adult education have been identified as the most successful ways to assimilate Finnish Roma into the Finnish labour market (Oulun kaupunki, 2007; FNPR, 2009). In practice, undertaking targeted vocational labour market training has increased the participation of Roma in working life (Syrjä & Valtakari, 2008: 12). When Syrjä and Valtakari asked Finnish Roma respondents about their preference for education models, over half were 'very' or 'fairly interested' in vocational training, whereas interest in entrepreneurship training was considerably lower. This indicates that the interest in working in the 'traditional' self-employed economy is decreasing within the community, while more Finnish Roma wish to be employed in the common labour market.

The Finnish Government's subsidised work schemes such as on-the-job training, are widely recognised as the best way for Finnish Roma to gain needed work experience, although they report experiences of discrimination in applying for these roles in a way similar to when applying for normal employment (Syrjä & Valtakari, 2008: 15). In fact, employer's attitudes are consistently identified as one of the largest barriers to Roma getting work, which makes the role of employment officers, as intermediates, crucial (Oulun kaupunki, 2006: 63). As in other spheres of life, Finnish Roma are faced with discrimination, prejudice and negative attitudes when applying for employment (FNPR, 2009: 104). Even securing a job interview is difficult for most Finnish Roma, if their ethnicity is known by the employer (Syrjä & Valtakari, 2008: 16). Besides discrimination issues, low levels of education, lack of vocational qualifications and insufficient work experience have also been reported as the main obstacles preventing Roma from obtaining jobs (Syrjä & Valtakari, 2008; FNRP, 2009).

Typical 'non-traditional' work Finnish Roma look for can be mainly identified as catering, service jobs, education, care and social services, property management, transport and construction. Some forms of traditional work are however still popular among the Roma such as horse training and car dealing for men and sewing for women. (Syrjä & Valtakari, 2008: 12). Most respondents interviewed for this study are working, or have worked, in a range of the 'non-traditional' jobs identified above. An interesting phenomenon in the 'new' Finnish Roma working culture is that both women and men aspire to work in care role (ibid., p. 65), which is quite peculiar for a community that is strongly divided by gender roles (Grönfors, 1979; 1981), and contrary to the findings in the UK for English Gypsies and Travellers who were often opposed to such work on gender or hygiene grounds (Greenfields, 2008). It is particularly interesting that half of the male respondents interviewed for this study are currently working in, or have worked within, the care industry. Working in care roles is seen as working with people and therefore pleasant and easy for the Finnish Roma, who take pride of having good people skills (e.g. Grönfors, 1981).

Grönfors wrote in 1981 that approximately 75 per cent of Roma households receive some kind of welfare benefits from the Finnish State, and it is estimated that in 2009 over half of adult Roma were unemployed and claiming benefits (Anttonen, 2009: 52). This cannot be seen as a traditional feature of Roma culture or community organisation, but as a result of the relatively universal nature of the Finnish welfare system and the weaker socio-economic position of the Roma compared to the majority of Finnish people (Grönfors, 1981).

4.3.2 England

It has been stated that Travellers have tried over time to adapt to modernisation, but increased urbanisation resulting from loss of traditional stopping places and reduction in employment opportunitie such as field labour or 'calling', coupled with the lack of caravan sites has for many unwillingly 'settled' members of the community forced them to abandon self-employment and made them more de-

pendent on state benefits (Power, 2004: 32-33; Smith & Greenfields, 2012). While the Finnish Roma arguably are more used to receiving welfare benefits as a way of obtaining an income, for Gypsies and Travellers receiving benefits is still widely considered as shameful and against their 'cultural virtues of independence' (Ryder and Greenfields, 2010: iii), apart from cultural aversion, reluctance to apply for benefits may also be partly because of their low general knowledge of the UK welfare system and barriers to applying for support because of literacy concerns (see further Chapter 4:4.5.1).

According to London's Gypsy and Traveller Unit (LGTU, 2009; 2010), Gypsies and Travellers who have moved to the capital, have come to London for the same reasons as other migrants, to look for work. However, overall, finding employment is extremely difficult for many because of the racism and discrimination they have to face, and because of their poor literacy and numeracy skills. A third of Gypsies and Travellers in London reported their ethnicity had been an issue when applying for a job, which has led some them to hide their ethnicity when seeking employment (London Boroughs' Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Needs Assessment (LGTA), 2008). Whilst deliberately hiding ethnicity and 'passing' as either Irish (for Travellers) or non-Gypsy (for Romany Gypsies) is not a new technique for members of these communities, in multi-cultural London where many workers proudly identify as members of ethnic minorities and there is strong anti-discriminatory legislation in place to support diversity policies, it is surprising and concerning that they still need to disguise their ethnic origins.

Of the interviewees in this study, only the three best educated Gypsy respondents and one Traveller respondent were employed at the time of interview. None of the less educated respondents (the vast majority of the interviewees) are looking for, or even reported plans to look for employment in the general labour market. Most Traveller men reported that they wished to be self-employed and work independently as they always had done traditionally, but have not been successful in this. Some young women noted that they are participating or wish to participate in vocational training courses to learn useful skills for possible future employment. On the other hand, the majority of the young Gypsy and Traveller women indicated that they would not want to work in the general labour market since it is not considered acceptable for them culturally (see further Chapter 7: 7.1).

If employment issues have not been included in Finnish Roma policies for long, in England the situation is even more novel with employment issues for these communities attracting very little attention to date. Since Gypsies and Travellers have until recently been able to provide for themselves through their traditional economy (Cemlyn et al., 2009: 45), there has not been a great targeted need for employment services designed for these communities, and only recently has this need become more urgent. As a way to include Gypsies and Travellers inside employment services, The Department of Work and Pensions (DWP) is said to be starting to monitor their service needs and usage, as they already do with other minorities, as a separate ethnic group. In addition, cultural awareness training courses are planned for DWP personnel in order to increase knowledge about Gypsy

and Traveller culture, and to decrease discrimination against these communities. (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2012: 30-31).

Vocational and adult education policies, highlighted in Finland, are not even mentioned in the Department for Communities and Local Government report (2012) as a way to improve Gypsies and Travellers involvement in the labour market, and in fact any discussion on education policies are targeted only at children. Instead, as was seen above (and explored in more detail in the next section 4.4.1) third sector organisation working especially with Gypsies and Travellers (and Roma), are the only agencies working to provide vocational training courses for these communities. Anecdotally, there seems to be a high demand in England for similar policies as have been implemented in Finland aimed at assimilating Gypsies and Travellers into the labour market. The benefits of vocational training have however been recognised at the local level where some agencies are aiming to improve the life chances and social well-being of housed Gypsies and Travellers by improving their education, training and employment, including through vocational training (Cullen et al., 2008: 10).

Since third sector organisations that work with specific ethnic minorities, (i.e. the London Gypsy and Traveller Unit and the Irish Traveller Movement in Britain), have always had an important role in providing services for these minority groups in England, there is a tradition of the provision of education and employment related services being delivered through them, a practice not so well known in Finnish minority policies. Both the above mentioned organisations organise vocational training courses as well as offer employment opportunities for Gypsies and Travellers in London, often enabling community members to bypass Job Centres and DWP services.

Although Gypsies' and Travellers' engagement in the general labour market is not overly common because of their preference for their own 'traditional' work, restrictions on women having 'settled jobs' (in Chapter 7: 7.1), and racism and discrimination they experience in the wider society diminishing access to jobs (see further Chapter 8 sections 8.2 and 8.3), there are increasing number of Gypsy and Traveller individuals working outside their 'traditional' economy in waged employment. Ryder and Greenfields (2010) studied Gypsies and Travellers' economic activities by 'purposively sampling' respondents that were working, either within their traditional economy or within the wider labour market. 60 per cent of the Gypsies and Travellers they interviewed were in waged employment. In their sample, men preferred to be self-employed and work with their family and kin, whereas women were increasingly involved in waged labour (ibid., ii-iii, 46). The argument that Gypsy and Traveller women are starting to integrate more rapidly than men through working in the common labour market (Ryder and Greenfields, 2010), cannot be verified by this current doctoral study since the majority of the interviewed women were not employed or even thinking of looking for work outside the home. On the other hand, over half of the younger women (aged 18 – 36) were either taking or were interested in taking part in vocational training courses designed for Gypsies and Travellers only, demonstrating an increased awareness of the need to consider work in the common labour market in the future.

When employed in waged labour, Gypsy and Traveller men usually work as "landscape gardeners, motor trade workers, scrap metal dealers or tree fellers" (Ryder and Greenfields, 2010: 160). Women, on the other hand, usually find themselves in poorly paid caring and cleaning jobs. However, it has to be acknowledged that there are also Gypsies and Travellers who are highly educated and/or engaged in better paid jobs (ibid.). All the three most educated respondents interviewed for this thesis work in well-paid jobs in the general labour market, whereas only two less educated interviewees, (both women), have been in waged labour.

In conclusion, there clearly exists a need for assistance in housing and employment related issues for both Finnish Roma, and the Gypsies and Travellers in England. Therefore, the next sub-chapter discusses the role and meaning of public housing and employment services for these communities, by analysing the answers given by the respondent interviewed for this study.

4.4 PUBLIC SERVICES

The respondents were asked about their knowledge and usage of public *housing and employment services* to measure if Gypsies and Travellers in London and Finnish Roma in Helsinki use official services provided by councils, or whether their needs are better taken care of by non-governmental organisations whose services may be considered more 'accessible'.

4.4.1 Gypsies and Travellers: relying on the third sector

It was noteworthy that ten respondents (10/28) in London stated that they would feel helpless without the assistance of the third sector organisation via whom their interviews were conducted. One particular organisation helps Gypsies, Travellers and Roma in London accommodation related issues. The fact that over half of the interviewees were found through this organisation is likely to create a bias within the findings, since people come to this organisation explicitly to access help within accommodation issues and hence tend overwhelmingly to have housing issues and a respect for the agency whom they are contacting. It might be that if respondents were interviewed in different circumstances and locations (for example in public settings such as the Finnish Roma met on the street, or who did not have specific housing problems), that the result might be different, as for example, attitudes towards and experience of council services might differ if interviewees were contacted in councils' premises. Nonetheless, since the answers given by the respondents interviewed in different locations did not differ significantly from the answers of people interviewed in the particular specialist organisation, it was decided that acknowledging this concern that location may impact on responses, will be sufficient to identify awareness of such issues.

Of those respondents, who thought they would not be able to get help for housing issues anywhere else (10/28), all except one were Travellers: five older and three younger Traveller women and one younger Traveller man. The remaining individual, a younger Gypsy woman is one of the two Gypsy respondents that are

not highly educated and therefore in similar life situations to the Travellers (the other non-educated Gypsy respondent works in an organisation that assist with housing issues and therefore is more aware about available services). All these interviewees did not even consider approaching councils' housing services or other third sector organisations as options when they were in need of help, but instead report that they think they would be living on the streets without the help of this particular agency. The fact that of these ten respondents five have lived in England under ten years (8mo./5yr./5yr./8yr./10yr.) whereas five over ten years (15/20/20/25/whole life), and therefore cannot be considered newcomers, indicates that they come from extremely closed communities where seeking outside help, even if in serious need, is not considered as an option. This adds to the evidence of the segregation of Gypsies and Travellers in England, discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 9.

When comparing the duration of residence in settled housing (in Chapter 5: 5.1), no significant connection is found between length of stay in housing and expectations of housing assistance from statutory services. The impact of internal community advice and support negotiated by these respondents was striking, as four younger respondents reported that they would get advice on accommodation issues from their mothers or sisters, and only one would go to a legal advice agency which is not especially targeted at their community (the Citizen Advice Bureau). This means that approximately half of the interviewed Gypsies and Travellers (13 Travellers & 2 non-educated younger Gypsies) would not even consider accessing public services as possible places to receive advice and help in relation to housing issues. This is a clear indication of the low level of trust these communities have in the State and local authorities who are seen as the agents of governance. It also potentially reveals a general lack of knowledge and skills in dealing with authorities (perhaps related to low literacy levels in some cases) something that will arguably decrease the well-being of any individual living in a Western post-industrial welfare society who may be assumed to require a degree of competence in engaging with bureaucratic systems. However, it has to be considered that using these particular agencies may be a conscious adaptive behaviour (Greenfields, 2012) among Gypsies and Travellers in London, who might be presenting as helpless in order to gain enhanced assistance. In either case, these communities are staying closed and segregated by preferring these particular organisations while avoiding all contact with mainstream services. In stark contrast to this finding, as will be demonstrated below, Finnish Roma are competent operators within the Finnish welfare system, which arguably increases their housing related well-being. The following quotes illustrate how dependent on this particular third sector organisation a significant number of London interviewees were:

> R: How have you been helped and advised when you have looked for a house/houses? Do you know where to go for help?
> I: I know where to go now, but if you dared me a year ago, I just thought last two year where to go, which is here.

R: Here in the X [third sector organisation]? I: Yeah.
R: So before this place, you couldn't find any help?
I: I didn't know where to go, that's why I couldn't get any help, I didn't know what to do. (**OTF, 43**) (20 years in housing)

R: And if you would want to find a new house and you would want some help and this place, the X, wouldn't exist, would you know where to go?
I: No. Nowhere to go is there. (**YTM, 29**) (15 years in housing)

R: Do you, if you are looking for a new house or flat, do you know where to go for help?
I: Yeah, I come here [the third sector organisation].
R: What if this place wouldn't exist? Where would you go? I: I would have to go to Citizens Advice [Bureau].
R: You would get the kind of help you need?
I: Yeah because I've used it in the past, they would make a list and tell me what to do, and get me phone numbers and ring people for me. (**YTF, 34**) (1,5 years in housing)

Eleven of the respondents, all Travellers, mention councils' housing services as a place from where, in theory, people can get help with accommodation related issues. Five said they would go to the council for advice if the specialist third sector agency did not exist, whereas five stated that they would not go to the council for assistance because they themselves or a family member has been discriminated against within those services (see further Chapter 8 (8.4)). Only one interviewee, an older Traveller man, indicated that he has been helped by a council, in his case by a social worker in a specific travelling people's team, once again indicative of the importance of specialist targeted services (rather than mainstream services) in assisting Gypsies and Travellers.

In the first quote below an older Traveller man explains how he, without the help of his specialist social worker, would never have been given a council apartment, a point which stresses the importance of culturally aware specialist service providers. To underline this point, in the second quote a younger Traveller woman tells how she felt that council workers used to ridicule her for her illiteracy when she went there for help, creating additional barriers for her when seeking housing assistance.

R: What about if [the social worker] wouldn't exist, what kind of help you would need to get into housing and find housing?
I: I would never got into the housing list without [the social worker], I haven't education and that all. R: What kind of help [the social worker] gives you?
I: Oh he gives every kind of help because he knew where to go and who to write to and who to see about things. Well I wouldn't have had a clue. (**OTM, 66**)

R: Oh yeah. And how do they [council's employees] treat you if they notice that you don't understand a word?

> I: You feel like you are low like you don't - they are making a laugh about it - 'stupid', yeah all that shit. That's what they are using on you 'stupid'. They are using a different word but I can still understand them, I know that they are criticising me. They are just sitting there and I can understand the body language what using of the words and all that. Even if you on phone to them, you know that they are having a laugh, making a laugh about you. But you just, you can't say anything to them you just got to keep them right. (**YTF, 30**)

Help in finding the right forms, to apply for accommodation, assistance with filling in forms, and phoning the right places and people were mentioned repeatedly as the kind of help that is needed from housing services. Since relatively many Gypsies and Travellers are still illiterate (London Gypsy and Traveller Unit, 2009), filling in official forms, with which even literate people often struggle, is understandably extremely difficult if not impossible for many Gypsies and Travellers. In general, respondents stressed that they felt that there are not enough housing services for Gypsy and Traveller communities and stated a wish for more specialised services that would better take their communities' specific needs into consideration. Given the barriers to accessing mainstream services' which are preferred in English welfare policies and practises for minorities (Richardson & Ryder, 2009), it is clear that existing provision is clearly ineffective in providing appropriately for Gypsies' and Travellers' needs.

As this next quote illustrates, if Gypsies' and Travellers' culturally specific needs were taken more seriously (rather than an assumption made that they would treat accommodation in the same way as all other service users), and they were offered housing that fits better to their lifestyle, their settling into contemporary housing might be a considerably easier process reducing the cultural trauma of such transitions as well as reducing community tensions between sedentary populations and housed Gypsies and Travellers.

> R: [in response to earlier statement by interviewee on need for additional help from local authority] So you think then, if you are applying for a house, you don't get enough help?
> I: No, definitely not enough. And then the people don't know like what, what kind of help … I know not everybody is gonna get what they want and I understand that - but if they give the community - the Travellers - proper houses in the first place, like somewhere with an open space beside them or look for something for that matches their culture, they might not have to get up and moving so often. They might get settled. (**OTF, 49**)

The emphasis here on lack of understanding of Gypsy and Traveller culture is important as the more that local authority staff and services are believed to not comprehend community needs, the more likely it is that Gypsies and Travellers will go firstly to specialist agencies. Therefore, the level of trust and communication (as well as experience of using council services) which might be expected to increase over time, instead decreases.

Thus, arguably, since England has a long history of volunteering and a strong Third Sector that provides welfare services as part of its welfare system, minority groups might not be as engaged or integrated into the state and its services as when this option does not exist and they are forced to engage with mainstream services or be left completely without help. On the contrary, in Finland, the State has always been the main provider of welfare services and hence, the Finnish Roma are significantly more engaged and integrated into statutory service use. In other words, Gypsies and Travellers' institutional trust is significantly lower than Finnish Roma's.

The relatively more generous Nordic welfare system in Finland requires high levels of trust from its citizens - who must be willing to pay high progressive taxes, and trust others to do the same to enable the system to function (Scholz and Lubell, 1998). Furthermore, generalised trust in other people and political trust in institutions (e.g. Lindstrom and Mohseni, 2009) are interrelated, in such a way that when individuals feel institutions and public officials treat them fairly, it firstly increases their political (or institutional) trust and as a result, subsequently their trust in other citizens (Rothstein and Stolle, 2008). Therefore, trust in other people in a society is likely to increase minority individuals' and groups' level of assimilation to that society by, for example, increasing their contacts to the majority and other minorities (Dinesen et al., 2010). As will be demonstrated in Chapter 8, Finnish Roma interact with majority Finns significantly more than Gypsies and Travellers with the majority English. It may be argued that since assimilation of Gypsies and Travellers have mainly been the Third Sector actors' mission, rather than the State's, Gypsies and Travellers' institutional, political and generalised trust has remained low, and consequently further segregated them from mainstream society.

It is worth mentioning that some will is found in England, to make communication between Gypsies and Travellers and public services more productive and easy, mainly so that the work load on third sector organisations will decrease (London Gypsy and Traveller Unit, 2010). In relation to employment in particular, this task demands good planning and organising since so far Gypsies and Travellers hardly use any public employment services because these are inadequately tailored for their needs (Cemlyn et al., 2009: 41).

Employment services

As was established in the previous chapter (4.3.2), work in the common labour market is rarely considered relevant by Gypsy and Traveller communities in England. In support of this presumption, six of the respondents interviewed for this doctoral study (comprising a range of ages and genders: two younger and three older Traveller women, and one younger Traveller man) stated that they would not know where to go get help for finding work. Almost half of the interviewees (13/28) indicated that they know they have to go to (State provided) Job Centre to find work. Six of them say they do not want to work or cannot work, and seven say they only want to work within their own community and look for work independently.

Overall the questions about availability and relevance of services needed for finding work were dismissed by most respondents, by women because it is generally not acceptable for them to work outside the home when living in contemporary housing, and by men who indicated that they would rather look for work independently and via their personal networks, a finding which reinforces Ryder & Greenfields (2011) discussions on 'traditional' means of accessing employment. In general, respondents expressed a wish for more services for Gypsy and Traveller communities, mostly in the area of support for access to accommodation/housing, but also to a degree in relation to employment support.

Younger respondents (18-36) in particular, seemed to want greater information about work opportunities, which is shown by their positive reaction to vocational training courses and may indicate acceptance of the irreversible changes being experienced by their communities. In fact, three respondents (3/28), younger Traveller and Gypsy woman and an older Traveller woman, have taken part in vocational training courses designed especially for Gypsies and Travellers, and five (5/28), four younger Traveller women and a younger Traveller man, would like to take part in them. They all think these courses are, or would be, highly beneficial for them, which can be interpreted as a slightly more positive attitude towards the majority labour market, and for women working outside home.

In the first quote (below) a younger Traveller woman tells how she initially had doubts about the usefulness of vocational training courses, and in the second quote the only older respondent, who has undertaken vocational training, explains how taking part in such activities had improved her self- confidence.

> R: And you said you have done some training courses?
> I: Here [third sector organisation] yeah. I've done a nail course, beautician course, health course and I've done another course I don't remember.
> R: Do you think they are gonna be useful?
> I: I wouldn't, you know last year if I, if someone said to me about the courses I just think that I won't be using them, but they are [useful]. Like we do learn a lot in them, we do get a lot of knowledge there. I'm very happy I've done them. (**YTF, 21**)

> R: Do you think those kind of courses, training courses are helpful? ... I: They give you confidence and self-esteem.
> R: Yea and how do you find those training courses, how do you get into them?
> I: Again they are tailored for the community. So not going to a college and doing it with everybody else, you are doing it with your own community. (**OTF, 49**)

Although the widening interest Gypsies and Travellers are showing for vocational training courses can be interpreted as a step closer to assimilating into 'normal' majority lifestyles, the courses in which respondents reported an interest or have participated in, are designed and organised exclusively for Gypsy and Traveller communities, as demonstrated by the previous quote. On one hand, as it has previously been recognised, small scale NGO's are likely only to fill minor, niche gaps in public services and remain working in isolation from the wider society (OECD,

2006), and this reliance on specialist non-ethnic training therefore might enhance the segregation of these communities. On the other hand, participation in various courses can also be interpreted as Gypsy and Traveller communities activating, and using their sense of agency to grow political awareness of issues affecting them whilst ensuring positive outcomes for their communities (Greenfields and Home, 2006; Ryder and Greenfields, 2010), a fact that has been a key issue in both assimilating Finnish Roma, and simultaneously increasing their overall socio-economic well-being.

Since nomadism is still seen relatively often in Britain as the sole ethnicity related qualifier of Traveller identity, welfare needs of those Gypsies and Travellers in 'settled' accommodation are often and easily ignored by the State (Power, 2004). Although extended family support system might mean that Gypsies and Travellers have a lesser need for outside welfare services (Cemlyn, 1998), findings from this thesis demonstrate that when in housing, the support of family networks considerably decreases within the Gypsy and Traveller communities (see further Chapter 5). This indicates that more culturally sensitive and specialist welfare services for Gypsies and Travellers in England are needed to ensure that individuals do not experience increased marginalisation as a result of assimilatory practices which enforce movement into housing.

4.4.2 Finnish Roma: confident users of the welfare system

A clear indicator of the better socio-economic position of Group A Roma, compared to Group B Roma (see Chapter 3 (3.4.2) for an explanation of the categorisation), and how that plays out in practice can be seen by studying Finnish Roma's use of *housing services*. Group A Roma use pre-existing social networks and look for suitable and preferred apartments independently significantly more often than do Group B Roma. Half of Group A Roma (8/19) mention having found housing without needing any organisation's or council's help in the process, whereas only two (2/10) Group B Roma say the same. Since Group A Finnish Roma are generally in a better socio-economic situation, it is not surprising that they feel more confident in applying for housing independently than do Group B Roma, whose social networks arguably are not as useful in terms of accessing accommodation. Despite this variance in use of public services, only one respondent, a younger Group B man (who has just been released from prison and was homeless at interview), felt more tailored housing advice services were needed. Three older women respondents (2 Group A and 1 from B) wish for special housing officer(s) who would exclusively work with Finnish Roma, and who would be knowledgeable about Finnish Roma culture and the particular restrictions and conditions placed on finding suitable accommodation (See further 7.4 for a discussion on moving permits and places of residence).

> R: You said that this person knew how to handle Roma's situation. How is it [their circumstances] different then?

I: Well he only took care of Roma customers. R: Are Roma customers different then?
I: Well he knew all these.. and of course the bigger picture as well of who lives where and what .. And like he examined to where you can move and these things. (**OAF, 58**)

Chapter 7 section 7.4 disentangles Finnish Roma's *moving permit* custom (and avoidance practise) in more detail, but for now it is useful to know that by taking account of cultural preferences and in so doing ignoring the power differentials between and within communities involved, some councils' housing officials have violated some Finnish Roma's constitutional rights by allowing other Roma to decide whether they can move to a certain area or not (Törmä et al., 2012). The *moving permit* custom is still widely seen as necessary among the Finnish Roma community, and since the government has lately become more interested in abrogating the custom (ibid.), officials are becoming less directly involved in the matter. This element of selection of tenants according to behaviours and membership of particular families, among other culture -related issues, is mentioned by some older respondents, from both groups, as needing to be given greater prominence when allocating social housing for Finnish Roma.

Helsinki local authority used to employ a person who specifically dealt with Finnish Roma customers applying for social housing, but this position was terminated in the 1980s after, according to respondents, some families started to demand privileges and/or to threaten the officer as a way of imposing their preferences. Strikingly, earlier research has concluded that housing officials often see Finnish Roma, when compared to other Finns, as more 'active' applicants who sometimes can be threatening and who will attempt to pressurise the official into giving them their desired accommodation (ibid., p. 18).

These anecdotes and attitudes reinforce what comes across as the most striking difference between Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers' use of housing services; Finnish Roma do not seem to need many specialist services, and in fact are comfortable with the process of applying for social housing, seemingly having learnt how to use the welfare system in order to get what is rightfully theirs. Almost everyone (both Group A and Group B) interviewed seemed to know where to go for help, what forms to fill in and how often, and to whom or where to complain. In fact, as demonstrated by the quotes below, numerous interviewees became annoyed when asked about their possible need of assistance.

R: Do you think that councils' should have more services then, like Roma employees helping other Roma?
I: I don't know, some people need a lot of help and services, but I don't think it's… Like sophistication and knowledge has reached the Roma as well. (**OAF, 40**)

R: What kind of help there should be more of?
I: Well, I think we are perfectly able to do things ourselves. Only thing you can do is to fill in the papers and take them there, and then keep calling them. (**OBF, 55**)

R: Do you get help for it if you need it, for example to fill in the housing application, is it difficult?

I: Well, it isn't, it's really easy now days. Maybe it was difficult before but now it's really easy. (**YBF, 19**)

On the other hand, as a result of how the Finnish State has treated them in past centuries (as was illustrated in 1.1.1), Finnish Roma have in the past been reported as being suspicious of public authority and services (Oulun kaupunki, 2006; Pulma, 2006; Pulma, 2012). After learning how different governmental organisations and institution, i.e. council housing services and employment agencies work, these suspicions have arguably decreased. On the other hand, since Gypsies and Travellers significantly rely on private (NGOs) external help when dealing with governmental institutions in England rather than engaging directly with the statutory agencies, their suspicions, that similarly stem from being persecuted and discriminated against by the state, are still very much alive. This reflects their lower level of assimilation when compared to Finnish Roma in Finland.

A further interesting issue is how Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers in England, apparently, have an opposite view and stance to claiming Welfare Benefits. Since Finnish Roma know well how to use the welfare system, and also remember how they were treated in the past, claiming benefits may be seen by some as rightfully earned income and restitution for past wrongs (Grönfors, 1981). In England on the other hand, contrary to common beliefs, Gypsies and Travellers are reported to strongly resist claiming benefits because of their 'cultural virtues of independence' (Ryder & Greenfields, 2010: 117). Arguably, the suspicion towards, and limited awareness of, everything governmental, can also be seen as a reason for Gypsies and Travellers not wanting to claim benefits. However, since traditional self-employment has been made extremely hard, more Travellers have been forced into welfare dependency more often (Power, 2004: 32), especially in the form of government supported social housing.

Employment services

When asked about use of employment services, twelve Finnish Roma respondents say they look for work independently through their social networks. There were no significant differences between gender, age or socio-economic groups in this finding. Official employment agencies were seen as useless by almost half of the interviewees, criticised mostly for being too impersonal, and to some extent being discriminatory against Roma. Although Finnish Roma are embracing Finnish majority's lifestyle (see further Chapter 6), a slight tendency to despise the formal bureaucratic model is detected, arguably because of their stronger ability or tendency to use their social networks, and past and present discrimination by the government institutions.

Group A Roma in particular criticised these services for not taking individuals' situations and backgrounds into consideration when allocating vacant jobs. In the following quote an older Group A woman explains how employment agencies should take account of individual needs and preferences before allocating jobs.

I: No it doesn't work. If you don't [help] yourself, I have never gotten any help from there. Like you go there to sign on, to keep the money coming, that's the only thing you get from there, but they can't help you, they can't give you work.
R: What would make their service better then? What would it take to make employment agencies' services better? Or that would be useful?
I: Well first of all they should allocate jobs a bit more actively. You know jobs that are suitable for me. Like when they actually allocate something it's usually not even close to what I'm looking for. (**OAF, 58**)

This issue of suitability of employment was important given that discrimination experienced by Finnish Roma decreases their chances of accessing employment in the private sector. In fact, this is one concrete issue the respondents all addressed when discussing employment agencies' role in assisting Finnish Roma to find work. The traditional dress worn by Finnish Roma women (in Chapter 1: 1.1), is seen as an instrument of discrimination by some of the respondents as a result of their clear visibility and cultural requirements. In the next quote, a younger Group A woman explains how her unemployment benefits were cut off after she turned down a job where she would not had been allowed to wear her traditional dress.

I: But then also if you are offered a job through employment agency and you actually get it but have to decline it cos you can't wear your own dress there. .. Well then you will be sanctioned and …
R: Really?
I: Yes really. If you decline a job offered by the employment agency, they say it's not a reason that you have to be more flexible. (**YAF, 28**)

According to some respondents, there are also Finnish Roma women who use their dress as an excuse to turn down work, and by doing so harm the whole community's reputation. Nonetheless, there are numerous reported incidents where employers have refused to employ Finnish Roma women because of their requirement to wear traditional clothing, even though the dress would not affect the job in question in any possible way (e.g. Syrjä & Valtakari, 2008; FNPR, 2009), for example, when working as a telemarketer.

Accordingly, greater support and recommendations on unacceptable discrimination and cultural requirements provided by local employment agencies, when in contact with private employers, are widely seen as necessary in order for Finnish Roma to have an equal chance in entering the private work sector.

R: Is there something that they [Employment agency] could do differently, especially with Finnish Roma customers? Like different kind of help?
I: Well maybe, maybe they could somehow recommend or give some kind of statement, or just be in contact with the employer.
R: Can you say how?
I: For example call the employer, to whom I've sent an application. Like the employment

agency to be in contact with them first. (**OAF, 40**) [E.g. so that her cultural dress was not seen as shocking or a bar to work when attending for interview.].

Although Finnish Roma work, (and want to work), in the mainstream labour market significantly more often than do Gypsies and Travellers interviewed in England, they are highly dependent of public sector jobs that lawfully have to be offered on the basis of equality and non-discriminatory regulations (Syrjä & Valtakari, 2008). Seven Roma respondents, drawn equally from all groups, disclose they have been assisted satisfactorily by councils' employment agencies. Closer analysis of the data indicated that complacency to State employment services derived mostly from the following circumstances: some respondents did not wish to admit that they themselves specifically, and Finnish Roma in general, have any distinctive problems in integrating into any areas of Finnish society (Group A respondents); some were generally grateful to the Finnish government for integrating Roma so well and therefore wished not to complain (older respondents from both groups); whereas some had never used employment agencies' services at all (younger respondents still in education).

As was established earlier in 4.2, Finnish Roma policy has over time become mainly a government issue and the role of third sector organisations in increasing Finnish Roma's well-being has decreased. There is a noticeably strong sentiment among the respondents about those Finnish Roma, who fail to *'live well'* or *'a normal life'* (see further Chapter 6: 6.3), who were seen to be the **only** community members in need of specialist NGO's services. As such those individuals are perceived of as outside of the norm. They are Finnish Roma who have been marginalised from Finnish society as well as from their own community and hence regarded as in need of specialised services usually designed for the least well-off members of the society. Accordingly, it can be argued that since there is a wish, among the socio-economically better off Finnish Roma, to get rid of the stigma of Roma being a 'social problem', that the importance of NGO's and government specialised preventative services in assisting the community's welfare needs, are being downplayed.

4.5 PREFERENCE FOR SOCIAL HOUSING OR PRIVATE RENTING

This section discusses Gypsies and Travellers in England and Finnish Roma's preference of type of tenancy.

4.5.1 Gypsies and Travellers

Existing research gives conflicting evidence about accommodation preferences amongst housed Gypsies and Travellers in England, as it has been claimed that most live (and mainly prefer to live) in houses rented from social landlords because these provide more security of tenure than do private landlords, and dis-

repair problems aren't as usual (Cullen et al., 2008: 18). In contrast, the London Boroughs' Gypsy and Travellers Accommodation Needs Assessment (2008) report concludes that many housed Gypsies and Travellers prefer to stay in the private housing market, because this enables them to hide their identities from local authorities and neighbours in order to avoid discrimination and harassment (p. 40). Both reports were published within a month in 2008, so change of situation across time is excluded as a reason for this controversy. The reason for these conflicting findings might be due to different priorities of individuals or groups (Romany Gypsies and Irish Travellers) in question, for example whether quality of living conditions or feeling able to be open about ethnic identity is more important to them. Although most respondents interviewed for this current (doctoral) study reported that they hid their ethnicity even daily (as explored more in Chapter 8: 8.6.1), all of them preferred to rent from councils since council apartments are considered more secure in tenure, and felt as their though it was having their 'own' home.

Some argue that since there are insufficient amounts of social housing available and intense pressure on housing stock, increasing number of Gypsies and Travellers have to rent from the private sector in cities (Cullen et al., 2008). However in 2008, 68 per cent of Gypsies and Travellers interviewed in London still rented from a council or social landlord (LGTA, 2008), perhaps in recognition of their housing priority and level of need (i.e. homelessness, large number of children) when accommodated. Furthermore, the 2011 UK Census revealed that 41 per cent of Gypsies and Travellers in England and Wales live in social housing compared to 16 per cent of the overall population. Therefore, arguments stating that these communities have not benefitted as a group from the social housing system seem contradictory. For example, Cullen et al. (2008) write that Gypsies have failed to get enough information about the social housing system, and that they often experience discrimination from housing officers and social landlords (pp. 19 – 20). To support this argument, it can be pointed out that one third of the participants in the 2008 London Boroughs' Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Needs Assessment (LGTA) reported experiencing discrimination from public service providers e.g. housing departments and health services (p. 6). One explanation may be that this discrimination actualises when Gypsies and Travellers are located in the most deprived areas with poor quality services while other service users would receive better quality housing and have better understanding of bureaucracy and therefore not having to face the same barriers of receiving good quality services (Cemlyn et al., 2008).

The relatively high percentage of Gypsies and Travellers in social housing in London, compared both to other minority groups and the 'majority' White English community, can perhaps be seen as an official but unwritten practice of providing state accommodation as an alternative to sites in order to assimilate these communities. In fact, local authorities have the right to add other categories of priority groups, other than those detailed in statutory regulations (e.g. homeless, families with children, resident in unsuitable accommodation, overcrowded and with

medical needs) to the list of those who will receive a degree of preference when accessing social housing (Rutter & Latorre, 2008: 33). Although Gypsies and Travellers in London presumably belong more often to above mentioned groups with priority to social housing (e.g. homeless, with children or with medical priority needs), finding Gypsy and Traveller families bricks and mortar housing also serves the unstated goal of sedentarising these communities. If this is the case, this practice could be compared to the Finnish state's historical positive discrimination policies (see 4.2.1) that have been relatively successful in assimilating the Finnish Roma into housing and employment.

In Britain, social housing is in the 21st century mainly seen as a residual safety net for vulnerable households and where, compared to other European countries, specified (above mentioned) groups are legally entitled to housing. Positive discrimination measures therefore can be seen to exist inside the social housing system in terms of who is prioritised for accommodation. In Finland, some income limits exist within who is entitled to enter the social renting sector, but in order to prevent segregation, social housing is explicitly not meant only for the poorest (Stephens et al., 2002). It is also worth mentioning that Finland's social security system is considerably more generous than Britain's where only the most vulnerable are dependent on social housing (ibid.) increasing the social mixture found in social housing complexes in Finland.

Most respondents in London are dwelling in apartments rented from a council, and all but three respondents (regardless of age or ethnicity) would prefer to rent their home from a local authority. The remaining three respondents are all Gypsy women (1 YGF and 2 OGF), who noted that they prefer privately rented apartments because of their better quality, and private landlords because they are quicker in making needed repairs than councils. The most significant difference between the groups in London is that none of the Gypsy respondents thought that privately rented apartments are insecure, whereas all interviewed Travellers think they are. The main stated reason Travellers prefer social housing over privately rented accommodation, was the perception of their safer tenure: as private landlords were regarded as able to evict tenants or increase their rent whenever they wanted to. On the other hand, as only three interviewees have ever been evicted by a private landlord this perception of insecurity could either be based upon anecdotal evidence or family and friends' experiences, or it might be that since Irish Travellers have more recently experienced the stress of constant evictions and moving around (while still travelling), and often are in worse situation socio- economically than Gypsies, they therefore prefer to settle in a home that is as secure and as permanently 'theirs' as possible.

In the next quote a younger Traveller woman actually compares privately rented apartments to unauthorised caravan camps, and living in a council apartment to residence at a permanent pitch on a legal camp site.

> R: Why is that, why is council better?
> I: Because it's my own permanent place whereas agency is just as like living in camps, you're getting run [moved] from one to another. (**YTF, 19**)

In fact, the majority of the interviewed Travellers consider their council houses as their 'own' where they are allowed to carry out decoration or do renovations, compared to temporary privately rented apartments in which self-renovating/choice of decor is not allowed.

> Because with private landlord you never have a sense of home, it's never ... you know it's not yours. You might be asked to get up and leave it. Um you can't do what you want inside and you can't make it your own to draw your own stamp on it. (**OTF, 49**)

For the Travellers, council apartments were the only form of housing they thought of as possible 'homes' (as a place) (see further Chapter 5), whereas a privately rented apartment can never be seen as a 'home'. This indicates that the concept of 'home', as a *place*, might be changing its meaning for the Gypsies and Travellers living in settled housing for some period of time. As will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, for Gypsies and Travellers, who would still prefer to live on caravan sites with their extended families and community, 'home' is characterised by concepts such as 'avoiding loneliness', 'extended family' and 'with their own community'. Home, as a *place* of occupation, is therefore not seen as important in their narratives, at least not until studying how the respondents discuss the differences between living in council and privately rented apartments.

Thus although proximity of family and community can be considered as the most important elements for Gypsies' and Travellers' housing related well-being (see further Chapter 5: 5.2 & Appendix 5), permanent 'own' council housing seems to be extremely important as well in terms of security.

> R: Do you think that, how long it will take? Will you ever like get comfortable living in a house?
> I: Yeah. It will grow on you I suppose. It's just to know how to make it your home, to not to have to fear to go on to move into another, another home. That kind of things. (**YTF, 21**)

It is interesting that people whose lifestyle involve or used to involve travelling, have a conceptual shift and consider a permanent place to be necessary for their well-being once living in settled housing. This indicates, as identified before (Power, 2004; Kabachnik, 2009), that Gypsy and Traveller culture is not defined by 'travelling' per se but instead is based on a lifestyle which includes membership of big family groups segregated from the rest of the society, and adherence to their own working culture that is not separated from family life, as is common in post-modern Western industrial societies (Franks, 2000; Bancroft, 2005).

Arguably, to be able to live in a council apartment, instead of privately rented accommodation, increases Travellers' feelings of security and therefore their housing related well-being. Regardless of this suggestion, the finding that housed Gypsies in London preferred privately rented apartments over social housing,

can only be suggestive and requiring further study since an adequate sample of Gypsies were not interviewed for this study.

Whilst the overall majority of respondents (18/28) were living in local authority accommodation, five respondents, all younger Traveller women (YTF), were renting from private landlords at time of interview. This was either because councils had not provided them appropriate apartments (i.e. they stated a preference for being close to family, with a garden, located in a 'nice' area), or not provided them with apartments at all as they were not seen as in priority need. All five women in this circumstance indicated that they were afraid to be evicted, and all but one felt a privately rented apartment could never offer them a secure home.

> R: Do you think private is better than council or council better than private?
> I: I think if it was council you could actually feel it home, try to make it a home. Then in private I think it's more temporary so you don't want to even make it feel like home, do ya? (**YTF, 25**)

Two Traveller women, one older and one younger, were living in temporary accommodation provided by the council. The younger woman lived in a council allocated hostel room and was waiting to be offered a council apartment. She had previously lived in her mother's house. The older woman had lived in housing for 20 years and said she has waited 14 years for a permanent council house in order to feel more secure and comfortable. She is looking for a large four bedroom house (which is more difficult to find in London) and expressed the opinion that she has not got one yet because of discrimination against her by the housing officials.

> R: You said you are temporarily [accommodated], so that means they can kick you out in a weeks' notice? I: Yeah.
> R: That's the reason for …
> I: That's the worst of being temporary yeah.
> R: So if you had the permanent you could live there forever?
> I: Yeah, they can't [evict too rapidly], and you would be more comfortable, you wouldn't have to move on. (**OTF, 43**)

All three 'most assimilated' and educated respondents, all of whom were Gypsies, are owner occupiers of their houses. They have all previously lived in council houses at various stages of their lives but had mixed feelings about the experience. Looking back on their time in rented accommodation both two women stated that they preferred privately rented apartments for their better quality and for the freedom to choose when and where they moved, whereas the only Gypsy man interviewed for this study indicated that he missed the more communal life of council estates. He emphasised that council estates when he was growing up used not to have the negative stigma they have now (also Rutter & Latorre, 2008), and instead highlighted the positive aspects of communality found in them, something that is missing from more private and independent living forms. Interestingly, the

kind of communality described by this respondent has a resemblance to the life on caravan site described by other respondents: that one is never completely alone and always had someone to talk to:

> R: Yeah, you mean that if now days you would rent a council house you would get the stigma?
> I: Yeah, I think a bit differently in my age now, although when we lived in X we were living on a council estate and it was alright. But these places always look bad from the outside but when you're actually living in them there's always, they're never as bad as what they seem. There's always few mad families but as long as you keep out of their way or try not to get on the wrong side of them, you will be alright. Most of the people are pretty decent. I actually miss it cos there's always stuff going on, and you know people around and yeah. The police come and everyone looks out the window, there's always gossip, there's always some family having a big row. But where I live now it's just like dead you know.
>
> R: Private individuals in their own houses?
> I: Yeah, like they say hello and that's it, it's just dead I miss it.
> R: That's a nice way of looking at council houses actually, I never thought of like that. You are not as lonely when living on an estate?
> I: Yeah … 'cos people are not working; you know you can always like just hang around having a chat with people you know. (**OGM, 45**)

The following section illustrates how also Finnish Roma, although arguably significantly 'more assimilated' into the Western individualistic lifestyle, consider social housing as their preferred type of tenancy.

4.5.2 Finnish Roma

Due to their usually weaker economic status than that of 'mainstream' Finns, and the negative stereotypes and prejudices deployed against them, most Roma in Finland are dependent on municipal and non-profit rental housing rather than privately rented or owned accommodation (FNPR, 2009; Törmä et al., 2012). In most cases Roma, because of fear of discrimination by landlords and previous experiences of poor customer service, will not even try to apply for privately rented apartments and prefer to live in state-provided accommodation (Törmä et al., 2012). In addition, difficulties in providing required funding (mortgages) as a result of poverty and employment type usually prevent Roma from obtaining houses of their own (Annual report of the Ombudsman for Minorities, 2009). The most common type of residence for the Roma in Finland are therefore rented, government owned flats in apartment buildings blocks (Oulun kaupunki, 2006; Törmä et al., 2012).

The majority of the Finnish Roma interviewed currently dwell in city or non-profit corporation - owned rental apartments (21/29), of the remaining two rent from private landlords, two are owner occupiers, two live in sheltered accommo-

dation, and two are homeless. For these respondents their personal socio-economic position seems to be the most relevant issue when comparing differences between respondents' living situations. Over half of the Group B Roma interviewees were not satisfied with their housing situation, whereas all Group A Roma were. The interviewees who dwelt in sheltered or supported accommodation (for victims of domestic violence or persons with alcohol/drug addiction), or were homeless were all Group B Roma. Of the three younger Group B women in this category, one lived in her mother's city-owned rental apartment, one in a run-down privately rented apartment chosen for her by her social worker, and one in sheltered accommodation for victims of domestic violence. Both of the younger Group B men are homeless and dwelling with relatives. Since in addition one older Group B man lived in supported accommodation for ex-prison inmates, this means that only four Group B Roma were actually satisfied with their dwelling situation. This group consisted of three older Group B women and one older man. In comparison, as noted above, all Group A Roma were satisfied with their accommodation. Of those who do not dwell in (their own) city-owned rental apartments, two are owner occupiers and one rented from the private sector suggesting that this sub-group of respondents had exercised choice over their housing.

To highlight the differences found in the living situations of Finnish Roma from both groups, in the first quote a younger Group B woman explains her situation living in a privately rented apartment, where she has been placed by her social worker. In the second quote an older Group A man explains it is better to rent from the private sector because it enables one to choose a residence that is closer to your own liking.

> R: And you think that if you tried to get one [privately rented apartment] you wouldn't get it?
> I: No I wouldn't, I wouldn't. And this landlord that I have now, X, who is known well here in Eastern Finland, known for his cunningness. He's someone who hustles social services by giving underprivileged junkies apartments. Gives them cash, not always even cash, and keeps the vouchers to himself. So he like takes advantage, and I've never before accepted his apartments because you never know who will come in, any junkie could come in with any keys and you just have to be scared. I've been scared of his apartments, like how unclean they are and what has been done there before. Now this apartment that I have now, I got a police lock, a Boda-lock, and I know that only a drunk have lived there before, no one have taken drugs there. (**YBF, 34**)

> R: Ok. Do you think private or city-owned rental apartments are better and why? Which one would you choose if you had to?
> I: Well when you choose private, you have more choice. You get to see and explore, so it has those points. With city-owned you are usually in the queue until they say "box number seven is yours". With private you get to glance through and see, and properly see different places and sceneries. So based on that with private you get more pleasant and something that is closer to your taste. (OAM, 45)

Although the trend in Finnish policy on Roma is currently on 'recognition' of cultural difference (instead of redistribution policies), aimed at getting rid of the stigma and social problem label of the Roma community, it is extremely important to acknowledge that there still are Finnish Roma (as there are other Finns) who have severe socio-economic problems, and are in need of assistance. As will be argued later in Chapter 7 (7.4), some Roma are born into more underprivileged families and therefore often have weak possibilities of moving upwards socially within the society (not least because of moving permit custom). Therefore, their particular needs and problems may not be covered by accessing mainstream social assistance policies, whereas in fact special practices especially targeting the Finnish Roma might be required to assist them.

As with Gypsies and Traveller interviewed in England the theme of security of tenure is overwhelmingly the most often mentioned reason for why social housing is considered better than renting from the private sector. It is felt that for those who cannot afford to buy their own homes, city- owned rentals is the next best option.

> Yes that's right. Your living is like more secured in city-owned house, if you can't afford to buy your own. (**OAF, 55**)

> R: Do you think private or city-owned rentals are better?
> I: City-owned, it's safer.
> R: And safety is what matters most?
> I: Yes, like that you can live in it. Of course if you live badly, that's a different matter then. But with private you might have to leave, they might take the apartment from you. (**OAM, 42**)

Thus in common with the Travellers in London, Finnish Roma mention how in social housing one is able to make the apartment look and feel as their own. City-owned apartments were also said to be cheaper and easier to get than privately rented, and housing officials were considered relatively sensible and conscious of the culture-related restrictions Finnish Roma have in housing (see 1.1 and 6.1).

Because of deeply-rooted prejudices, private landlords and agencies are reported to hardly ever rent to Finnish Roma, unless they get good recommendations and/or have previously had good experiences of Roma tenants. Since in total eight respondents had dwelt in privately rented apartment at some point of their lives, (of which seven are Group A Roma), it seems that Group A Roma could be argued to be generally better connected and have wider social networks that eased their access into the private renting sector. In addition, their eagerness to 'live well', as well as their willingness to spend years in gaining their majority neighbours' trust (see further Chapter 6: 6.3), undoubtedly increases their chances of renting privately when compared to Group B Roma.

> R: Ok, how about with private, is there any prejudice or discrimination?
> I: Well, you see I've got those through people I know, and they have recommended me, it went like that. (**OAF, 58**)

A few respondents reported thinking that both privately rented and city-owned apartments could be good, depending on the area and the condition of the apartment. Since only eight (8/29) respondents had lived in privately rented apartments and no one had been evicted from them, the most significant barriers for Finnish Roma renting privately would appear to be that of prejudice that prevent private landlords and agencies from renting to Finnish Roma (see also FNPR, 2009; Törmä et al., 2012) as well as Finnish Roma respondents' fear of prejudice that prevents them from even attempting to rent from the private sector.

> R: If you could choose, would you move into a private or city-owned rental apartment?
> I: If I was - well it depends on the apartment. But if you are a Roma, if you wear the dress you can't get a private rental. If they just see that you are a Gypsy, you won't get it.
> R: This still happens?
> I: Yes, you won't get it, no. I would like one as well … [indicating that she would like to get any apartment since she has been waiting for four years for a city-owned rental apartment] (**YBF, 27**)

> R: Why haven't you rented from a private landlord, why haven't you even looked if you think they are better?
> I: They are more expensive, the rent, maybe that's the reason.
> R: What about do you think they would rent it easily to a Roma?
> I: Yeah that as well, it might be a bit more difficult. Like you would have to have a job and good credit ratings and …
> R: So you haven't even tried?
> I: Yeah, we actually haven't even tried. (**YAM, 28**)

Overall, the stance towards renting apartments from the private sector and preference for dwelling in social housing seem to be similar among Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers. Since these communities are generally in a weaker socio-economic situation compared to the majorities, and experience discrimination and prejudice from the wider society, social housing is felt to be the most secure option that enables a house to be made into a 'home'. This indicates that although the assimilation level of Finnish Roma might generally be considerably higher than that of Gypsies' and Travellers' in England, in the main, Roma (even amongst Group A) have assimilated into socio- economically lower parts of Finnish society where dependency on social housing is more common.

Furthermore, in both countries, the respondents who are most assimilated and educated as well as the most obviously unrecognisable members of their communities (i.e. do not appear overtly Roma as a result of dress or appearance), are owner-occupiers of their houses, and hence do not feel threatened about the possibility of eviction from privately rented apartments.

4.6 NORMALISING ASSIMILATION POLICIES AND INSTITUTIONS

Since the focus in Finnish minority policies is on cultural recognition and multiculturalism, ethnic communities are encouraged to celebrate their cultural heritage in areas of life that will not disturb the nation's economic productivity and social harmony, and assimilate into those that are seen necessary for nations' economic success and population's equilibrium (e.g. labour market). In England, after multiculturalism's alleged failure illustrated by social restlessness, discourses urging all communities to embrace majority norms and values, have gained popularity, making life harder for those who still differ from those 'norms'.

It is argued throughout this thesis that state institutions, such as employment and housing offices, are Government tools to control and assimilate its population (Bancroft, 2005; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). These institutions are promoted as supporting family stability and individuals' participation in the labour market, both seen as necessary for nation's economic development (Beck & Beck- Gernsheim, 2002; Foucault, 2003a: 270).

As such, Gypsies' and Travellers' preference of the travelling lifestyle and rejection of these normative mechanisms has resulted in UK government forcing often hostile assimilation policies ('Cultural, institutional racism' see Chapter 2: 2.2.3) upon their 'deviant lifestyle'. This, in turn, has affected these communities' relationship to the State and its institutions, and therefore made them more segregated. With no trust for government's assimilative institutions, Gypsies and Travellers have barely any confidence in the State, mainstream skills, or wish to use such agencies.

In contrast, the Finnish State's positive discrimination policies in housing have contributed to Finnish Roma' higher level of trust towards State institutions, and made them confident users of welfare services designed to assimilate them. Their trust in these institutions' ability and volition to help, have resulted in Finnish Roma wanting to assimilate to the majority style of living and mainstream employment. Therefore, their individual choices have aligned with government's goals, and they have begun to self-assimilate (as will be explored more in Chapter 9: 9.4.1).

Although most Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers prefer to live in government supported social housing, housing estates can also be seen as a disciplinary mechanism to control individuals and families by forcing them to stay in traceable locations (Foucault, 2003b). If this somewhat sinister interpretation is accepted, this can partly explain the Finnish government's noticeable efforts to provide apartments for the Roma, as well as the higher numbers of Gypsies and Travellers in social housing, compared to the UK average. In order to monitor and control these communities more effectively, compared to when it was possible to roam freely in the traditional Roma/Gypsy/Traveller manner, their location has to be known.

5 Gypsies and Travellers in housing

It has been recognised in law that there is often a cultural aversion among Gypsies and Travellers towards living in contemporary housing (LGTA, 2008; Johnson, 2009). This alone indicates that housing related issues are especially relevant to Gypsies and Travellers well-being. Travellers' mental and physical well-being can be seriously undermined when they are put into accommodation that disrupts the maintenance of the supportive extended families (Power, 2004: 47). Feelings of isolation typically manifest as stress, anxiety and an exaggerated sense of loss of freedom when experiencing a total change of lifestyle by moving from sites into settled housing (Richardson et al., 2007; Cullen et al., 2008; Smith & Greenfields, 2013).

When controlling for how long respondents have lived in contemporary housing, there is a slight difference evident in the experience of living in a settled house. This is most noticeable when comparing those who have lived in housing for under and over ten years. Eleven (11/28) interviewees have lived in settled housing under ten years and 17 for over ten years. Since there are no significant differences between those who have lived in houses for under a year, less than five years and under ten years, they will be looked at as one group. Similarly those who have lived in housing over ten years, over twenty years and all their lives are combined as a second group. The experience of life on sites of those respondents who have lived in settled housing for all their lives comes from travelling during summer months, visiting friends and family on sites and/or hearing about it from older relatives.

5.1 LIVING IN A HOUSE VS. SITE

Six of those 11 respondents who have lived in settled housing less than ten years say they feel claustrophobic, six feel lonely, and eight respondents miss life in outdoors. Among those 17 respondents who have lived in settled housing for over ten years: four feel claustrophobic, two are lonely, and three miss the outdoors, demonstrating change across time, as people 'settle' in a new way of life.

When asked about their feelings of living in a settled apartment, compared to a caravan or a chalet, many respondents indicated that the only good thing about living in a house is that it's warmer and has its own baths and toilets. Half of Travellers mention the comforts in a house as a good thing, whereas none of the Gypsy respondents did. This most likely has to do with the fact that only one

of the five Gypsy respondents has ever lived on the road or on sites during winter and as such they have a less clear understanding of the daily reality of such a life than do the Traveller respondents (also Smith and Greenfields, 2013).

As indicated above, for individuals who have experienced site life, missing outdoor life was the most commonly mentioned negative effect of life in bricks and mortar accommodation. Since a travelling lifestyle is characterised as spending most time outside and going inside only to eat, sleep and drink, the settled 'home -orientated' lifestyle has proven to be extremely difficult for the respondents who have experience of alternatives. Respondents indicated that they cope with it by, for example, spending time in their gardens, going constantly in and out of the house or just standing outside their homes watching people go by. Without a garden, families with children find living inhousing almost impossible to cope with, since they rarely trust their children to play in public areas with children from other communities (see further Chapter 8: 8.1) and therefore have to keep their children inside most of the time.

This sense of being confined is highly distressing for those Gypsy and Traveller children who are used of spending most of their waking hours outside, as it is for women whose domestic duties become constantly interrupted by their children being trapped indoors with them. Feeling unsafe and the anxiety resulted by this, was also mentioned as a negative effect of living in housing.

> … when I bought my last chalet [this respondent clarified that she refers all bricks and mortar houses as chalets] when we first lived there, we just come off from living on a site so my son was probably three or four, he was a bit wild, because he had a lot of freedom and then I had to try and train him in, try to train him into our property. So he would climb over next doors fence, and they must have known that we were Travellers cos we had a caravan in the garden, or two. (**OGF, 36**)

In a search to make housing more culturally familiar, women would organise their environments and replicate particular modes of behaviour. One way to help make a house resemble a caravan is to have windows, sometimes even doors, open at all times to keep the temperature down to the lower degree common in trailers, and allow a breeze to blow through. This is done even by some of the respondents who have lived in housing for over 20 years. In addition, since life in caravans is life on one level, some respondents find staircases difficult to get used to in housing. Therefore, rooms upstairs are often used only as storage space, while everyone sleeps downstairs (also Greenfields in Richardson et al., 2007). These forms of behaviour are the case for respondents who have lived in caravans previously. In contrast, those who have lived in housing all their lives, or for a long time, have mostly got used to stairs and sleeping upstairs although their parents or older relatives may have experienced the adjustment problems detailed above.

5.2 ROUTES INTO HOUSING: "IT'S ALL ABOUT CHILDREN"

Eleven respondents (11/28) mentioned children's education as the main reason for why they (or their parents) moved into settled housing. They were all women; four younger and four older Traveller women, and two younger and one older Gypsy women. In all of their stories moving into settled housing was seen as a sacrifice made for the sake of children whose well-being and future is placed ahead of everything else in life within Gypsy and Traveller culture. In contrast, none of the men mentioned children as a reason to move into housing. This reflects the gendered division of work in Gypsy and Traveller cultures, where children's well-being is women's responsibility, even at the level of discourse on family and how responsibilities are considered. The emphasis on education as a reason for settling also indicates a significant decrease in resistance towards mainstream schooling among Gypsy and Traveller communities, a sign of increased assimilation as well perhaps as recognition of the fact that traditional lifestyles are becoming increasingly impossible to maintain, and that access to education provides children with a range of alternatives.

> R: So you think you have to adapt with the...?
> I: Well we've been forced to do that … because we've tried every other option. And we've tried to get help. To get bigger sites and bigger pitches and more pitches, and they just don't [provide them]. The government doesn't want to do that so. So it's that we've been forced to [move into housing]. For the sake of your children, every mother knows that they have to put their children first, so I had to put my children for their sake, you know what I mean? It was a forced decision that I had to make. (**YTF, 34**)

Although children's education is mentioned by numerous women interviewees in this thesis as the most important reason to move into settled housing, approximately half of the respondents mentioned lack of permanent council sites and the pressures of constantly being moved on from camp sites as further reasons why they decided to move. Moving to London was also identified by some Irish Travellers as a direct reason to abandon life on caravan sites in recognition of the near impossibility of such accommodation in the city. Other cited reasons included, to find work and obtain a better life (linking to Finnish Roma perceptions of 'normalised' lifestyles), to try something new, or to follow family members who have moved into housing in a particular area. The above themes were the most common reasons why Irish Travellers reported moving to London, whereas tensions within the Traveller and Gypsy communities were also mentioned by four respondents as a reason to leave a site. Families with 'weaker political muscle' within the Travelling communities are often forced to move away from sites in cases where the stronger families wish them to go (Okely, 1983: 180; 2005). Lack of sites (due to government policies, see further Chapter 4: 4.2.1) have made mov-

ing into housing reality for increased number of Gypsy and Traveller families (Greenfields, 2006).

Three older and one younger Traveller reported taking a decision to move into housing for health- related reasons. The reason to abandon life on sites does not seem to differ significantly between men and women (except with the discourse of children, see above), older and younger, or between Gypsies and Travellers. The most striking feature however, (discussed further below (5.3)), was how all three young Traveller men disclosed how they had actually wanted to move into housing, rather than were forced to because of external pressures. Although all three men first moved into housing with their parents, this does not entirely explain their higher preference to housing since those women respondents, who were similarly introduced to housing by their parents, still preferred to live on sites.

Overall, findings from this element of the study reinforce the findings of previous research (e.g. Cullen et al., 2008; Smith & Greenfields, 2013). The only real deviation from earlier authors' findings are that in this study a higher amount of (women) respondents mentioned their children's education as the primary reason to leave (unauthorisised) caravan sites, and the gendered difference in positive attitudes towards living in housing (see below).

As has been argued throughout previous Chapters, if the Finnish state's *normalising assimilation policies* towards the Roma can be classified as successful when assimilation is measured through contemplating peoples' stated preference for lifestyle, e.g. settled living, formal education, approval of individualism and involvement in wage labour, it has also been argued that equivalent British assimilation policies have not been as successful. It is only in the sense of an increasing popularity of mainstream education among Gypsy and Traveller communities that slight changes in assimilation can be detected and this may be argued to be a pragmatic decision to enhance children's future opportunities. Education can be argued to be the most efficient way to assimilate ethnic minority individuals and communities. And, as will be demonstrated later in Chapter 8 (8.1), those Gypsy and Traveller children who are attending school, are becoming generally more positive towards mainstream outside society, and have begun to act as intermediates between their parents and the outside world.

5.3 HAPPY IN HOUSES?

The all London Boroughs' Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Needs Assessment (LGTA) carried out in 2008 stated that less than half of housed Gypsies and Travellers were satisfied with their homes, emphasising the link between this unhappiness and isolation alongside fear of losing their cultural identity (p. 6). It was discovered however that the dissatisfaction measured by Accommodation Needs Assessment does not reveal anything significant about Gypsies' and Travellers' thoughts about their houses or homes 'as a place' (see Chapter 6 for the definition

of this concept) but only their general feelings towards being required to live in a settled home. Therefore, when the interviewees within this study were asked about their homes 'as places', the reported satisfaction was considerably higher.

Since research and surveys about Gypsies and Travellers in England have mainly concentrated on those still travelling or living on caravan sites, most studies about housed members of these communities are conducted with an assumption that everyone would still prefer to live on sites or on the road (with the exceptions of Greenfields & Smith, 2010; Smith & Greenfields, 2013). This assumption has restrained researchers and surveyors from asking home (as a place) -related questions of housed Gypsies and Travellers.

In fact, Gypsies and Travellers, who live in council houses interviewed for this study, were generally very satisfied with both the quality and size of their houses. When asked about their homes as a place or a space (see Chapter 6), only two of the respondents mentioned that they do not like their homes as a place. One of these respondents was an older Traveller woman who did not like or want to live in any settled house (10 years residence in housing), and a younger Traveller woman who disliked her home because it is rented from a private landlord and not from the council (8 months living in housing).

The vast majority of respondents said they were happy with their homes. To illustrate this, the following four quotes are from respondents, who all have lived in housing for over ten years, and who would not want to change anything about their homes. There are no significant differences between older and younger age groups, Gypsies and Travellers, or women and men in this sample in relation to how they felt about their home as a 'place' to live.

> R: What is your worst thing about your house?
> I: Worst thing about me house? I don't really have no faults in me house. (**YGF, 23**)

> There's nothing bad. No I like the house, its good I like the house. The council is good to me. If I need repairs they do them straight away. They are very good council, the neighbours are very good, people in the shops are very good, everyone knows me. (**OTF, 51**)

> R: If there would be something you could change about your home, what would it be?
> I: Nothing.
> R: Nothing? So it's perfect?
> I: Mm I'm just happy enough yeah. (**YTM, 29**)

> R: And if there's something that you could change in your home, is there anything you would change? I: Um not really no.
> R: So you're completely satisfied? I: Satisfied yeah. (**OTM, 66**)

As illustrated above, the majority of respondent were satisfied with their homes, but overwhelmingly mentioned they would rather live on a site among their own community. The quote below is from an older Traveller man, who has lived in

housing for seven years and misses the outdoor life, but on the other hand, is happy to have a warm house during the winter months.

> I like me home, like I've said I wouldn't want to change nothing. I like the house in the winter time but in the summer I would just really like to have a caravan. It's nothing to change about the house cos it's very good, it's very good. Nice and warm. (**OTM, 47**)

The next quote is from an older Gypsy woman who has lived in housing for over ten years and likes her home, but indicates that she would like to move on to a site if possible because she has found adjusting to living on more than one floor and away from the outdoors very hard:

> I'm living in a house ... it's not great ... I love my house, it's a great house, but the life is hard. I, I sleep downstairs, I don't know if you noticed when you come in, I got a mattress in my office, I don't like sleeping upstairs. (**OGF, 36**)

As such it can be argued that homes as places are not the largest problem for housed Gypsies and Travellers in London (see also Chapter 6), but instead being separated from their community is the major cause of harm. These next quotes demonstrate how women prefer living close to family over having nicer or even 'perfect' houses. The first younger Traveller woman (less than ten years residence in housing) has selected her children's school to ensure that they have cultural contact with other Travellers, even though the school is in some distance from where they live. The second younger Traveller woman (over ten years residence in housing) expressed that living close to family always overrides the size of a house in importance.

> The house it's a perfect house but it's just too far out though. It's too far. I'd soon have a place in X beside my family because I got aunties in X and plus my kids go to school in X because they are in school with other Travellers. (**YTF, 28**)

> I'd just love a house that was just a side every, all my family just Travellers everywhere. I wouldn't even care how big the house was, just as long I was living near my family. (**YTF, 19**)

This next older Traveller woman has lived in her current home over ten years and has rejected 'nicer' accommodation to remain living near to relatives:

> It's just the way we're brought [up], the closeness. We are brought up close like that and brought up with the sense of family and … that the family is the most important thing to us. And, like I could've got a lovely house away but I wouldn't. Nicer houses away but I wouldn't move. (**OTF, 49**)

Accordingly it is possible to argue that some Traveller women do not mind living in a house even if they have lived previously on sites, as long as they have their family close, as this next quote from a young Traveller woman, who has lived in housing for less than ten years, demonstrates:

> Whereas if I was in a house with no friends and family close, then I'd say I prefer a site, a caravan. But because where I am now I still have friends and family. When I get up in the morning and I get my kids ready, I could still go out and go to my mums or go to my friends. (**YTF, 24**)

Although some respondents are clearly missing their life on caravan sites, this sentiment is not shared with all. Most people who had previously lived on sites, stated that they felt 'trapped', 'caged in' and missed the outdoor life at first when moving into settled housing but approximately half of the respondents say they have got used to living in houses, while the other half say they only learned to 'cope' with it.

All men interviewed as well as some younger Traveller women seem to be those who have *got used to* living in houses, adjusting better than Gypsy women and older Traveller women, who are in their own words only *'coping with'* it. The reasons for this might be that the change in men's life when moving into a house is not as radical as for women (see further Chapter 7: 7.1), and in general older people, who have more experiences of life on sites, might be more nostalgic towards it (e.g. Juhl et al., 2010: 214) and also find it much harder to make the transition at a later stage of life.

Smith and Greenfields (2013) report Travellers expressing a closer ongoing connection to the travelling life, in contrast in this study Gypsies seem to miss a travelling life more than the Travellers interviewed. Since a low number of English Gypsies were interviewed, no valid conclusions can be drawn about the issue however. Nevertheless, only one of the six Gypsy respondents (a man) is *completely* happy in housing while all the other four (women), including those two who might be classified as 'more assimilated', feel that they either will *never* get used to housing or report that they do not feel 'free' living in a house. One possible reason for this is that when in a better socio-economic position, as are some of the interviewed Gypsies, it is socially easier to start to claim more cultural recognition and foreground ethnic identity, as it is clearly seen in the case of the Finnish Roma. Another reason, which possibly explains why Irish Traveller respondents are more satisfied with their settled houses than are English Gypsies, is that since Travellers have been facing extreme difficulties in finding places to stay in their personal and more recent history, getting a home, (even if it is a settled house), is a relief and an overall improvement in their circumstances. Smith and Greenfields' (ibid., p. 129) findings reaffirm this analysis; one of the most cited positive aspects of living in housing was freedom from harassment and evictions.

When probed more closely about whether they would want to move back onto a site, 19 out of the 22 interviewed women say they would, whereas all but one (older) Traveller man (1/6) would not want to move back onto a site. According to the interviewed men, they have got used to the comforts of contemporary housing. Of the three women who say they are content in their houses and don't want to live on a site, one is a more educated Gypsy woman who has lived in a house all her life, one an older Traveller woman who has lived in housing for over 20 years, settling initially because of her children, and one is a younger Traveller woman, who has lived in a settled house less than 10 years and prefers it to living on a site because of a greater degree of privacy. Both Traveller women disclosed, when probed even further, that if they did not have children they would prefer to live on a site (see further section 5.2 above).

The sample of men is not adequate to draw strong conclusions but it is nevertheless revealing since none of the interviewed women give such a straightforward negative answer than the men do, when asked about moving back on to sites. In particular, the three younger Traveller men are very determined in their answers:

> R: And what was the reason that, would you like to live on a site or a caravan if you...?
> I: I prefer a house to be honest (YTM, 30)
>
> R: Would you like to move back to a caravan if you could? I: No.
> R: No?
> I: No (YTM, 29)
>
> R: Was it hard [moving into housing]?
> I: It was a change like, but I thought it was better. R: You think it was better?
> I: Yeah, it's more warmer and comfortable and things.
> R: Aa ok, so you wouldn't move back to a site if you could? I: No. (YTM, 27)

Although there is research evidence of young Gypsy and Traveller men expressing more willingness to return to a more 'authentic' and highly patriarchal nomadic lifestyle, that gives an advantage to the male gender (Smith & Greenfields, ibid.), these three younger Traveller men, who have all lived in housing for over 15 years, seem to place more importance on the comforts of living in housing than on traditional gender roles and a more nomadic lifestyle. A plausible reason for this is the length of time they have already lived in conventional settled housing which seems to influence attitudes (Smith, 2008: 30). However it is clear that it is not possible to automatically assume that young males living in 'bricks and mortar' would automatically prefer to live on sites given such a chance.

5.4 "I'M IN A LITTLE BOX AND THAT'S WHERE THEY WANT ME"

The following four quotes summarise the feelings Gypsies and Travellers expressed about living in settled contemporary housing, compared to a caravan or a chalet within their own community. In the first quote a younger Traveller woman explains how even if the living standards in housing are considerably better, the 'soul' or 'spirit' of a travelling life is missing.

> Basically the standards are all 100% better. And the living standards and facilities, and the whole house thing especially in the winter the warmth and the heat is far better. But the soul is missing so much. The soul and the spirit is missing. (**YTF, 34**)

This next quote demonstrates the damaging consequences for women of having to live away from their relatives and community (see further Chapter 7: 7.2).

> R: Have you something else to say about living in a house and how it makes you feel? How it could be better? I: It would be better if it was nice housing estate with more Travellers that lived [there], that I knew as well. R: It would make it easier?
> I: Easier yeah. Cos if you living in a house in X by yourself, it's be like getting lonely. You just feel like crying sometimes because you're so lonely. (**YTF, 28**)

In the following quote the only Gypsy male respondent, who has lived in housing all his life (and can be considered as 'more assimilated' and educated), recalls how he used to wonder as a child why some people irreparably damaged their apartments right after moving in. On reflection he indicated how he now understands how being put into the 10th floor straight from a caravan would make anyone feel deranged.

> But I know people who suffered for it and found it very hard. The older generations that were put into big ten storey block of flats on X and living up on the 8th floor when you never even been on the second floor you know. People did find it hard, I mean there was a lot of - I remember hearing and finding it very odd as a kid but again another thing that I now kind of understand - there was a lot of people in housing smashing all the insides up you know, ripping out all the copper piping and selling and destroying the whole ... you know that used to happen a lot. And now I can see [why] well you know been stuck in the middle of a box right in the middle of sky, yeah it would sent you off wouldn't it? (OGM, 45)

In the last quote a Gypsy woman, who has lived in housing for most of her life and is more educated than the average Gypsy or Traveller, ponders on how she had been forced to assimilate to the norms of English society. She thinks that in order to succeed in life and to avoid constant racism and discrimination, she was required to give up her travelling lifestyle and accommodate to the norm of 'liv-

ing in a little box'. The feelings of this woman provide are clear example of state's assimilative power to normalise the 'deviants' (as was presented in Chapter 2: 2.2).

> R: Since you've lived in a house for some time … how you can make it better if you have to, if you are forced to live in a house?
> I: I don't know really, just live like country people [settled majority people]. Just have to accept to eat and live like them. But there's still a part of me that just wants to be free and I can't, it's very claustrophobic. Um I love my house because I love what it is, its bricks and its warm and it's where my family live, it's close to things and we can work from here and have a better life. But that's it because society is sort of forced me to do this for a better life 'cause they don't let me just be and have my life in a chalet where I wanna live. So I'm just forced to have to live like this really. I mean my other options are if I was gonna move from here, then I could buy a lovely trailer and a lovely range rover and have a lot of money in the bank, and then what? I wouldn't have a job and my kids wouldn't have schooling, I wouldn't have anywhere to go I would be called pikey every single day of my life. Yeah so I'm kind of forced to live like this. Yeah I'm in a little box and that's where they want me. (**OGF, 36**)

As can be seen within these quotations and the discussion above, whilst the impacts of moving into housing can be long-term and profoundly damaging for Gypsies and Travellers, the emphasis on family and community in these stories of forced settlement may also offer an explanation for how despite the hardships of resisting assimilation, culture and communities remain so strong. It is evident that relationships with family are seen as the most important influence on Gypsies and Travellers well-being (see further Chapter 7: 7.1).

5.5 PRESERVING 'LIFESTYLE DEVIANCE'

This Chapter demonstrated how UK governments have continued to implement assimilation policies on Gypsy and Traveller communities in order to 'normalise' them into the accepted frames of modern Western living (e.g. not building enough sites, making mainstream education a necessity for well- being). It also shows that even when being forced to change their lifestyle (e.g. move into settled housing) Gypsies and Travellers are refusing to assimilate but instead further self-segregating from the rest of the society by transferring elements of their travelling lifestyle into housing. The argument that Gypsies and Travellers would enjoy living in contemporary housing if they had the chance to live in 'nice' houses is proved wrong by the respondents, of whom most actually like their houses but still miss life on caravan sites

The refusal to conform to the 'norm' is having a negative effect on these communities' well-being and socio-economic position. Therefore, it can be argued that their insistence on 'deviance' ensures the government and wider society perceive of Gypsies and Travellers as inherent threats, and therefore continue to in-

stigate cultural, institutional racism on them. Although still generally refusing to assimilate, the influences of normalising assimilative policies and institutions can be detected from Gypsies and Travellers increasingly positive attitudes towards their children's education. Like Finnish Roma before them, they are beginning to see mainstream education as a necessity for higher socio-economic well-being in a Western post-industrial society. Those individuals who have changed their lifestyles more towards the 'norm' are also doing better socio-economically, as well as generally experiencing higher well-being.

6 Home

This doctoral thesis argues that studying how people live and act inside their private homes can reveal things about their culture and a way of life that cannot be revealed in any other way. Thus this Chapter introduces and analyses how Finnish Roma and housed Gypsies and Travellers spoke about their private homes in areas of: behaviour inside the home (e.g. kitchen, cleaning, decorating); the preferable location of the home (e.g. ground floor); the perceived difference of their homes to majority peoples' homes; and what they thought about their current homes (e.g. over-crowding).

The concept of 'home' is used in this study in the way in which Roma, Gypsies and Travellers themselves defined it within interview data. As such, and for the current purposes, discussions on whether there is, or should be such a theoretical concept, are excluded from this thesis (e.g. Benjamin ed., 1995). The actual dwelling is in the writings of some theorists divided into *house* and *home*, or *place* and *space*, conceptualised as a 'house' which gives physical shelter and 'home' as the entity that includes feelings and symbols that bind us to places and things (Westman, 1995: 70). Rather than using both concepts of *house and home*, only *home* is used in the current context and distinguished according to whether it is discussed by the respondents as *a place* which gives physical shelter or *a space* with feelings and symbols attached to it. This discussion is further supported by incorporating the definition utilised by Mary Douglas (1991: 290), of a home as a 'space in time into where people carry ideas about their lives and morals', as such a space that does not have to be a made of bricks and mortar, but can equally well be a trailer, a boat or a tent.

Based on the findings from this thesis, the meaning of home as both *a space* and as *a place* differs between Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers in England. The Roma overwhelmingly discuss and think about 'home' as a space of privacy and relaxation, and as a place that demonstrates their belonging to the community. The concept of home was important to Finnish Roma with ten respondents mentioning home (as a place and space) directly and majority alluding to and paraphrasing the concept when defining 'a good life' (see further Appendix 5).

In comparison, seven of the interviewed Gypsies and Travellers mentioned home (as a physical place), as a part of a good life. Overall, the notion of 'community' equating to (Douglas op. cit.) a location for morality and living, seemed to be more important for Gypsies and Travellers than an actual physical location (or home as place); as a majority of the respondents spoke about family, community and not having to be alone when asked about their conceptualisation of 'home'.

Based upon this element of the research, it may be argued that home as space, for the Gypsies and Travellers, equates to being secure with one's own community and separate from the rest of the society, whereas home as a 'place' seem to have a less significant meaning at least amongst those who have been forced into settled housing and away from living at sites.

6.1 KITCHEN

Whilst it is not possible in this thesis to explore the complex system of cleanliness morals and rules that **Finnish Roma** follow (Grönfors, 1979; Viljanen, 2012) (see 1.1), adherence to these rules places certain requirements on the physical lay-out of the apartments before they can live in such an environment. This section discusses the morals and rules associated with kitchens.

Within the traditional Roma home the kitchen must be a separate room as it is considered the cleanest and purest space inside the home both symbolically and practically (also Törmä et al., 2012: 10). In Finnish Roma culture, as is found in other Roma communities (e.g. Okely, 1983; Sutherland, 1975), the human body is divided into impure lower part and pure upper part of the body, separated by the waist line. This division between pure/impure is reflected in not only to classification of clothing and the corporeal but also pertains to bed-linen, furniture, objects and even rooms by classifying everything that is in contact with the lower body as impure and that with the upper body as symbolically pure (Viljanen, 2012: 388). Within this system, the kitchen is classified as 'pure' and as such a culturally observant Roma cannot enter a kitchen without wearing their traditional clothing, and it would be especially polluting to enter such a pure space in their underwear and particularly so for women.

As such, open plan kitchens and kitchenettes are highly undesirable for Roma householders, who otherwise, as they explained, would have to constantly be fully dressed at home, a state which is extremely inconvenient especially for the women whose dresses can weigh up to nine kilograms (20 lbs.) and be over a metre (3 feet 3 inches) in width when full petticoats are worn beneath the skirt.

Finnish Roma are highly conscientious about washing their hands before entering a kitchen to both physically and symbolically enter the space in a clean state, and in fact hand hygiene in general is regarded as being of paramount importance. The division between clean and unclean is rigorously observed and all rooms and each 'type' of furniture have separate washing cloths and mops. In addition, pets' dishes are washed separately from that of humans.

Gypsies and Travellers also have complex cleanliness morals and rules that make a clear distinction, not so much between lower and upper body, but instead between the inside and outside body. This distinction determines that objects which are meant for, or in contact with the inner body, such as food, cutlery, plates and tea towels are washed separately from objects in contact with the outer body such as clothes or the physical body itself (Okely, 1983: 80-81). Research about the

cultural practices affecting Gypsies' and Travellers' life in housing is relatively rare. Banton, writing in 1983, mentions a few features of Gypsy and Traveller culture that might have/had an effect on their living arrangements: namely the fumigating of a house if it has been occupied by non-Gypsies; and the use of separate bowls for personal washing, laundry and food items (1983: 160), whereas Kenrick and Puxton (1972: 37) state that some consider it unclean to wash men's and women's garments together. Okely (1975: 62) writes how separate bowls were used for personal washing and laundry and chipped crockery was thrown away by the Gypsies she lived with during her fieldwork in South East England in the 1970s.

For Romany Gypsies in particular, who retain certain cultural similarities with both Finnish and other Roma populations, filthy or polluting things are called *mockadi* (e.g. Sibley, 1995; Acton, 1997). Irish Travellers also operate a similar system of hygiene practices and, according to Griffin (2008: 289- 231), have cleanliness morals and rules that categorise the lower body as polluting, and therefore operate a strikingly similar laundering system to that which is found within the Finnish Roma (e.g. men's clothes washed separately from women's, children's from adults and above waist from below waist clothes). What makes Travellers' cleanliness rules and morals different, compared to Finnish Roma's, and what can also partly explain their segregation from the wider English society, is how they define the 'inside' bodies as safe and 'outside' bodies as dangerous to their 'system'. (Ibid.) Okely (1983) found that the dangers Gypsies associate with 'outside' people relate to majority settled peoples inability to distinguish between 'dirty' outside and 'pure' inside bodies which therefore makes them 'dirty'. It is highly likely that the Irish Travellers' classification of outsiders as dangerous is based on a similar, if not the same, system found among the Romany Gypsies. Interestingly, as will be discussed in the next section (6.2), Finnish Roma's cleanliness morals and rules only affect their own community members, and therefore 'outsiders'' bodies are seen as mostly irrelevant to their (social) 'system' (except when Roma women's bodies are polluted by having relations with 'outsider' men, e.g. Grönfors, 1979), and to the practical and symbolical pureness of their community. This arguably is an important fact when studying these communities' willingness to interact with, and assimilate to the wider majority society.

Amongst nomadic Gypsies and Travellers there was a strong cultural preference for trailers without sinks in order to permit of living according to their cleanliness rules, for example, to avoid the danger of washing hands in the kitchen sink where food is prepared (Okely, 1975; 1983). Newer trailers have had sinks for some while now, and so this strict cultural preference for distinct external washing location, which has been in decline amongst many Gypsies and Travellers for a number of years, has not transferred into settled houses and seems to excite little comment amongst housed respondents. Despite this noticeable change in cultural practices, kitchens and all items relating to eating are still kept extremely clean by Gypsies and Traveller (in common with Finnish Roma), as can be seen from the following quote where a Gypsy woman calls washing your hands in the kitchen sink as 'chikli' (see Acton, 1971: 110) or 'pure dirt':

You know. They like, non-Travellers, they go inside the kitchen and they wash they hands up in the sink. We wouldn't dream of doing that. We call that "chikli", it's dirty. That's pure of dirt that's what we call it. 'Cause we, yea like Gypsy people are like a lot cleaner than non-, and I don't mean that in a bad way, I really don't mean that in a bad way. (**YGF, 23)**

While Finnish Roma stress that they prefer separate kitchens in order to be able to live by their cleanliness rules, according to the interview data, Gypsies and Travellers in England like to have open kitchen or kitchenettes because it reminds them of the interior settings of a caravan.

This quote below is from a Finnish Roma woman who explains about the importance of being able to close the kitchen door, (or in her apartment a self-made curtain) between kitchen and the rest of the house in order to differentiate space.

I: Ok. But kitchen is quite important, isn't it?
J: Yes especially for us. Yes. And then we have here like you can see we had a curtain here before 'cause we don't go to kitchen with our underwear. It [an apartment she had viewed with an open kitchen] was like that, you couldn't have taken your clothes of **ever** except in your own room, it was like that. (**OAF, 40**)

As a comparison, the next quote is from a Traveller woman explaining why it is important to her to have an open kitchen in her home, similar to that found in a caravan:

… I would make my kitchen and my living room all together, all the same cos then it would make it feel like a caravan. Then you could see and shout to people while you were cooking and you could have your visitors and you could be doing different things like we do when we are in a caravan. (**YTF, 34**)

In both cases culture and lifestyle has a strong influence on how the Roma, Gypsies and Travellers require their kitchens to be located or designed. In the Finnish Roma's case this is done to generate more freedom from culture, whereas Gypsies and Travellers aspire to bring their lifestyle *into* settled houses and be closer to their preferred cultural norms. This trend has also been noted in America where Gypsies in the San Francisco bay area have been identified as renovating their houses in such a way as to resemble caravans (Sutherland, 1975). The noticeable difference for Roma in Finland appears to stem from the fact that cultural rules and morals may sometimes be too overwhelming in the context of modern living, and so practical modifications are made at home to make living with these cultural rules easier. This phenomenon of adaptive cultural strategy is analysed more thoroughly in Chapter 7 (7.4) where the *moving permit* custom of Finnish Roma is discussed.

One possible explanation for the different behaviour of Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers in England is that if a community is allowed to live according to their cultural practices without major external pressures and dif-

ficulties, they may begin to start to work around these rules by their *own choice*, whereas if a community is *forced* to give up aspects of their culture, they are more likely to try rigidly sustain parts of their culture as a gesture of defiance, using any way possible to continue their important cultural practices. Since Finnish Roma arguably and generally are in a better position politically and economically than Gypsies and Travellers, they are also more able to utilise official channels for cultural claim-making and hence are not forced to execute this form of cultural defiance on the 'everyday' level, as has been observed for housed Gypsies and Travellers (Smith & Greenfields, 2013: 203). As was illustrated in 1.1.1, official Roma policies in Finland, which have been deeply influenced by representations by and observation of Group A Roma, have in recent years placed greater importance on cultural heritage issues such as the Romani language and music, whereas issues of 'everyday' life such as employment and poverty are gradually becoming less significant. In other words, since the issue of cultural claim-making is now carried out in bigger more public arenas, the private home seem to have become a place to have time off from the public enactment of cultural identity. Also, as was argued in Chapter 4 (4.6), giving ethnic minorities more freedom to express their culture in certain areas of life (cultural recognition), while demanding them to assimilate in others (employment & housing) can be seen as an efficient way to govern a population.

Okely (1983; 2013), and Smith and Greenfields (2013: 201) have an alternative way of viewing this phenomenon. These scholars use Levi-Strauss' (1966) concept of *bricolage* when discussing the ways Gypsies and Travellers adapt to living in contemporary bricks and mortar housing by strategically selecting some aspects of settled lifestyle and rejecting others in order to make it more suitable for their needs. The highlight for these authors is on the resourcefulness of these communities in maintaining characteristics of their 'old' lifestyle even after being forced into settled housing. This is an important issue to remember, especially when discussing whether more 'traditional' cultures will inevitably change towards the more modern or 'developed' culture or whether they can and will resist change. The idea of *bricolage* reminds us that cultures are neither completely unchangeable nor defenceless against outside influences. Indeed both, Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers in England demonstrate an innate resourcefulness in integrating their culture into their (settled) homes whether it is to make culture more present (Gypsies and Travellers) or easier to live with (Finnish Roma).

6.2 THE IDEAL TENANTS

Cleanliness at home, although important for both Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers in England, has recently been studied more in Finland than in England. For example, it has been demonstrated that Finnish Roma will not by preference move into apartments in which all cultural cleanliness rules have not

been followed by previous Roma tenants (Pirttilahti, 2000: 20). As with most of the rules followed by Finnish Roma, this one only applies to apartments where other Finnish Roma have lived, whilst a former non-Roma tenant would not create such a problem as being outside of the moral universe and set of cultural boundaries required of Roma. The same principle is followed in relation to the design of the home, as amongst Roma their own personal sauna and bathroom facilities cannot be located above the kitchen and it is not culturally allowed for a younger (Roma) person to live above any older Roma as this would be considered symbolically polluting (e.g. Törmä et al., 2012). As such, determining who lives where in an apartment block is of critical importance when a Roma wishes to move home (and see further 7 (7.4)). Most of these rules that the Finnish Roma live by only affect their own community members, and can thus be seen as a way to sustain the sense of communality and togetherness that has, in several other ways, weakened as assimilation into the 'Finnish norm' has increased.

Roma consider they have a generally higher cleanliness standard than the majority Finns. Several women mention how they have had to clean for days when moving into an apartment previously occupied by non-Roma. (Although there may also be a more practical reason for this as well as symbolic, in that hygiene may also relate to the fact that there is a higher percentage of marginalised people living in social housing, in which Roma also usually dwell, whose abilities to 'live well' might at times be compromised due to reliance on alcohol or drug misuse for example.)

> Like usually, when I have moved I've left the apartment in that kind of condition that the next tenant can just move straight in. But never when I have moved, I've always had to do, like when we moved to this apartment … when we arrived here the old tenants were still here. They hadn't managed, like the lady didn't even manage to clean this apartment. (**OAF, 40**)

The situation is similar or even worse in London, where **Gypsies and Travellers** are often relocated to most deprived areas and roughest housing estates. Banton wrote in 1983 that when moving into a house formerly inhabited by someone from the settled community, Gypsies typically fumigate it before moving in. Although that study dates back over 30 years, there still is a sentiment among the respondents that settled people are significantly filthier than Gypsies and Travellers. One identified commonality between Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers in England is that both seem to think they take generally better care of their homes than the majority population of these countries. This perception also works the other way around, so that the common stereotype of Gypsies and Travellers in England and, to a lesser degree, of Finnish Roma in Finland is that they are dirtier than the majority people. In fact, labelling outside groups as unhygienic is seen as a universal feature of insider-outsider relations (Elias & Scotson, 1994: xxvii).

It has previously been reported that Gypsies and Travellers often use pejorative terms to describe the hygiene and cleanliness standards of the majority.

Generalisations that classify the outsider as polluting are in fact recognised as a means of 'collective identification' that strengthens the community as a unit through emphasis on cultural practice and moral worth. (Powell, 2008; Smith and Greenfields, 2013.) Although it is agreed here that Roma, Gypsies and Travellers may well use myths and stories about outside groups' dirtiness and insufficient hygiene to strengthen their own group identity, it is also recognised that in practice these communities do in fact put a considerable amount of time and effort into cleaning, arguably significantly more than in an average household in Finland or England indicating a physical and symbolic dimension to the notion of cleanliness. To reinforce Powell's and Smith & Greenfields' arguments above, in this study, discussion about cleanliness mainly emerged when respondents were asked about the possible differences between majority homes and Roma, Gypsy and Traveller homes. The most visible difference between a settled person's home and Gypsies' and Travellers' home, according to the great majority of respondents is cleanliness. Although not all interviewed Gypsies and Travellers have visited a settled person's home (10/28 had not), most respondents volunteered an opinion or an idea about the differences in cleaning standards and practices. Only two respondents (a younger Traveller woman and an older Traveller man) stated that cleanliness depends on the person and that not all Travellers have higher hygiene standards.

To strengthen the argument about the possible higher cleaning standards of Gypsies and Travellers, several women give descriptive answers and details about their cleaning routines in a house. These have not changed since moving out from caravans, and instead it seems that Travellers are transferring their practices into settled houses even though they now typically have larger spaces to keep clean. One of the clearly mentioned cleanliness -related differences pertained to 'smell' as it was noted how a Traveller's house can be recognised from the smell of bleach compared to settled person's house that often has an unpleasant smell of the previous night's dinner. Floors are said to be so clean that it is possible to eat of them, and all rooms have separate cloths and mops to avoid mochadi, demonstrating cleanliness similarities between Roma, Gypsies and Travellers. Some of the women mention that pets have to be kept outside, but it remains unclear how this can be in practice when living in council estates in inner London, particularly if resident in an apartment.

Two of the three more educated and integrated Gypsies were the only ones who criticise the 'obsessive' cleaning habits stating that when a woman is working in the common labour market, there is no time to be constantly cleaning, although they also admitted keeping their houses very clean.

> R: Yeah you don't clean ten times a day?
> I: Well I work as well and that's it … you know I keep my house, I believe it's clean. R: Yeah it is, it is very clean.
> I: But I'm not like, I'm not like crazy about it, no I'm not crazy about it. (**OGF, 41**)

Some of the interviewed women mention how it is their **duty**, to keep their homes extremely clean, and moreover that there is pressure from the community to do so.

> I: Its pressure, you just got to do it as soon as it gets dirty. As soon as you get your kids of bed you gonna have them washed, dressed, feed them. You are doing this all day through, by the time you go to bed. You are clean, clean, clean. And still when you wake up next morning, you look around and you say: "I've done this last night, what happened?"
> R: Really?
> I: Just that you have to start from the beginning next day, you got to re-do it, it's an everyday thing. Sometimes you get bored of it but you know it's your duty you got to do this. (**YTF, 30**)

It can be argued that since the Gypsy and Traveller communities in London are still relatively segregated from the rest of the society and that the role of women is focused on remaining at home taking care of children, (although this is starting to change gradually with more girls entering and remaining in education), the duties that are expected from women have not changed since moving into urban settings. The pressure which is identified as coming from their own community is keeping Gypsy and Traveller women inside homes cleaning and therefore remaining more segregated from the rest of the society. In fact, Okely (Okely, 1983: 203, 1996: 66) argues that modernisation and a decline in travelling has actually *weakened* the economic role of Gypsy women, whose duties before included activities like hawking and fortune telling outside the home. Now that these activities are not being carried out anymore, women are socialised into a purely domestic role in order to minimise contact with the outside society (Smith & Greenfields, 2013: 178).

As we saw above, a Traveller or Gypsy woman (particularly when she is not employed outside of the home) may clean as often as five times a day whereas a Finnish Roma woman (according to the interviewed women), cleans her home at least once a day regardless of her other responsibilities, as demonstrated by this quote from this Finnish respondent:

> I study alongside working, I do a lot, I type with computer. On top of that there's cleaning and cooking, and these take a lot of time in life. It is not that we clean once a week, we clean every day. (**OAF, 40**)

Since Finnish Roma women work outside the home more often than Gypsy and Traveller women, it is clear that there is not so much time left in the day for cleaning and Finnish Roma women have therefore had to adjust their cleaning practices to working life. Although Finnish Roma have assimilated into Finnish society and lifestyle in many ways, many of the culture defined cleanliness rules are still followed even by those relatively few

individuals interviewed who have decided not to wear the traditional clothing. Interestingly, this next woman sees that the only difference between majority Finns' and Finnish Roma's normal week day is the cleanliness rules:

Our normal day is otherwise exactly the same with the majority Finns, our day is otherwise the same.. In the end we have the same ideals, we also cheer for ice-hockey and all that. But our cleanliness rules are different. (**OBF, 66**)

Finnish Roma seemed to reproduce difference between themselves and the majority (especially in speech) by routinely comparing Roma's extreme cleanliness to the majority Finns' allegedly filthy habits. Despite this public denunciation of majority Finn's hygiene practices, some interviewees noted that in practise, rules are often followed thoroughly only when in in company of other people.

> A lot of the people follow the rules mostly when with other people. Like it's also kind of like collective rule abiding. (**OAF, 45**)

> I: Like when we come home, or if you would now come to my home, the first thing I would say to you, is to wash your hands. We always have that.
> R: Yesterday when I went to someone's home, they had that hand disinfectant … I: Yes I have that, yes.
> [Interviewee's sister interrupts: "It's in the closet, and you don't even use it."] (**YBF, 27**)

Overall the only difference between Group A Roma and Group B Roma in relation to hygiene practise is how usually as a result of their weaker economic situation and lack of housing choice, some Group B Roma have to adjust their cleanliness rules more than do Group A Roma. For example, when someone has to accept a studio apartment when in need of temporary or emergency accommodation where kitchen, living room and bedroom are all in one room. In this situation many of the rules are broken, and therefore have to be adjusted to the situation. One respondent, who lives in a studio apartment, says it makes her life extremely inconvenient because she constantly has to wash her hands when moving between different spaces in the room to delineate the separate spaces of the home.

There is a strong belief among the respondents in Finland and England that because of their great effort and will to look after a property, they could and should be considered as 'ideal tenants' by landlords. In this next quote an educated Gypsy woman, who owns her own house, explains how Gypsies and Travellers would be the ideal tenants if people could see past the negative stereotypes about their communities:

> I think they [landlords] probably wouldn't [rent for Travellers] because I think their stereotypical views would shroud their vision straight away. Whereas ideally knowing Travellers like I do, that would probably be your ideal tenant because they keep the house perfectly clean, you know the money would come via the housing benefit or whatever, and you know they would wanna keep themselves to themselves so there wouldn't be a lot of trouble coming in. (OGF, 36)

According to this respondent, not only do Gypsies and Travellers keep their houses clean, but they also have a steady income via housing benefit providing security for the landlord. The last point she makes tells volumes about the level of assimilation of Gypsies and Travellers in England: she stresses that they want to keep to themselves and not interact with neighbours to avoid any troubles coming to them. The theme of 'interacting with outside society' will be analysed more thoroughly in Chapter 8.

It is noteworthy that prejudicial attitudes mean that these positive qualities of Gypsies and Travellers as tenants have not been realised in the wider society and in fact, according to the respondents, they are often considered as one of the worst possible groups of tenants to whom no one is willing to rent, a theme common to Finnish Roma interviewees too.

In this next quote an older Group A Roma talks about the meaning of home for the **Finnish Roma** by contrasting treatment of 'home space' to that of the majority Finns:

> Finnish Roma has his home where he puts his effort to. ... Like the reason why most of Finnish Roma's homes are showy and clean, is because they have to stay and live in them. Like Finnish for example, Finnish majority is like that they sleep there for few hours and then go to work. And they clean, might clean 2-3 times a month, once a month for example. So like we have to live that home and have had to live there, for that reason it is nicer to be in clean, for its nicer to sit [there]. (**OAM, 42**)

Numerous Finnish Roma interviewed stated how 'home' is considered as the most important place into which effort is put and relatively large amounts of money spent. Respondents in Finland also repeatedly mentioned how they feel they take better care of their homes than do the majority Finns, although this is not acknowledged by wider society:

> … They [landlords] don't like know it. If they knew how good care we take of our homes, they would rather take us than anyone else. (**OBF, 66**)

> … but I know that Roma take so good care of their homes, they take care of them like they were their own. (**YAM, 28**)

6.3 FINNISH ROMA: "TO LIVE WELL"

The most common problems Finnish Roma face (or cause) in relation to housing conflicts with their Finnish neighbours are, according to the 'Policy Analysis' data, clashes over a perceived excessive use of laundry rooms (required by cultural hygiene regulations) and the vast number of visitors due to their traditional hospitality (Pirttilahti, 2000: 4). When Roma families live in housing estates with commonly shared laundry rooms, conflicts are said to arise with other residents

when the Roma reserve washing machines and dryers for long periods of time, in order to wash everything according their cultural codes (6.1). In addition, because of the Roma emphasis on hospitality, visitors are welcomed at almost any time of the day. This is said to cause problems with neighbours, especially in housing estates with small parking areas where visitors may not know where to park their vehicles (e.g. Pirttilahti, ibid.).

However, contrary to the above described findings of the 'Policy Analysis' data, it was mentioned several times by the Finnish Roma respondents to this study that after they had visibly proved to their neighbours how 'well' they live, they might even be chosen by the neighbours to be the trustees of their housing courts, even trusted to keep hold of the master key for all the apartments. To get to this desirable and coveted situation requires a considerable amount of work and the ability and patience to demonstrate that they 'live better' and are more reliable than majority Finns. This theme was brought up on several occasions by Group A Roma, who usually live in more affluent areas than Group B Roma, and who are very conscious about 'living well', which for them usually include going to work, living quietly and taking good material care of their homes. In other words, the wish is to live a 'normal' life and to avoid disturbing neighbours and the neighbourhood as a way of demonstrating their respectability as Roma and difference from Roma who have a bad social-problem reputation.

> Yes prejudices, there are prejudices but I've also managed to get close to some [non-Roma] people cos prejudices disappear after years when they see that, that I live better than the majority. I take care of my business and everything. (**OAF, 55**)

> Although all the neighbours here know, that I'm probably one of the best tenants here, I don't violate the apartment, I try to lift and do everything that is needed to do outside and in general … (**OAF, 58**)

> And like if a Gypsy [mustalainen]1 is at work or in a house, they have to live better than white Finns [valkolainen][1] (OAF, 55)

This concept of 'to live well' (*'elää hyvin'*) was used by several Roma who all concurred with the description of an idealised, publically respected life as described above. This conceptualisation is particularly important here, as one of the origins of subjective well-being -studies (Dahl, 2011; Long, 2011) is Aristotle's (secondary form of) eudaimonia which is identified as 'living well' and 'doing well', or living a politically and ethically **virtuous** life, performing morally excellent activities that leads to well-being and happiness. In more modern terms, eudaimonia or 'well-being' is characterised as having the ability to live a good life, according to your own values, rather than just having your immediate desires filled (Annas, 2002; Sumner, 2002). As such it is also described as meaning different practices for different people, and hence eudaimonia, for the Finnish Roma, appears to equate

to a 'normal life' in the Finnish society. Considering the norms and political and social institutions that individuals are exposed to, or socialised into in a society, many of their apparently free choices and opportunities are thus determined by those norms and institutions (e.g. Bancroft, 2000; Searle, 2008)[6]. Well-being or 'living well' then, is in fact a measure of social responsibility for an individual who does not wish to be seen as 'deviant' in his or her society. To measure a group's or individuals' subjective well-being is thus also a way to measure their level of assimilation into that society (see further in Chapter 9).

In support of this idea, not only do Roma respondents talk about 'living well' but Group A Roma also repeatedly used the opposite concept 'to live badly' (*'elää huonosti'*) when describing those members of their community who, according to them, give them all a bad name, and whom they want to keep out of their neighbourhoods for fear of being labelled by the rest of society (see further Chapter 8: 8.4). This theme will be analysed more thoroughly in other Chapters (e.g. 7 and 8) but for now it is enough to acknowledge that amongst Roma taking good care of their homes (whether rented or owned) and to 'live well' is not only done to live according to the complex system of cleanliness morals and rules, but also to demonstrate good and virtuous living in order to avoid being labelled negatively, and hence to be accepted, by the rest of society.

6.4 "GROUND UNDER YOUR FEET"

The arguably lower level of assimilation into the mainstream lifestyle of Gypsies and Travellers, when compared to Finnish Roma, can also be seen by their often compelling psychological need to live on the ground floor. Only one respondent, who is well-educated, and in his own words *"gorjafied*[3]*"*, actually prefers to live in high, building block-style apartments. The majority of the respondents stressed that they prefer to live on the ground floor for the reasons that a) they are not used to stairs, b) feel the need to be able to simply step outside from their doorstep, and c) need to have gardens firstly to be able to be closer to nature and secondly for their children to have somewhere safe to play. As shown earlier (Chapter 5), Gypsies and Travellers prefer to live more according to their 'culture' or lifestyle even after moving into settled housing and this rejection of flats or houses and preference for 'low' buildings with gardens is congruent with this desire.

> Yeah a garden for the kids, it's very important for the children for the fresh air because the children were used to being outside … (**YTF, 28**)

> Oh it's very important for me to have a back garden yeah. I wouldn't be able to cope if I didn't have the garden, because for kids, there's nowhere to play then ... Cos … my

> kids are used to being outside. They've liven that kind of a life since they were no age. Like, they feel like claustrophobia if they can't see out. If I had no back garden where could they play? I'd had to take them to my mums every day and I wouldn't wanna … (**YTF, 30**)

Keeping children out of the house also gives women the chance to keep houses clean. This can be seen as an example of how certain practices have developed to make living according to cultural codes or lifestyle easier in practice: keeping homes remarkably clean would not be possible if children spend most of their time inside, or, as illustrated by the quote below from a Finnish Roma: if its not possible to arrange furniture in a certain way, it would make it impossible to move easily while wearing traditional clothing.

> Well I can for example say that in a [majority Finns] living room a sofa might be like there with its back facing here, like that big sofa there. And for us it isn't usually ever like that, it is usually next to the wall somehow. So like, we have kind of considered the pathways so that we can move around with these clothes [on] and that. (**OBF, 40**)

Since most Finnish Roma rely on social housing (FNPR, 2009; Törmä et al., 2012), of which the majority are located in building-block apartments, living on several levels did not come across as a problem the way it did with the Gypsies and Travellers.

Grönfors (1981: 135) stated that the reason why Finnish Roma wish to live on the ground floor, when living in building block apartments, is their need to monitor all visitors in order to avoid feuding families visiting them simultaneously. According to the data collected for this thesis, approximately half of Finnish Roma prefer to live on the ground floor whereas the other half state that they either do not care where they live or specifically do not wish to live on the ground floor. Most of the reasons given for choice of floor level are practical reasons and interestingly, monitoring visitors was not mentioned by anyone. Those who prefer the ground floor say they do because it is more accessible, usually cheaper to rent than the upper floor apartments, and gives the possibility of having a garden. In addition, in common with Gypsies and Travellers "having the ground under your feet" was mentioned twice. Reasons given for not wanting to live on the ground floor were mainly that it is not felt to be safe and that more dirt gets inside when living on the ground level.

There are only small differences between men and women, older and younger or Group A and Group B Roma when analysis of these responses took place. For example, security issues are highlighted slightly more by respondents in Group B (perhaps because of living in more dangerous and less desirable areas); Group A Roma in contrast had more specific requirements for an apartment; older people mentioned accessibility more often than the younger respondents; and women cared more about where they lived (by floor level) than did men (specifically referring to the weight of their dress/bringing in dirt and whether there was an elevator).

6.5 THOUGHTS ABOUT MAJORITY HOME(LIFE)

Eighteen of the interviewed **Gypsies and Travellers** (18/28) say they have visited a settled person's home, and only five have friends from the majority populations indicative of their closed and close- knit community (see further Chapter 8: 8.1).

As noted before (6.2), Travellers and Gypsies tended to stress how much cleaner they are than settled people. In addition, several interviewees highlighted how settled people live more time- scheduled, quiet and private lives. It was found strange that majority people may have private belongings or food items at home that other members of their family were not allowed to use or touch, or that they had specific times to eat, go to sleep and to clean, as Gypsy and Traveller time was regarded as much more fluid and responding to the needs of the moment and task in hand.

Despite the amount of time Gypsy and Traveller families spend together, and their tendency to eat food communally, they are at odds with (or do not consciously subscribe to) some mainstream concepts such as the 'family meal', an important construction of the western, contemporary 'family' which can reflect relationships within the family, and during which eating may be perceived of as an event where children are acculturated into the norms of 'civilized' behaviour (Lupton, 1996: 39). The ideal of a 'proper' family meal can therefore be seen as a morally and politically charged part of food policy (Jackson et al., 2009), a modern way for governments to control families (Hiroko, 2009). Regardless of whether the western family meal is seen as governments' instrument to police families towards the 'normal' form, or a myth and a part of Golden Age -thinking created and aspired to by the middle classes to reproduce the norms of family life (e.g. Murcott, 1997; Smart 2007; Jackson et al., 2009), it is still nevertheless seen as a chance to spend some time with family in an otherwise busy and highly individualistic life (whether or not it is ever actualised or just an ideal to be aspired to). Since Travellers' lifestyle has traditionally been more family orientated and shared eating is not confined to certain days of the week (as for example a traditional Sunday dinner), the ritualistic family meal is not seen as a necessary way to strengthen family bonds. As such lacking a focus on rigid, set, shared meal times can be perceived of as yet another fact that defines Gypsy and Traveller communities and their lifestyle as 'deviant'.

> Well travelling people if they want to eat something, they eat something whatever time it is. And people that live in houses, they have a certain time to eat … (**OTM, 66**)

It has been argued that set family meal times can also be seen as an instrument to share and obtain vast amounts of information about other family members' activities and a way to synchronise the life of the family and hence be more organised and scheduled as a single cohesive unit (Douglas, 1991: 302). This

is felt to be alien by Gypsies and Travellers, whose lives have typically not been structured by the labour market and its 'nine until five' style of living. In addition, practical arrangements can be seen as working against the idea of a family meal since Gypsy and Traveller communities, particularly when still living on sites, preferred cooking outside (Okely, 1983), and may not always have dinner tables in their caravans or chalets.

Furthermore, it is considered peculiar by respondents to note how non-Gypsy and Traveller family members might spend time in different rooms when at home, whereas in a Traveller or Gypsy home most time is spent together in the same space/room. This was also discovered by Smith and Greenfields in their study about Gypsies and Travellers in housing; in particular those who were new to housing found life spread across several rooms difficult to adjust to (2013: 112).

It has been argued that there is a consistent relationship between people's behaviour, culture and architecture (Kent, 1995: 168), which may explain the differences experienced by the respondents. The more culturally segmented, and socially and economically complex a society, the greater the degree of spatial segmentation and the more psychological importance is given to the lay-out and form of dwellings. A study about newly sedentary *Basarva* (Bushmen) in the Kalahari Desert (Kent, 1995) shows, that the *Basarva* have attachments with other people (family, friends) rather than with dwellings (ibid.). This seems to be the case also with most of the interviewed Travellers in London, who placed more importance on who they live with rather than to where they live. As was demonstrated above (Chapter 5: 5.2), living with family and community seems to be even more important for the Travellers than fulfilling their stated desire to live on caravan sites.

One clear finding arising from the data concerns how gender and generational roles in the home are markedly clearer among Gypsy and Traveller families than they are among the 'English' majority. Several respondents considered it strange that settled (non Gypsy/Traveller) children could be so obviously disrespectful to their parents, or that settled (non Gypsy/Traveller) men would do domestic chores such as cleaning.

It is perhaps not surprising that Gypsies and Travellers, who have lived on caravan sites before moving into settled housing or who regularly visit friends and family on sites, find these above mentioned settled living habits peculiar. Life on a caravan site, surrounded by family and friends and outside the 'normal' 'nine until five' working life, is blatantly more unscheduled, loud and communal than life in settled housing in urban London.

In contrast to the Gypsy and Traveller respondents all **Finnish Roma** interviewees have visited a majority Finn's home, and as all mentioned having friends from the majority, their ideas of similarities and differences in how homes are used and laid out, were rooted in experience.

There are some similarities in perception of how Finnish Roma consider their homes differ from majority Finns homes to how Gypsies and Travellers think

their homes and family practices are distinct from majority English peoples'. Once again, cleanliness was seen as the most apparent difference in both countries, and Finnish Roma also mentioned formal relations and behaviour between men and women as well as respect between younger and older generations to be very different from within majority homes. Some of the differences derive from the cleanliness morals and rules between genders and generations considered above. As such, younger Roma (excluding children) are not allowed to go to use toilets or showers when in the presence of elderly Roma (Grönfors, 1981; Pirttilahti, 2000). Furthermore, (in common with findings from England) it is felt that the Finnish majority do not have as much respect for their elderly as do the Roma, and that Roma women do a larger share of all domestic work than do majority Finnish women.

Other specific details mentioned in relation to the differences between home and use of space concerned how in majority Finnish houses commodities do not necessarily have specific places in which they are placed, whereas Roma will strictly keep kitchen items in the kitchen and bathroom items in the bathroom. This use of space can therefore be seen as living in accordance with cleanliness rules and morals ensuring that the kitchen and all of its items are considered as symbolically cleanest and must be (for example) distinguished from polluting toilet and bathroom items (such as cleaning fluids for use in the bathroom and toilet rolls).

None of the Finnish Roma spoke about their eating arrangements at home as a family. However, the researcher's personal experience of attending conferences with Finnish Roma participants, and of reading online blogs about Finnish Roma family life (e.g. romanielamaa.vuodatus.net, 2013), found that their eating arrangements are also influenced by their gendered and age -related cultural values and rules (6.1). Observably, men eat first followed by older women (sometimes with children), whereas women in general eat last. Whether nuclear families apply these rules when dining alone at home, cannot be verified from the data in this study.

6.6 DECORATING HOMES

It is noticeable that the style that **Gypsies and Travellers**, as well as Finnish Roma, generally use to decorate their homes differs from the way the majority populations generally decorate theirs. Traditional Gypsy or Traveller home decorations often includes crystal or fake diamonds, expensive ornate china, and religious statues (especially amongst Irish Travellers homes) and are often more 'over the top' and ornate than settled people's homes. According to respondents, Traveller and Gypsy homes have more 'stuff' around, and this type of 'stuff' is usually the same and virtually identical in nine out of ten houses demonstrating clear cultural preferences.

Respondents say they can recognise other Travellers' houses from the type of lamps, rugs and curtains everyone uses. Since these communities are highly collective, it may be that the visibility of such items is seen to encourage or pressure

community members into buying the same items as everyone else to demonstrate their membership of the group. This form of cultural compliance can be seen as a way to build and strengthen bonding social capital (Putnam, 2000), and also to create distance or to segregate members from the rest of the society (see further Chapter 8: 8.1). Or in other words, Gypsy and Traveller identity can be said to be constructed through opposition to outside society by favouring an alternative taste to that followed by the majority (Okely, 2013: 209). When asked about the differing ways settled people decorate their homes, the Gypsy and Traveller respondents mentioned that they are more 'coincidental' and incoherent, for example owning peculiar or amusing items such as houseplants, or things which they 'like' rather than which match. Also settled people were noted as often using dark colours in bedrooms instead of the white that is preferred by Gypsies and Travellers.

As with the Gypsies and Travellers in London, Roma interviewed in Helsinki stated that most **Finnish Roma** houses appear the same as a result of almost identical contents, although this is reported to be gradually starting to change. Just under half of the respondents state they have started to 'modernise' their homes and to reflect more individual choice. There were not any differences between the answers of older and younger, men and women or Group B and Group A Roma. The only findings which varied were that the 'more assimilated' Roma (e.g. those who do not wear the traditional clothing) are modernising their homes with greater consistency.

It was explained that similarities in decoration may also relate to the fact that rumours about good and inexpensive deals circulate rapidly within the Finnish Roma community which results in numerous Roma households having similar furniture and decoration. As with Gypsies and Travellers, some artefacts are inherited from generation to generation and treated as family treasures. There are thus indications of a similar collectiveness to that found in Gypsy and Traveller communities in England, and the form of decoration and use of home is in fact one of the remaining means for Finnish Roma to distinguish themselves from the majority and to openly preserve their cultural heritage, alongside with visible dress.

Finnish Roma's traditional style in which they decorate their homes is flamboyant (in some ways similar to Gypsies and Travellers) and also in some ways old fashioned. Lace, china, flower patterned linen, chandeliers and pale colours (white, beige, light brown) are popular in Roma homes as are rococo or antique styled furniture such as beds with enormous headboards and living room pillars. Respondents stressed how they do not like the ascetic and modern style that majority Finns favour and would never be caught buying furniture from Ikea. They specifically mentioned differences in majority Finn's home decoration - stating that they seem to prefer bold colours, fabric sofas and un- washable carpets which could easily become dirty.

Interestingly the 'more assimilated' Roma as well as the 'more assimilated' Gypsies and Travellers, ridiculed the typical and traditional way their community members furnish their homes. Roma respondents described it 'expensive looking eye candy' whose main purpose was to boast and openly display expense and

status to the community, whereas 'more assimilated' Gypsy and Traveller respondents call the traditional style of decorating homes as 'gaudy' and as a way to show off one's belonging to the community.

Finnish Roma are very strict about the appearance of their homes and spend a considerable amount of time to make them the way they want. This is considered as one of the most significant differences between Roma and majority homes, which often are felt as though they look incomplete or as if someone had just moved in. Some of the Group B Roma who are experiencing economic difficulties mention been forced to get rid of some of their most expensive furniture in order to manage financially, although this was not common to all those in a weaker economic situation, some of whom would be opposed to disposing of such treasured items. In fact, it seems that the home is the last place in which Finnish Roma are willing to reduce their expenses, clearly emphasizing the meaning of a 'good' home to their overall well-being.

One reason for why Roma say they place more effort in making a house a home than do majority Finns, is that for most Roma 'home' is the only thing they possess (council houses are considered as their 'own', as they are also by Gypsies and Travellers (see 4.5)) whereas, because of their generally better economic situation, majority Finnish people were more often thought to invest money in possessing summer cottages and boats as well as going on holidays abroad. Another reason, why homes were thought to be so important for the Roma, is because they have not had settled homes as long as the majority has and are therefore more careful with them. This further allows one to adduce a significant accommodation -related difference between Finnish Roma and the Gypsies and Travellers in England; their willingness or unwillingness to live in contemporary bricks and mortar housing and relationship of care and pride towards such accommodation.

6.7 THE ISSUE OF OVERCROWDING

Overcrowded homes has consistently been mentioned as a serious problem for Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers in England in several publications, and by various researchers and official documents (e.g. Home and Greenfields, 2006; Oulun Kaupunki, 2006; Asukasliitto RY, 2007; Greenfields, 2007; LGTA, 2008). Although the issue of overcrowding could perhaps be discussed in relation to more practical *house* issues, this section is in fact purposively placed in the Chapter about 'home' in order to emphasise the importance and meaning of *home* place and space for individual's well-being.

6.7.1 Gypsies and Travellers in 'too big houses'

Smith and Greenfields (2013) argue that since Gypsies and Travellers' tolerance of overcrowding is considerably higher than it is for many other communities, they tend not to identify it as a housing related issue unless specifically asked about it. This is due to their familiarity with smaller condi-

tions in caravans and their highlighted duty and desire to help family members in need of assistance. Although it is agreed in this thesis that Gypsies and Travellers might have adaptive preference (e.g. Baber, 2007) to less spacious accommodation and more crowded spaces, or in other words see their settled homes as good enough for them without even pursuing bigger and 'better' apartments because those are seen as out of reach and impossible for them to have, it is also suggested that those may well be the conditions they actually *prefer* to live in.

This argument is based on respondents' answers about overcrowding, and their dislike of living in big (two storey) bricks and mortar houses. According to the findings from this study those respondents in London who have moved from caravans into bricks and mortar houses, and/or who still regularly visit friends and family who live in caravans, are hence accustomed to living in small places. The issue of overcrowding did not make much sense to some of the respondents when questioned, particularly those who would still prefer to live on sites in caravans and small chalets.

> Well I come from when I was younger, I come from a caravan so we learned to manage. So yeah it [settled apartment] was plenty big enough. (**OTF, 54**)

Overall five respondents (5/28) felt their home was too small and overcrowded for them, which is slightly higher than the average of 11.6 per cent of London households who were technically overcrowded between 2007 and 2010, when using the Bedroom Standard[5] (UK Census, 2011). Since the average overcrowding rate is higher for London households renting from the social housing sector (16.1%) compared to those renting from the private sector (10.6%) and much higher than for those who are the owner occupiers of their homes (2.9%), and that most of the interviewed Travellers live in council houses, overcrowding does not seem to be significantly more common among the housed Travellers in London. However, since this study sample is too small to make generalisations, these results are mainly suggestive.

It seems that those who have lived in settled housing for the shortest amount of time (under 10 years) feel most often their homes are either big or *too* big, whereas those who have lived in housing over 10 years think their homes are big or big *enough*.

> R: What about, have you had ever had a problem that they give you too small house? I: Too small of a house? Not really.
> R: No?
> I: Thank God. Never had that problem that they would give us a small house, no. (**YGF, 23**)

This strengthens the argument that Gypsies and Travellers who have lived or prefer to live on sites in caravans and small chalets do not feel crowded when moving into bricks and mortar housing but in fact often, especially for the first years, feel

their apartments are big or even too big for them. The issue of previous accommodation history and whether someone felt overcrowded was reflected by comments from some interviewees who indicated that one reason which makes the transition to living in a settled home difficult at first, is the sheer size of the home.

> It was very hard to adjust, very very hard because you were gone from such a small confined place with all your family around you to a big house in kind of middle of nowhere and you were walking around without all the people you were used to have. (**YTF, 19**)

Overall these elements of the study clearly demonstrate that measuring subjective and objective over-crowding related well-being gives very different results.

6.7.2 Finnish Roma feeling crowded

As has been illustrated above (Chapter 1: 1.1), Finnish Roma have not been nomadic for the last 30–40 years, and are overwhelmingly settled in broadly similar accommodation and neighbourhoods to other Finns. This transition has led to improvements in living conditions which have significantly changed some of the more traditional elements of the lifestyle of Roma communities. Big extended co-resident family groups have over time become more often replaced by smaller nuclear families, and the strong communality of the Roma has in some degree been weakened. (FNPR, 2009; Törmä et al., 2012.) Although there have been significant improvements in housing, the Association for Tenants and Homeowners' report (Asuminen & Yhteiskunta, 2007) states that Roma families still live in overcrowded apartments when compared to other Finns, due to their bigger family sizes, greater hospitality (provision of space to relatives and friends) and willingness to help a family member in need of a place to stay. In fact, according to Grönfors (1981), the most vital element of Gypsy (Roma) life is the preference for communality instead of individuality, and this is the element that defines most aspects of their culture.

21 (21/29) interviewed Finnish Roma felt their homes were big enough/not too small, of whom three reported thinking their homes were too big. In total, eight respondents reported feeling their homes are too small. According to Cantell and colleagues (2013), 10.2 per cent of all households in Helsinki were overcrowded in 2010 at which time overcrowding was measured with a one bedroom per person standard5, the average of overcrowded households renting from government supported housing sector in that year was 12 per cent. According to these figures Finnish Roma living in Helsinki are considerably more overcrowded than the average, although because of the small number of respondent within this study, the results are only indicative. When looking at the data through the bedroom per person standard, five respondent's (5/29) homes were classified as overcrowded. Of these five, two were homeless (and living with siblings), and three have four people (two adults and two young children) living in a two -room apartment requiring the children to share a room.

Majority of Group A Roma were satisfied with the size of their home whereas among Group B Roma only three respondents felt that they had enough space.

This indicates that Group B Roma tend to live in more unsatisfactory circumstances that the Group A Roma, and do not have as much power or choice to influence where they want to live, limiting their opportunities to obtaining more suitable accommodation.

When examining the data through the filter of gender, it seems that men are in a slightly worse situation than women. Half of the interviewed men felt their home was too small, whereas only one third of the women felt their home was the wrong size (either too small or too big). Age on the other hand did not in any way correlate with sense of overcrowding. One explanation for this higher degree of satisfaction expressed by Finnish Roma women may lie in the fact that since it has traditionally been their 'duty' to deal with officials (Oulun kaupunki, 2006) they may therefore have more power in housing related issues than do men and feel more able to negotiate to suit their needs. Also, women more often than men have small children living with them, which makes their needs higher priority for social housing, a phenomenon arguably common within most communities not just Roma or Gypsies and Travellers.

These results demonstrate that objectively, (looking at the person per bedroom standard[4]) Finnish Roma in Helsinki are slightly more overcrowded than the average, and (subjectively measured) they are significantly more overcrowded demonstrating parallels to Gypsy and Traveller communities.

6.8 MODERN NOMADISM?

All the above interviews provide overwhelming evidence of Gypsies and Travellers and Finnish Roma preferring more secure social housing, and wishing to be able to stay in one settled apartment in order to be able to 'make it a home'(as was illustrated in Chapter 4: 4.5). As such these findings argue against previous research evidence which suggests Roma, Gypsies' and Travellers' tendency to carry on travelling intermittently while living within settled housing (e.g. Niner, 2003: 221; Power, 2004; Greenfields, 2006; LGTU, 2010; Törmä et al., 2012; Berlin, 2012; Smith & Greenfields, 2013). Based on these previous research results, respondents were explicitly asked about their preferences for moving within settled accommodation. In London, the purpose was to study whether Gypsies and Travellers continue to move more often than other groups of housed residents after being forced into settled housing, and in Finland whether Finnish Roma still have characteristics of nomadism in their lifestyle, as previous evidence suggests (Berlin, 2012).

All respondents (in Finland and England), who were asked whether they pre-

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[4] UK: The 'bedroom standard' is calculated in relation to the number of bedrooms and the number of household members and their relationship to each other. One bedroom is allocated to each married or cohabiting couple, any other person over 21, each pair aged 10 to 20 of the same sex and each pair of children under 10. (UK Census, 2011)
Finland: More than one person per room, with kitchen excluded from the number of rooms. (Statistics Finland [online] Available from: http://www.tilastokeskus.fi/meta/kas/ahda_asu_en.html [Accessed 12th September 2013])

fer to move often between settled apartments, were unanimous about not wanting to move often from house to a house but on the contrary preferred to stay in one apartment (either social housing or privately owned apartment) as long as it was possible. In addition to wanting to settle and 'make a house a home', a number of practical reasons are said to make moving between houses impossible. Furthermore, it has to be acknowledged that both the private and the social renting sector in London has for the last 10 years become increasingly competitive and expensive, which would make moving from house to house more difficult, compared to 10 years ago when some of the studies suggesting a faster moving cycle among Gypsies and Travellers were conducted.

In the next quote, a younger Traveller woman explains that since getting a new council house can take years, moving between settled houses, as is done with caravans between sites, is impossible.

> I: Like move around [between houses]? R: Yeah.
> I: The way we do with caravans? R: Yes.
> I: No, because like of … Basically, it will take up to years to get another house. Waiting and stuff like that. It takes, if you are in a council house it takes forever. 'Cause you got to wait for someone else to move out of the house. So it takes forever really. (**YTF, 19**)

Since overwhelming evidence exists from previous studies about the faster moving cycle of both Finnish Roma and housed Gypsies and Travellers in England, when compared to these countries' majority populations, it is argued here that the phenomenon of *'modern nomadism'* within settled housing (Berlin, 2012), may exist in some form, but not as clearly as envisaged in earlier studies which suggested 'modern momadism' related purely to movement between houses. For example, some Gypsies and Travellers continue to travel seasonally or to participate in cultural events which involve travelling to and from fairs in caravans and living a 'traditional' lifestyle for the duration of the event (e.g. Bancroft, 2005; Cemlyn et al., 2009), while remaining the rest of the year resident in one fixed house. Finnish Roma's strict cleanliness; inter-generational respect and gender codes, as well as their specific 'moving permit' custom and 'avoidance' practice (see further Chapter 7:7.4), may also sometimes force them to change apartments more often than the average in Finland (Pirttilahti, 2000; Oulun kaupunki, 2006; Asukasliitto RY, 2007). However, regardless of this, the findings from this thesis demonstrate that Finnish Roma in Helsinki and housed Gypsies and Travellers in London generally *wish* to live in permanent apartments they can make into a home, and from where they will not be easily evicted. Clearly, a higher tendency to move between houses does not exist within these communities and individuals who were interviewed, at least not when living in urban environments.

6.9 THE NORMAL HOME

When a society expects its individuals to live and interact in appropriate ways to maintain its social order (Hancock and Garner, 2011: 321) so as to secure its economic productivity, and the norm is to have "a family per house and an individual (or couple) per room", housing and 'the home' can be seen as instruments of assimilation. As such, home becomes a place for the family to 'normalise' individuals into a majority population's lifestyle (Foucault, 1991; 2007). If the *meaning* of home as well as life *at* home significantly deviates from the majority 'norm', (for example if most time is spend outside home or when a home is considered only as a place to sleep, as was illustrated in Chapter 5: 5.4), arguably it will not fulfil its assimilating purpose, as the example of family meals demonstrates.

The way Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers in England define their homes is thus a clear indicator of their different levels of assimilation, and associated 'lifestyle deviance', when compared to majority societies. For the Finnish Roma, home is a private place to live with nuclear family, whereas Gypsies and Travellers discuss home as a space for their extended families and the community. Clearly Finnish Roma's ideal is closer to the Finnish majority ideal of a 'normal' home as a private place for individuals and their immediate families, whereas Gypsies and Travellers still support the more traditional concept where big extended families and community come before the individual.

Gypsies and Travellers, who have often been forced into contemporary housing, are finding ways to keep their culture alive and to re-create their distinct way of living within their settled homes. They, for example, prefer open kitchens and spending time together in one room, to make life resemble life in caravans and chalets. Home as a place is not given much importance as Gypsies and Travellers would prefer spending most of their time outside the home. This can thus be seen as deviance from the norm that expects people to stay inside their homes without causing unnecessary disturbance to their neighbours.

The most undeniable evidence about Finnish Roma's higher level of assimilation into the Finnish 'norm' comes from the respondents themselves who repeatedly mention how they wish to 'live well' and a 'normal life', and negatively judge those community members who fail to do so. Since 'living well' includes working or studying, living quietly and aspiring to be the 'ideal tenants' who do not disturb their majority neighbours, it can be concluded that Finnish governments' normalising assimilation policies have been successful and the Roma have started to self-assimilate (see further Chapter 9: 9.4.1).

Cultural cleanliness rules and morals are an important way to differentiate as an ethnic group and to enhance a separate identity, and for Finnish Roma arguably the most important way (together with language and cultural heritage) of separating themselves from others. Practical and symbolic hygiene is seen by the Finnish Roma as something that is done for, and because of, their own community, and therefore not seen as affecting their relationship with the wider society. The data

reveals these rules are more powerful on a symbolic level and in speech, whereas in practise, different ways to reduce their impact on everyday life has started to emerge (e.g. preferring closed kitchens, living further away from other Roma (see 7.4 and 8.1)). These can be seen as acts of self-assimilation, where cultural traditions are seen on the one hand as important sources of ethnic pride and identity but on the other as nuisances that can be avoided with specific arrangements.

In Chapter 7 we now consider the ways family life is affected or transformed by living in mainstream housing.

7 Family

The meaning and role of family and kin has always been a defining element for Roma and Travelling peoples' lives, both before and after settling down. Therefore, it is highly important to study whether the role of families has changed or are changing when a group starts to assimilate into majority lifestyle, or how and whether a group tries to preserve their traditional lifestyle while simultaneously been forced to change some of its fundamental behaviours. Gypsies' and Travellers' situation is discussed first by analysing respondents' thoughts about the importance of the traditional family model to their way of life, and the serious effects loosing tight family support has on their well-being. After that, it will be demonstrated how Finnish Roma's changing family life is partly enabled by their strong cultural traditions and customs.

7.1 TRADITIONAL GYPSY AND TRAVELLER FAMILIES

The interview data collected for this doctoral study suggest, in contrast to earlier research (e.g. LGTA, 2008) , that neither neighbour disputes, overcrowding or poor quality apartments are considered as major problems in housing for Gypsies and Travellers. Rather it was the loss of family and friends, resulting in loneliness and loss of culture that respondents identified as the most serious issues decreasing housed Gypsies and Travellers' well-being (see further Chapter 5).

There is overwhelming evidence about the important role of family and community (particularly co-residence with extended families) in supporting the well-being of Gypsies and Travellers (e.g. Kenrick, & Bakewell, 1995; Power, 2004; Clark & Greenfields, 2006; LGTA, 2008; Cemlyn et al., 2009). This study will add to that weight of evidence since analysis of the data demonstrates that the need to live near family and community comes out as even more important than living on sites, regardless of the strength of that desire.

> My perfect life would be anything, but with my family there with me. Then I wouldn't care. I wouldn't care what house I would live in, what caravan I would live in, where I lived, I wouldn't care with who I was living with as long as I'd have my family and friends around me. (**YTF, 19**)

> Whereas if I was in a house with no friends and family close, then I'd say I prefer a site, a caravan. But because where I am now I still have friends and family [can live comfortably in a house] (**YTF, 24**)

There are numerous reasons given by the respondents for why it is so vitally important for them to live near their families and/or kin. Families bring safety, they provide help when needed, they are company, and someone to talk to. In fact, according to the majority of the respondents, without family a person has no one to interact with and no one to talk to, and without family one is completely alone, which is a state of utter desolation. Such strong statements clearly demonstrate the indispensable meaning of family and access to family for Gypsies and Travellers' well-being. It is not only that the respondents feel they need to be close to their families for psycho-social reasons but it becomes evident from analysis, that since in the main they do not trust the institutions of outside society or people from mainstream communities, access to family is actually also required for practical reasons, for example going to shops together or just to have someone to talk to. Several Traveller women spoke about how they would be completely alone all the time if their family was not living near to them. The theme of not wanting, or being afraid to, interact with anyone outside their own community is discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 8 (8.1), but it is important to acknowledge on this occasion that loneliness, deriving from the fact that social relationships to outside society are almost non-existent, is likely to be the most significant reason why Travellers feel the need to live near their families whether on sites or when in contemporary housing.

As has been considered in various places above (e.g. Chapter 5), Traveller (and Gypsy) women miss life on caravan sites more than do men, as they do not usually work outside the home but instead spend most of their time taking care of children and the house. Several Traveller women, when asked about their willingness to be employed outside of the home, responded that having to work, would keep them away from their families for too long periods of time. Others elaborated that they would consider having part-time jobs in those hours their children are at school, but only if having a 'settled job' was more culturally acceptable for them as Traveller women.

Interestingly, Gypsies and Travellers see 'nine until five' work as something that makes being with your family more difficult, whereas Finnish Roma think it allows them to spend *more* time with their children as being structured use of the day. On one hand, this is a reflection of the differences between England and Finland's childcare support systems and cultures, as Finnish women in general find it easier to combine work with family responsibilities and household tasks than do their English counterparts (EQLS, 2012). In Britain children aged 0-5 are on average enrolled in childcare and early education services more often than children in Finland, where more generous maternal leaves enable women to stay home with their children for longer. Moreover, in Finland, all mothers are entitled to maternity leave, whereas in the UK, it is conditional on their previous full-time work experience. Finland also allows adjustments of work-time for parents with young children, and financially encourages parents to provide full-time homecare until children turn three years old. (OECD, 2007.)

As Gypsies' and Travellers' (and most other minorities') lifestyle differ from their contemporaries in majority communities, comparison to the nation's average

working choices and behaviours can only be treated as suggestive findings however. Accordingly, Gypsy and Traveller communities' more traditional i.e. highly more gendered division of work, both in and outside the home, arguably means their experiences and knowledge of combining work and family life are significantly less than are Finnish Roma's, who have been working in the common labour market for far longer. As such there may be a higher perception of difficulties in combining roles amongst Gypsies and Travellers than may in fact exist.

> R: Do you like full-time or part-time [work by choice]? Cos now-days loads of people work part-time, so would you prefer that?
> I: Yeah probably would be part-time so that I'm there in the morning to take them to school and then in the evenings to pick them up. So it would be something like, oh I don't know lunch time help or something like that. Like three or four hours a day. (**OTF, 43**)

In contrast a Finnish respondent replied very differently:

> R: Do you prefer part-time or full-time work?
> I: I think that full-time, this 8-4 is probably better for families. It is much easier for families. (**YAF, 28**)

The theory expounded earlier in Chapter 4 (4.3.2), pertaining to the ways in which modernisation (particularly since the late 20th century) has weakened the economic role of Gypsy and Traveller women (who were expected to work outside their caravan sites before), by increasingly domesticating them and reducing their opportunities to participate in earning outside of the home (Okely, 1983: 203, 1996: 66; Smith & Greenfields, 2013: 178), is clearly demonstrated with this data. It has been argued that there is a contradiction between the demands of family and the labour market in modern life, where the logic of market economies ignores the needs of the family (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 1995: 144). It would appear that Traveller women are avoiding this conflict by placing their children's well- being first (viewed as having a mother at home rather than increased economic well-being and a working mother) and staying out of the labour market; a choice which can be seen as an indicator of their aversion to the modern, individualistic life as well as utilising agency and making choices which are against mainstream expectations and public pressure to conform (also Smith and Greenfields, 2013).

While there arguably are other ethnic communities in England, where women's role is mainly domestic and against the ideals of post-industrial life, Travellers situation is unique because of their aversion to settled housing that has been proved to be harmful for their well-being (Johnson, 2009). In other words, the preference of traditional family and gender models are not unique for the Gypsy and Traveller communities, but rather one more element adding to their 'deviance' that makes them the targets of assimilative policies and (negative) discrimination. Consequently, given that Gypsies and Travellers' stronger group affiliation, clearly defined gender roles, and avoidance of interaction with and work with-

in the wider society are seen, by the state and its welfare institutions, as being at odds with dominant social processes of individualisation, social integration and clearly preferred models of gender relations, the state is likely to interpret these 'out of step' behaviours as legitimising their claim to have the right to amend the 'Traveller lifestyle' while in the process of civilising or normalising the 'deviant' Gypsies and Travellers (Powell, 2011), a theme returned to in more depth at 9: 9.2.

Since recently housed Gypsies and Travellers are reformulating 'traditional' community life by seeking accommodation in close proximity of their families (Greenfields, 2012: 6), modernisation theorists may be wrong in assuming all minorities will eventually change (be assimilated) towards the 'more developed' modern version of life and economy, especially when brought into urban surroundings. Rather they are likely to sustain meaningful parts of their lifestyle in those new surroundings, and adjust and draw in new elements to suit their traditional cultural frame (Sibley, 1981: 169). Minorities that object to assimilation to majority culture and society may actually change in order to stay the same (Sibley, 1987: 87).

On the other hand, it has to be noted here that since the attitude towards education amongst Gypsies and Travellers has been increasing in favour, there seems to be a slow shift towards working in the common labour market, a tendency which is likely to become more popular among Traveller women. There already are signs of this development, although the jobs that the interviewed women mentioned considering, were invariably jobs among their own community, not in the outside labour market, representing 'cultural safety' and acceptability to their families (also Ryder and Greenfields, 2010). The situation may well be different among English Gypsies, who seems to be in various ways 'more assimilated' into English society than are Irish Travellers. Although the number of interviewed Gypsy women was inadequate for reliable analysis, it is worth of mentioning that two of them are employed outside of their own community settings, while one works in an organisation helping Gypsies and Travellers, and the only unmarried woman from this group has participated in several courses in order to learn new skills for future employment, suggesting that she will marry and still work.

As a comparison, out of the 18 Irish Traveller women one younger, unmarried woman works in an organisation that helps Gypsies and Travellers, one had worked as a hotel cleaning manager before getting married and one has taken part in vocational training courses. None of the other women (15/18) have been in paid employment.

7.2 INDIVIDUALISM: LONELY GYPSIES AND TRAVELLERS

It has already been noted (Chapter 5) that Traveller (and Gypsy) men spend more time outside the home, than do women, working and interacting with other Travellers and also with potential clients. Similarly, men have far greater freedom to go out without restrictions than do women who are not only responsible for their children and home, but who also, especially when younger, are guarded and protected from the (hostile and polluting) outside world by their own com-

munity. Traveller women elaborated repeatedly that since they have no trust in anyone else to take their children to school, if living away from close relatives while in housing, they are compelled to do it themselves, regardless of their state of health or other responsibilities. The daily transportation of children together with never ending domestic work meant that some women were left with no time to visit their families even if they are living relatively close. In fact, it was felt by some respondents that the only way to be in touch with the family daily, (as when living on caravan sites), is literally to be able to live next door to them.

> They [parents and siblings] don't live really far but it's just difficult when you have to do school runs … by the time you get home in the evening you have to do three school runs, it's too late to start going out. It's getting dark and stuff and you have to take a bus and stuff so it's not, you think it's not worth the hassle. (**YTF, 34**)

Respondents mentioned on a number of occasions having lived with parents, siblings or partner's parents when they first moved to London, and/or before finding their own apartments. One woman even talks about how she had first lived in a caravan in her parents-in-law's garden. Interestingly, those who have not lived in settled housing for all their lives were least used to sharing a home as a place, with their extended families. On sites, although everyone lives together, caravans are mainly for the two generation nuclear family to sleep in (Okely, 1983: 152). It however seems that sharing a home (as a place) temporarily with extended family members (siblings, parents), is not a problem for Gypsies and Travellers who have previously lived in caravans as expectations and appreciation of communality prevailed in a manner which may seem alien to many mainstream households forced to live with relatives.

Discrimination and hostility experienced from the wider society (see further Chapter 8: 8.3) and refusal to interact with that society (8.1), is making living in housing even harder for Traveller (and Gypsy) families and hence severely decreasing their well-being. Some of the sense of comfort which arose from living with relatives could also be traced to the marked sense of physical insecurity which respondents experienced on first moving into housing. Numerous individuals reported a sense of 'not being safe' in settled homes, because their own community was not there to protect them in case of trouble (See 8.1 and 8.3 in relation to experiences of racism and refusal to interact with wider society). Respondents spoke about feeling frightened that anyone could 'kick their door in' at any time, whereas they never had such experiences or fears when living on sites:

> It's probably safer in the house but it's just how you feel. You feel lost, you feel like, well there's nobody, I'm on me own now. I have to protect me own kids now and I have to protect myself. So if I'm at sleep somebody can kick in my door, where I never went through this experience but you always have to worry it never goes away. It never leaves you, it's always in your head. (**YTF, 30**)

This persistent theme of feeling completely alone without access to community and family/kin can be seen as a marker of lower levels of individualism in the Traveller (and Gypsy) communities. Arguably, as was discussed above, Traveller lifestyle is in conflict with the normative lifestyles within an individualistic society where the norm can be seen to be people living their lives in small nuclear family units, or increasingly alone. Whereas 'de-traditionalism', defined within the 'individualisation thesis' (e.g. Heaphy, 2007) as major social, cultural and economic transformations that are loosening the grip of traditional institutions such as the family, is probably celebrated by the majority of people living in Western post-industrial societies, Gypsies and Travellers appear to view individualism as something that is forcing people to be lonely.

This is not to argue that loneliness, when having to live away from family is a unique phenomenon among Gypsies and Travellers, but to demonstrate how governmentally forced change of lifestyle is decreasing their well-being. Loneliness is arguably an increasing problem in the 21st century Western world among most communities and people (e.g. Saari, 2010), which therefore, makes forcing communities like Gypsies and Travellers' to change, even more morally questionable. The following two quotes illustrate how Gypsies and Travellers see life in settled houses without extended families as making people lonely. In the first quote an older Traveller man argues settled people are more used to loneliness since they do not know any other way of living, and in the second quote a younger Traveller woman expresses her worries about housed Travellers eventually becoming as lonely as the settled people.

> Cos you got a lot of settled people that lives in houses that they're confined into one place and especially if they live alone, you know what I mean … because they've been brought up that way, and their parents before them. But when you've lived in a different environment, well then you can see the differs. (**OTM, 66**)

> I think it'd be very lonesome and I think a lot of travelling people will turn into more like the settled people if they didn't have their family around them, especially living in houses. 'Cos is a very lonely life, and if you don't see your own family and you're seeing settled people every day of the week, well you've got no choice, like you forget your culture more, wouldn't you? (**YTF, 19**)

Some theories of loneliness suggest that every individual has the basic need to be able to trust others, to be a part of a community or communities, and that these basic needs are not satisfied in an individualised (and increasingly competitive) world where everyone is forced to work for and towards their own personal goals (Slater, 1976). On the other hand, in an individualised society, as the above quotes suggest, most people have accommodated themselves to loneliness although those on the margins, including the elderly who live alone, are at greatest risk of suffering the negative impacts of this condition (Age UK, 2014), which is increasingly recognised as being a 'silent killer'. Loneliness can be seen as the price individuals

pay for having more choice and freedom to replace those they love, support or employ whenever they choose to and to remake their own identity at will (Bauman, 2000; Franklin, 2009).

7.2.1 Defining loneliness

'Loneliness', as defined by De Jong Gierveld (1987: 120), "… is a situation experienced by the individual as one where there is an unpleasant or inadmissible lack of (quality of) certain relationships. This includes situations, in which the number of existing relationships is smaller than is considered desirable or admissible, as well as situations where the intimacy one wishes for has not been realized." Findings from this study clearly demonstrate that the majority of Gypsies and Travellers, who are forced to move into settled housing, are experiencing the negative impacts of loneliness although on the other hand, they cannot be seen as 'socially isolated' or not having any social ties. 'Emotional loneliness' or "to miss an intimate attachment and hence feelings of insecurity" must therefore be distinguished from 'social loneliness' which is characterised by lack of wider circle of friends or acquaintances that provide a sense of belonging and of being a member of a community (De Jong Gierveld, 2006). The loneliness that Gypsies and Travellers describe include feelings of insecurity, as was seen above, but not usually because of lack of intimate attachment to a partner but in fact because of lack of closer attachment to their community. The feeling of belonging to community is strong among Gypsies and Travellers, but their friends and acquaintances from that community are felt to be too far away from them.

It seems the two forms of 'loneliness', defined by De Jong Gierveld, are predominantly effective in measuring and analysing people who are used of living in individualistic societies, and are less applicable to people whose lives follow the traditional 'Gypsy and Traveller' community model. As such a new model or term for loneliness might be needed to define the situation where the lack of intimate attachment to one's community results in feelings of insecurity.

A cross-cultural study about loneliness among elderly people concluded that living alone was more of a negative experience for elderly living in countries where overall communality is generally higher. In more individualistic societies, like Finland, the elderly did not feel as lonely living alone as their counterparts in more family orientated societies such as Greece (Jylhä & Jokela, 1990). These findings were based on the concept of a 'loneliness threshold' where society's cultural value system and the amount of social contacts that people are normally accustomed to, determine the minimal standard for social contacts (Johnson & Mullins, 1987). Since Gypsies and Travellers are accustomed to living among their community and interacting with them daily, moving to London or into settled housing without their extended families significantly decreases the amount of social contacts that they are used to, and conflicts with their family -oriented value system.

As has been established, despite living in a highly individualist society, Gypsies and Travellers in England have not assimilated to the extent that they are comfort-

able with, and favour living alone and away from their community[5].

It has been argued that in order for assimilation to occur, there is a requirement for individuals to understand, and accept the norms and values of that society and part of that process requires individuals to have social relations with other people within mainstream communities (Hortulanus & Machielse, 2006; Machielse, 2006). By definition, a strongly individualistic society assumes its members to be independent people who are not exclusively tied to the norms and rules of their specific community groups. Those who are 'incapable' of breaking the ties to their specific groups and forming personal relations and contacts to other people and institutions outside their own communities or families, are therefore those most likely to become socially isolated members of an individualistic society, unless a high enough proximate density exists of their own community members. (Hortulanus & Machielse, 2006; Machielse, 2006). This theme is returned to in Chapter 8: 8.1 which consider the impacts of and reasons for the low level of interaction Gypsies and Travellers have with the wider English society.

7.3 CHANGING FINNISH ROMA FAMILY

In contrast to the English sample, 'loneliness' was mentioned only by two Finnish Roma, (both older Group A Roma, one woman and one man), who were both unemployed against their own will. Finnish Roma's higher level of assimilation to Finnish society and its majority's lifestyle, than are found amongst English Gypsies and Travellers, can arguably be seen within their adoption of living arrangements that mirror that of the majority society: i.e. living with nuclear family (children, partner) some slight distance away from rest of their kin group.

However, Grönfors (1979: 5; 1981) concluded after conducting his fieldwork among the Finnish Roma in 1976 – 1977, that the most vital element of Roma social organisation was their preference for collectivity over individuality, and that for the Finnish Roma, family and kin always come before everything else. At that time of his fieldwork, Grönfors described the Roma family as an extended nuclear family type, where individuals are able to be full members of more than one household inside their kin group (ibid., p. 6). Thirty five years after Grönfors' research was published, some changes in the Roma family structure can be detected. For example, Grönfors mention that Roma, who move into building block apartments, will usually reduce the size of their family (by having less people living together as extended family) to avoid conflicts with neighbours and because they have had to adapt (1981: 48). Whereas according to the Roma interviewed for this study, living in small nuclear family units is actually preferred. Arguably, this can be viewed as additional and strong evidence for the success of the Finnish state in assimilating the Finnish Roma.

[5] It should be noted here that when studying ethnic minorities, it is erroneous to presume that only the host society's culture and value systems affect their behaviour, but instead the minority's own values and norms should be taken into consideration as well. This highlights the shortcomings of quantitative cross-cultural research of people's well-being.

In order to fulfil their preference to *'live well'* and *'normally'* and to avoid conflicts with their neighbours, the Roma have adapted their cultural practices and now **prefer** to live more like the majority. More recent research suggests that although Finnish Roma now overwhelmingly live in small nuclear family units, they nevertheless seek to live close to their kin to be able to be in daily contact with them (Viljanen, 2012: 417). This study only partly reaffirms these later results. On the one hand, the majority of respondents mentioned that having their closest kin relatively close to them is important, (as will be discussed below), but on the other hand most of them speak about not wanting to be too close to their kin. Chapters 7 (7.4) and 8 (8.1) will explore more thoroughly how Finnish Roma in Helsinki seek (and desire) to sustain good relationships with their majority neighbours by changing their behaviours, e.g. limiting the amount of visitors, and living away from other Finnish Roma.

Group A Roma generally think that it is important to live close to their immediate family, which they take as including parents, adult children, grandchildren and in few cases siblings. Only a few would consider moving further away from their family. Similarly to Gypsies and Travellers in England, 'family' is said to bring safety and a feeling of belongingness as well as offering practical help in childcare and other chores. 'To live close' is however, differently conceived of from in the English situation, and is understood as living in the same city, not in the same building, street or even area. Those Group A respondents who live 'very close' to their parents or adult children, commonly think that it would be preferable to live slightly further away. Interestingly, some of the older Group A Roma, who were not originally from the Helsinki area, feel guilty for not being able to give their own children the same chances that they had, i.e. to grow up with other Roma children and to have the support of their whole extended kin group.

In fact, the most worrying part for older respondents is the lack of family support for the adolescent Roma when they are experiencing hard times in life. This is seen as one reason why so many young adult Roma are becoming marginalised in Finnish society and to some extent mirrors findings from English studies on inter-generational concerns for young people (e.g. Smith and Greenfields, 2013).

Officials also worry about Roma adults or young families who are experiencing difficulties in managing their everyday lives (FNRP, 2009: 54). This might well be due to the change in lifestyle over a relatively short period of time, from living with big extended families who have a high degree of 'bonding' social capital and can provide support in daily living, to moving into smaller nuclear families in need of building 'bridging' social capital outside the family (Putnam, 2000). When lifestyles have changed, impacting on living arrangements but not on the cultural traditions (cleanliness morals/rules and hospitality responsibilities) which still strongly affect Roma's lives (Pirttilahti, 2000; Oulun kaupunki, 2006; FNPR, 2009), it can be argued that building wider social networks with non-Roma in order to better integrate into mainstream society is harder to balance, and may cause significant difficulties in many areas of life e.g. in maintaining housing tenancy without conflict with neighbours. On the other hand, as was illustrated in Chapter 6

sections 6.2 and 6.3, Finnish Roma have proved resilient, adapting some of their differing culture related rules and practices in order to blend in with the majority Finnish lifestyle, and are very willing to work to build trust with their majority neighbours even if it takes several years of hard work.

One area which has been identified as important in the literature and interviews is that since Roma form families in early stages of their life, their overall knowledge of parenting or budgeting can be inadequate and can cause problems in everyday life, leading to debt or contact with child welfare agencies. It is important to acknowledge that this problem is not found specifically and only with young Roma (Gypsy/Traveller) families. Young families in general are more likely to experience difficulties including reduced educational opportunities, negative employment outcomes, dependence on benefits and adverse housing outcomes (DH, 2007). The difference is that Roma (and some other ethnic minorities, for example Somalian migrants) more often aspire and plan to set up families in early age, whereas teenage pregnancies are commonly seen in policy terms and in mainstream life as a problem and a mistake (e.g. DH 2007; Daguerre & Nativel eds., 2006), creating another point of conflict with neighbours and officials and leading to discourse of irresponsibility.

There is a nostalgic sentiment among the Roma who originally come from other parts of Finland that life was (and still is) considerably more communal in their old home towns and cities, where families and kin groups are still felt to take more care of each other. The Roma whose families have lived in Helsinki for decades however, do not express any longing for greater communality which could be achieved through living somewhere else. However, some older Group A Roma have indicated that urban life is negatively changing the way Roma community and family structures work:

> R: So the community has somehow lost its meaning?
> I: Yea, it's in a breaking point. The Roma community lives in a breaking point. R: Why do you think that is?
> I: Time does it. Living conditions, society, all these. Or that there's no more [communal spirit] … [the] Roma family lives in an urban jungle, there's not that much communality left. (**OAF, 40**)

> Well, on the other hand here in Helsinki, here in the south, here people are different. Like, even if being together is 'tighter', it isn't necessarily very giving for people. Like ok, you have close people around you and that, but like there [elsewhere in Finland] it was, I felt that it was like part of their everyday life. Yes. So like if now suddenly my family members started visiting me [in Helsinki] more often and that (laughs), I would feel that they are pretending [to be caring]. (**OAM, 42**)

Three respondents, an older Group A woman and two younger Group A women, (none of whom wear traditional dress and so are considered 'more assimilated' than more 'traditional' respondents), feel that it is not important to be physically close to relatives or to behave in traditional way – believing that it is good enough to be in

contact with their kin by phone or even via social media. In contrast, all younger Group A men lived geographically close to their parents as it is custom in Finnish Roma culture for a married couple to live near to man's parents or kin (Grönfors, 1981). Only one of these three men reported that he is missing having a more independent life, further away from his parents. Younger Group A women however disclosed that it is part of Roma women's lives to move away from their parents when married, and it is accepted by them as the norm. Regardless of this, all these women still live relatively close to their parents and feel happy about that, as it is considered highly important for Roma women to also remain as part of their own kin group, even after getting married (ibid.). In contrast, only one Traveller woman mentioned living further away from her own parents but close to her husbands. Most Traveller women indicated the wish to live close to their own parents.

Interestingly, when asked about their 'definition of good life' (Appendix 5), only one Roma respondent mentioned having a good partner. However this reluctance to discuss personal relations may relate to Finnish Roma's cleanliness morals and rules where you 'have to be ashamed' about any sexual relations between men and women (Grönfors, 1979; Viljanen, 2012) (see 1.1). Based on the collected data not everyone follows these rules anymore, numerous respondents mentioned the word marriage, and only one criticised the researcher for using it. Nevertheless this might be the reason why 'a good family' instead of good husband, wife or partner is used more often when respondents are defining a good life for themselves. Another possible explanation is that since traditionally marital relationships never override kin relations in importance (Grönfors, 1979: 6), the Roma might consider their kin group as more important than their marital spouses.

7.3.1 The family in good and in bad

In contrast, the interviewed Group B Roma were generally more emotional when speaking about their families, either in a positive or a negative way. This is arguably due to their more complex and unstable life situations that may involve adolescents more often moving out of the parental home and then back in, the ending of relationships, or life changes resulting from someone being released from prison, or a homeless family member needing a temporary place to stay. As an example which demonstrates why family situations may change more rapidly among Finnish Roma compared to majority Finns, divorce or the ending of a relationship is considered a fairly common and non- traumatising event among the Finnish Roma (Grönfors, 1981: 65), in contrast to English Gypsies and Travellers who have a divorce and separation rate which is generally far lower than amongst mainstream populations, and who still often report feeling that divorce is stigmatising and may reflect badly on a family. To demonstrate the difference in attitude amongst Finnish Roma, over half of the Roma respondents of this study mentioned being divorced or separated. It is roughly estimated that one in three marriages end in divorces in the whole of Finland (Suomen virallinen tilasto (SVT), 2013), which indicates (based on this sample at least) that the Finnish Roma are more likely to divorce than Finns in general.

The importance and impact of place of residence is an important variable between the two groups of Roma, as living in neighbourhoods where Group B Roma mainly reside, seems to involve a normatively (by local standards) differing set of values, outcomes and direction in life when compared to the expectations common to locals in the areas which Group A Roma inhabit. As an example of this, the next quote is from an older Group B woman who suggests it is the norm for Finnish Roma to have children who are involved in drug misuse:

> I was like taking care of my son's child, she had been taken into custody. I took care of her and now she was given to her mum, who got better. And as a Roma, I **obviously** [emphasis added] have two sons who are taking drugs. (**OBF, 55**)

In contrast to those Roma who are being seen as 'most assimilated', from the Finnish social services perspective the most worrying group are those Roma who, in spite of being in receipt of social assistance programs for long periods of time, are still economically deprived and face serious, (often housing related) problems. The problems identified with these particular groups are listed as repeated homelessness, evictions, unpaid rent and anti-social behavior. (Oulun kaupunki, 2006: 4). Administrative data sources suggest that there is evidence of particular challenges and exclusions which impact especially on Roma people in addition to discrimination. When they become homeless, Roma's periods of homelessness are considerably longer than the for rest of the population; a situation which has been found to stem in most cases from multiple and interrelated socio-economic problems such as alcohol and drug abuse, financial difficulties and mental health problems (Asuminen & Yhteiskunta, 2007; Oulun kaupunki, 2007; Törmä et al., 2012), themes which mirror findings on the situation of a fairly high percentage of housed Gypsies and Travellers in England (Cemlyn, et. al., 2009). In some cases feuds between rival families or, as discussed above, problems in living with non-Roma neighbours whilst adhering to cleanliness morals and rules might enhance the risk of homelessness for some individuals (ibid.). When their housing situation deteriorates to this point, there is also a danger that the person is abandoned by the Roma community, if he/she is seen to have reached that stage through having repeatedly broken the community's cultural codes (e.g. through substance misuse) and brought shame to his/her family (Törmä et al., 2012). This cultural exile can be very harmful to a person who is used to having the support of their family, and causes a further downward spiral. In fact, according to a number of Roma organisations and local level actors some Finnish Roma are becoming increasingly socially and economically excluded from both the wider society and from the Roma community (FNPR, 2009; Törmä et al., ibid.). As is demonstrated in the next chapter 7.4, individuals, whose families have questionable reputations and histories within the Finnish Roma community, also have worse chances in choosing housing as well as extremely frail possibilities to move upwards socio-economically.

In contrast to Group A women who may be some distance socially and geographically from their relatives, all interviewed younger Group B women stress that it is important to live close to family, but depending on their current life situations it is not always seen as possible (or even preferred), due to their families' criticising them. Marking out their role as guardians of their families, older Group B women all think it is necessary to live close to their children and grandchildren and would not even consider moving away from them. They emphasised how they feel they have to watch over their children, and assist in taking care of their grandchildren.

> Well you know, today you are so hung up with your own family, own children and grandchildren. And because these times are so dangerous you feel so much better if they are right there where you can have an eye on them all the time. (**OBF, 55**)

One younger Group B man, who is homeless and recently been released from prison, indicated that contrary to women's preferences, that he would like to move far away from his family and all Roma, whereas another, who is also homeless, thinks he would never move away from his family, the most important element of his life. The two older Group B men, who both have been in prison, disclosed that despite their personal preferences that it is not always possible to live near family although it is thought to be highly important culturally.

When analysing the data by gender, age and socio-economic position (Group A – Group B), the biggest difference is found between the Group A and Group B Roma. The most obvious difference is how life situations and typically 'chaotic' lifestyles, affect the reasons stated for place of residence as well as possibilities to live near family. Most Group B Roma (older in particular) either mentioned how they need to live near children to keep an eye on them, or how their past life (for example bad reputation impacting on 'moving permit' permissions or access to finance) affects the possibilities to live in areas which they prefer. Overall, discussion on life preferences and chances seems to revolve more around family, (both in good and bad senses), for Group B Roma whereas Group A Roma, although stressing that family is also seen as important and a source of safety and support, seem more independent of their families as a result of their individualised lifestyles. As such, family relations and the importance of family are mentioned by Group A Roma mostly in practical terms such as assistance with caring for grandchildren.

One way to explain these differences is that Group A Roma are closer to the family life of more socio-economically affluent parts of the society, and therefore more independent of the help of their kin, whereas Group B Roma's family life resembles more the life of the marginalised and the less well-off, who might be more family dependent. As an interesting detail, during the fieldwork period, many of the Group B Roma mentioned or pointed out a family member roaming nearby at the shopping centre while they were being interviewed indicating similarity in behaviours often as well as geographic proximity. However, it is important to acknowledge that reliance on close-knit kin who are present in the immediate local-

ity is not a phenomenon unique to Finnish Roma, as reliance on family relations can arguably be more urgently needed, in both good and in bad times, for anyone experiencing social and/or economic disruptions.

Overall, the most significant difference in Finnish Roma's family and kin -relations, compared to the Finnish 'norm', is therefore realised when distinct cultural practices such as the moving permit custom are examined, as Roma individuals carry the histories and reputation of their families with them, and are valued and judged accordingly, unlike the majority of the Finnish population. This distinct cultural practice is accorded attention and discussed in the following section.

7.4 THE 'MOVING PERMIT CUSTOM' OF FINNISH ROMA

This section introduces and discussed Finnish Roma's culture related *moving permit* custom that obliges all individuals and families within the community when moving from a particular location in a city or from one city to another, to contact the local Roma living in the desired destination, and to ask for their permission to move there. The *moving permit* custom is within this doctoral thesis, argued to be an extension of the *avoidance practise* (a social control system utilised to prevent more violence occurring between feuding Finnish Roma families) while also having further, more private and practical, meanings for Finnish Roma individuals.

From the Finnish government and legislator's point of view, the *moving permit* custom is considered to be the most serious housing -related problem of Finnish Roma. This custom clearly violates individual Roma people's constitutional rights to live where they choose, and in effect has led to some housing officials illegally handing over their residence allocation duties to their areas' powerful and influential Roma families and individuals (e.g. FNPR, 2009; Törmä et al., 2012).

7.4.1 'The 'avoidance' practise

The Finnish Roma community operates an internal social control system called the *blood-feud* system, where families are held responsible of all their family members' actions (Grönfors, 1981). So for example, if a Roma individual commits a crime towards another Finnish Roma, both of their families become part of this act as well. The victim's family is then entitled to retaliate, whereas the wrongdoer's family have to respect the victim's family by physically *avoiding* them in any way possible. In practice this means that Roma individuals are not allowed to go to or be in same places with any other Roma with whose family their kin are feuding. These avoidance techniques include not participating in social gatherings (even in important obligation events such as funerals), as well as geographical places such as homes, villages, towns and cities. The practise of 'avoidance' is therefore followed in order to avoid more violence, and as a technique it has performed well for centuries (Grönfors, 1997), but it is also a part of social norms that

influence all interaction between Finnish Roma by defining what is moral, honourable and appropriate behaviour for the community.

To ensure adequate availability of material resources, Finland was divided into areas or 'places' by Roma families or groups in the 19th century when Roma were still travelling and peddling. In particular, access to 'places' was associated with the ability to ask for lodgings, because these practices were found to be easier if the houses they went to were familiar. It was not unusual that the same Roma kin group did business with particular majority communities and village people for generations, and as this relationship was useful for both sides, 'own places', (or by the majority's perspective 'own Roma'), were favoured. After establishing local trust, cheating on deals usually only happened away from Roma's 'own' areas and people. (Tervonen, 2012: 99.) In such situations, where Roma families already had their 'own places', avoidance practise would presumably have been easier to live by.

Finland today in the 21st century is still divided into areas by Roma families, and these areas are considered to be 'owned' by these families. To demonstrate how strongly connected Finnish Roma still can be to their areas, relatively many respondents give their full support to the *avoidance practice* and *moving permit* by stating that they cannot even **imagine** moving anywhere else away from their 'own places'. It is highly likely that the distinct 'own' areas of Roma today have evolved through both the influence of old peddling circuits and areas and as a result of feuding of families. Furthermore, Finnish Roma families may still be feuding over something that occurred tens or even hundreds of years ago, and it still strongly affects the lives of Roma today, making the networks of who lives where as well as the forms of social contact between families, critically important. Therefore, the whole of Finnish Roma culture has been called as a 'culture of avoidance' where individuals and families avoid situations that might place them in awkward or inappropriate position with regards to other community members (Stenroos, 2012).

Helsinki as a whole is considered an 'area' for certain Roma families, although this does not date back for centuries, but most likely seems to come from the time when evacuee Roma from Carelia were relocated into the Helsinki area in 1940s. Due to its larger size and better educational and employment opportunities, Helsinki cannot be 'controlled' by individual families as well as are smaller cities elsewhere in Finland and therefore operates slightly differently in terms of where and how people live and work. Since the purpose of this research is to study elements increasing and decreasing the housing related well-being of Finnish Roma in Helsinki, the focus within this chapter is on the moving permit custom, rather than avoidance practices, since it operates on a smaller scale and for more deeply personal reasons.

7.4.2 Practical and personal

It is argued here that at least in Helsinki, as a result of the special circumstances which exist in the capital city, that the moving permit custom has become a separate phenomenon from the avoidance practice, although it works on similar principles that give power to stronger Roma individuals and families, by allowing them

to decide who is allowed to move into certain areas and who is not. The custom obliges a Finnish Roma individual or family, when moving from a particular location in a city or from one city to another, to contact the local Roma living in the desired destination to ask for their permission to move there. Usually it is the elder or more influential Roma families that decide whether someone is welcome to move to their area (Pirttilahti, 2000; Törmä et al., 2012), although all families, regardless of their socio-economic situation, are in control of their 'own areas'.

As respondents reminded the researcher, it is extremely important to acknowledge that *avoidance practice* is an old tradition based on honouring families that have been victims of some sort of violent act by another Roma. The *moving permit* custom however differs from *avoidance practice* in that it can also be based on personal reasons such as wanting to avoid one's divorced partner or to ensure the safety of one's children:

> R: Why do you think it's [moving permit] a good thing?
> I: Well, put yourself into a situation, like if you had family, small children for example. And you knew that there's a paedophile living in that building. Would you like to live next to him? … Or if you get divorced, - would you like that your ex-partner, who is also a nasty person, lived right next to you? (**OAM, 45**)

Since Finnish Roma are a small minority, all families know of each other's reputation, and each individual is linked to their kin group requiring that a value judgement is made not only of their individual but also the risk afforded by their family. In this situation, every time that someone asks for a permission to move, they are evaluated and judged as a member of their kin group and its history.

Previous reports on the housing issues of Finnish Roma have all concluded that Roma consider these ways of control (avoidance practice and moving permit) as something that is to be kept inside the Roma community without the need of outside society to get involved, and moreover as something that is required to be in place to avoid conflicts between different Finnish Roma families and/or individuals' (Pirttilahti, 2000; Törmä et al., 2012).

> R: Do you think theres some bad things about it [moving permit]?
> I: No, because there are lots of places where Gypsies [mustalaiset]1 cannot live together (YAF, 34)

> So someone has to sort of take care that order is retained. And this is the fear that you always feel when moving. That who is moving and what will they bring with them. So I think it's more about that, than about someone wanting to be the master or the king. (OAM, 45)

Pirttilahti argues that the custom of asking for a permit to move, only works in smaller cities in Finland, and is not in use in larger Southern Finland cities like Helsinki (2000: 22). This argument is proved wrong by the respondents to

this study, who disclosed that they had to ask permission when moving inside Helsinki, or indicated that they had denied other Roma the chance to move close to them. What is different about Helsinki compared to smaller cities in Finland is that due to its size, no one can claim the whole area as their 'own', but divisions are made, for example, between suburbs. Also because of Helsinki's size, some Roma will not ask permission but move 'under the radar' instead, which would not be possible in smaller places where they would be subject to more observation. A Finnish Roma, who has moved without permission will always be asked to leave by the Roma who 'own' that area. According to respondents, disorder is likely to prevail if that person refuses to move, although these situations are extremely rare.

While in smaller places, local Roma want to protect their own areas and good neighbourhood relations from those Roma who do not live according to their accepted norms (Pirttilahti, 2000: 22), in Helsinki this same thing obviously happens but only on a smaller scale. As such control over moving permits may only operate for certain part of the city, a certain street or even a building block.

Interestingly, there were only slight differences in how often their 'own areas' or having had to deny access to accommodation to someone, is mentioned when comparing Group A and Group B Roma, men and women or the younger and older age groups. Generally speaking (as a result of their greater authority), older Roma mention having had to deny someone access to housing more often than do younger Roma, which arguably relates to their culture's emphasis on respect for the elderly. The other most obvious difference was in the areas that are considered as 'owned' by groups of respondents. In Helsinki, Group B Roma inhabit areas that can be considered more 'rough' or deprived (reflecting their social status) when compared to the quieter areas where generally socio- economically more affluent Group A Roma usually live.

For the majority of the Roma interviewed for this study, being able to protect their area, good relations with neighbours and reputation in the neighbourhood is seen as vital for their well-being. As such the *moving permit* custom is seen as an internal safety system that protects 'good' Roma from the 'bad' Roma, whose possibly dubious actions are felt to label the whole Roma community and harm good relations and trust building within the neighbourhood. In particular, Group A Roma spoke about the frustration of how society labels *all* Roma based on some individuals' actions, although at the same time, it can ironically be argued, they themselves label Roma individuals by their family's actions and reputation. According to Grönfors (1981: 164-165), Finnish Roma's identity is inextricably tied to their kin group's identity, and it is practically impossible for them to escape it. Those who come from 'bad' kin groups are not allowed to forget their relatives' reputation, whereas Roma from 'good' kin groups are said to benefit from this status.

> ... I wouldn't like if **that** kind of family, a drug family, moved here who would do bad stuff and disturb the neighbours, because I would suffer from that. Because then they would think I'm guilty as well. Although the neighbours know me, and they know that I'm probably one of the best residents here. I don't mess my apartment, I try to do everything that is needed to do outside in the common area [i.e. cleaning etc.] … A young [Roma] girl moved there, she had a job … It's ok if someone normal, someone who lives a normal life, that's ok. But majority Finns wouldn't like it either if someone like that ['bad' Roma] moved here. The only difference is that they [non Roma] wouldn't get labelled by it. (**OAF, 58**)

> If this family has a good reputation, doesn't have any problems, we say: "Come". But if they have a horrible background, we will say:"Unfortunately we can't take you here We have good people here, good people live here with us, and we don't want your youngsters to come here." And also if you let one family to come, 11 more will follow them. That's why you have to be so unconditional about it. (**OAF, 40**)

In addition to presumptions about the moral worth or habits of individual kin groups, interviewees also indicated differences existed between Roma from different areas in Finland. For example, some Roma living in Northern cities are said to have differing habits, to be more traditional, and sometimes to come to Helsinki only to cause trouble before returning to their 'own places'[6]. Here again the importance and meaning of 'own place' compared to others' places becomes evident as does the primary purpose of the moving permit custom: that one's 'own area' is to be protected from other Roma families and their bad influence.

> But it brings like, that kind of pre-nervousness is what you feel if you know that now these people are moving here. That all five brothers with their families are coming to Southern Finland. (**OAM, 45**)

> ... Like there's a saying that the Roma in Oulu and upwards have completely different practices than the Roma south from Oulu. Of course you can't generalise but it is like, usually people behave worst when they come to someone else's places. (**OAF, 40**)

Most interviewees admit misuse of the moving permit system may be a possible scenario, but see it as a lesser ill, compared to the possible conflicts, or even chaos, that might result without the control system. Some respondents even stated they have been put into awkward situations when they have had to deny some individuals the chance of moving, for the greater good of the community. The strength of the blood feuding practise and avoidance techniques as conflict resolution within the Finnish Roma community are demonstrated by the fact that even the strong influence of Pentecostalism has not been able to convince Finnish Roma to aban-

[6] Also Grönfors (1981: 162) mention that Roma in Southern Finland judge Roma from Northern and Eastern Finland to be more traditional whereas Roma from North and East judge the Southern Roma for not living 'ideal' Roma life.

don these internal control systems (Thurfjell, 2013).

Although all respondents agree that there needs to be an internal control system in place to prevent internal conflicts, the more assimilated Roma (and a few Group B Roma, who are having difficulties in finding a place to live), overtly criticised the *moving permit* custom for violating an individual's lawful right to choose where to live, as well as giving too much power to strong families, who might misuse that power for personal gain. For example, some families were said to have connections and networks that enabled them to use the system and change apartments whenever and wherever they pleased. In fact, public housing officials have also expressed their concern at not been able to allocate apartments for newly arrived Finnish Roma individuals or families because all housing areas already have Finnish Roma living in them (Männistö, 2012). There are no records about situations where someone has been forced by the local housing officials to move into an area already occupied by other Roma. It therefore seems that the Finnish government and its actors are either respectful of this cultural tradition and/or afraid of the consequences of rival families living next to each other. According to some respondents, the police and officials rarely want to get involved in matters that are considered to be internal Roma issues.

> ... it isn't sort of right to deny a person, who is really in a difficult situation or only because of their family name or something. But on the other hand, when you look at the bigger picture, like I don't see it [moving permit] as a super bad thing either. (**YAF, 27**)

> My sister had to move away from X, they said there - the older Roma family there -said that you have to move away now. Like, their boys are little bit wild you know, that it will never work with you. Although they would be nice and peaceful themselves, their boys could do something [disruptive]. (**YBF, 34**)

> But we have in this country, the officials have gone along with those ridiculous Roma things [moving permit custom] … and so they are to blame for it. (**OAF, 45**)

A few of Group A Roma denied the whole existence of the custom by saying they could move anywhere they want in Helsinki, which is perhaps indicative of their family status. On the other hand, the same individuals admitted not wanting (or letting) so called 'bad families' move near to their homes.

So far the *moving permit* custom has been discussed as an extension of the *avoidance practise*, an instrument to prevent disorder in the Roma community. However, since it is a separate (and sometimes even denied to exist) custom, it is argued here that it also has more practical functions for the Finnish Roma.

On analysing the data, it becomes evident that the Finnish Roma typically prefer not to live next to other Roma, usually not even next to their extended family members. There are more than one reason for this preference, such as the clean-

liness and morality rules that prevent Roma from living above or using the same common laundry rooms as any older Roma (Pirttilahti, 2000), as well as the fear of being labelled by the actions of other, 'bad' Roma, but there is also 'an inverse cultural' reason for the preference to live away from other community members. Since Finnish Roma's lives are filled with honour, pollution and cleanliness rules that are followed for and because of their own community, the everyday life of Roma can be an enormous effort if they are constantly watched and observed by other Roma. The rules that they live by only apply to Finnish Roma, so for instance, it is permitted to live above an older person from any other community, and by excension even other non-Finnish Roma. The argument here is that one of the reasons why Finnish Roma do not want to live near other Roma, or do not wish to get rid of the moving permit custom, is that they can be more relaxed with their culture -related cleanliness rules and explicit cultural practices when there are no other Roma living nearby and/or closely monitoring their lives.

> R: So you couldn't be in peace if there were other Roma there? I: Basically, no.
> R: How, why not?
> I: Well you know, in summer time there's so many people outside and ... and you have to be .. it's so hard to explain these things..
> R: Is it like that you have to be more careful what you?
> I: Yes, much more careful, yes. Like what you do, you have to be very observant. R: Ok.
> I: Every movement and every gesture and everything you do, like it's so much stricter. (**YBF, 27**)

> R: Do you think it's a good or a bad thing, would you prefer that more Roma lived here or?
> I: Well actually no, it's kind of like you can be more free, with Roma culture … and not like [rigidly adhering to every regulation], you don't need that many Roma around your own home. (**YBF, 19**)

One of the strongest and most practical reasons why everyday life is considered to be more relaxed if there are no other Roma living very close is that relative isolation gives the possibility to move around without constantly having to wear the traditional clothing (as discussed below at 8: 8.2). The first quote (below) is from a younger Group A woman who came to let the researcher into the building block house she lives in, wearing a 'standard' black skirt and a t-shirt. She had been in the building's common laundry room and as such in more public settings 'should' have been wearing her full skirt and Roma costume. The second quote is from an older Group A man, who tells how, when living in the same courtyard as other Roma, he had to avoid to be seen in his jogging shorts as this would involve breaking dress taboos.

> And basically you can live here in peace by yourself. You can walk just like I just walked from back there, and no one is there to see you, to look at you. (**YAF, 28**)

> I used to live in the same yard with two families, it didn't bother me that much. Only when I was going jogging or wearing that kind of clothes for some other reason that, like more revealing clothes in summer time, like I like to wear shorts. So then I always had to take a detour, 'cause I didn't know if they had some older people visiting. But like if they have older people visiting and I walk past their window in those clothes, well then that can be [breach of cleanliness rules, and culturally offensive] .. So that is what I had to avoid there, but otherwise I visited them and all that. (**OAM, 45**)

Interestingly, and contrastingly, this next quote is from a younger Group A woman who would like to live *nearer* to all her close friends. This woman does not wear the traditional Roma dress and is not 'observant' so does not have to be so careful with, or even obey, all the cleanliness rules. She is worried about the loss of communality within the Finnish Roma community, and about the way people have become more private and individualistic (in trying to avoid living too close to each other).

> I don't know. I don't kind of like how it is now days, not at all. Like people move far away from each other, and your own home becomes like, that some people don't even want you to visit them without asking first. Or I don't know. It has somehow gone too far to that, that it is their place, a place that they are in. And then like your circles become so small. Like, I wish that all my, that I could place all my close friends inside a small area, and then like always have doors open. And cook together and be together. So I really don't like how it is now. (**YAF, 27**)

Despite the practicalities of the 'moving permit', it remains however a custom that violates the constitutional rights of some individuals and enables discrimination inside the community. Importantly, this bar on place, and even at times access to employment, also indicates that moving upwards socio-economically is in fact hard or even impossible for some Finnish Roma who are seen to be from 'bad' families, ultimately concentrating power in the hands of an 'elite'.

7.4.3 Comparing Roma to Gypsies and Travellers

Although Acton and colleagues' (1997) argument that the kind of internal control system that Finnish Roma (and English Gypsies) have is possible because of their commercial nomadic lifestyle, suggests that there would be no need or even the possibility of sustaining such a system when in settled housing, the case of Finnish Roma proves otherwise. Having not been nomadic for 40 years and now predominantly working in the standard labour market, the *blood-feud* and *avoidance practise* of Finnish Roma are still (as demonstrated) strongly in effect. In fact, it can be argued that assimilation into the Finnish way of life has actually expanded the internal social control system of the Finnish Roma and now incorporates the *moving permit* custom into the socially constructed regulation of 'good' behaviour. Regardless of the actual way in which the moving permit is now used to control the 'less assimilated'

or the 'bad' Roma, it can be seen as adopting practices from their previous nomadic lifestyle and incorporating them into contemporary settled housing. In doing this Finnish Roma, as much as Gypsies and Travellers who are recreating communities in British housing estates (see Smith and Greenfields, 2013), are practicing adaptive cultural practices in new environments.

Acton and colleagues (1997: 145) actually explicitly describe the Finnish Roma's *blood-feud* and *avoidance practises* as similar to the internal control systems of English Gypsies but since inadequate number of English Gypsies were interviewed for this study (5 in total, of whom three are more educated and 'assimilated' individuals), it is impossible to analyse if their internal social control system has similar effects on their housing arrangements, as has the *moving permit* custom for Finnish Roma. Nevertheless, there is evidence of similar behaviour among Gypsies and Travellers, for example, wealthy and/or fierce family clusters' power to bribe and threaten poorer and/or weaker families to leave preferred camping sites (Okely, 1983: 180; 2005: 698-699). There is also some evidence of 'avoidance' techniques that Gypsies and Travellers in England use to minimize social disruption when an individual or a family has been shamed or offended against another individual or family. These techniques are arguably such common behaviour that they can be considered as culturally accepted social norms among the Gypsy and Traveller communities (Greenfields, 2006: 29). The fear of violence and conflict between unrelated families is, according to one theory (Griffin, 2008: 295) what holds caravan sites together as communities. Finally, Gypsies and Travellers are said also to have historical preferences for residing at local places and near 'gorjers[7]' with whom their families have had long and close relationships (Smith & Greenfields, 2013: 151).

In addition to all the above mentioned behaviours, there is evidence of Gypsies and Travellers wanting to move away from 'Gypsy' areas to escape the restrictive behavioural norms of the community (ibid., p. 170). It is therefore evident that practices similar to Finnish Roma's customs exist among Gypsies and Travellers, only in a more hidden and less organised form. Whether any of these techniques are used when in contemporary settled housing, has not been studied although Smith and Greenfields (2013) give some indications of Travellers deliberately moving away from other families where 'trouble' or 'bad blood' exist. Data from this doctoral study suggest however, that Gypsies and Travellers are relatively unified communities who wish to live with their own communities away from the rest of the society. Overall animosity towards outside society comes forward as a more present and pressing issue and poor internal community relations are hardly ever mentioned, as internal solidarity in the face of external danger seems to mainly override community tensions (also Okely, 2005: 697).

[7] 'Gorjer' (also 'Gaujo') is a generalised term for non-Gypsies used by Romany Gypsies in the UK. Irish Travellers typically refer to non Gypsy/Travellers as 'country people'.

7.5 THE 'NORMAL' FAMILY

As noted above (Chapter 2), for economic, political, spatial and social reasons, post-industrial modern families are expected to be settled and to participate in the labour market (Foucault, 2003a; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002; Bancroft, 2005). Since the self-sufficient traditional family model has ever since the Enlightenment (and increasingly after Industrialisation) been seen as a threat to populations' well- being and societies' progress (see Chapter 2: 2.2.1), Western governments have tried to decrease the influence of families' and diminish communities' 'backward' customs, practices and ways of life, in order to manage, and have control over their growing and diversifying populations (Turner, 2007). Assimilating institutions, that were (and still are) based on scientific knowledge of rationality and modernisation, were consciously established to transform the model of family life, and since then individualism and the nuclear family model have been perceived of as norms of the Western lifestyle. Indeed the demands of maintaining the nuclear family itself now acts as an assimilating institution, socialising individuals into the standards of 'nine until five' living. (Foucault, 1991; 2007.)

As was discussed earlier, in mainstream normative society individuals are expected to be free from the rules and norms of their specific communities, and will often end up marginalised and segregated if incapable of, or reluctant to, break those ties (Hortulanus & Machielse, 2006). The situation of Gypsies and Travellers in England demonstrates how they wish to be closely connected to their families and communities and avoid interaction with the outside society (see further Chapter 8), and therefore remain segregated. Gypsies and Travellers' preference for the traditional family model and traditional gender roles is present everywhere in the studied data. For example, when in contemporary bricks and mortar housing, women are increasingly domesticated and avoid working outside the home and interacting with other communities in order to spend more time with their families. Although men work outside home, they prefer to work independently (self-employed) and typically shun the idea of 'nine until five' work. Men not only seem to wish to avoid outside working interaction with other communities, but also monitor women's behaviour to ensure cultural compliance. Therefore, a clear aversion towards the modern individualistic lifestyle exists among the (Gypsy) and Traveller communities, an aversion that is clearly decreasing their well-being when they are forced to move into conventional housing in urban London.

Individualism is associated, by the Gypsy and Traveller respondents, with loneliness, seen as something that forces people to be lonely. Respondents discuss how settled people are accustomed to loneliness and therefore not aware of a 'better' way of life. In other words, according to Gypsies and Travellers, settled people have 'normalised' loneliness as a part of their lifestyle. Since individuals are from birth socialised into their countries' 'normal' living (Foucault, 2007: 94; Hancock and Garner, 2011), it is challenging for them to find faults within those norms. Therefore, Gypsies' and Travellers' view of Western individualistic modern life, as an extremely lonely life, is an interesting outside perspective on the life many of us consider 'normal'.

In contrast, Finnish Roma's family model has moved closer to the nuclear family type after being targeted by the State's normalising assimilation policies that eventually directed them to moving into relatively good quality contemporary housing in urban Helsinki. They now prefer, as do most majority Finns, to live only with their children and partners, and slightly further away from their extended families and community.

As a consequence, since Finnish Roma have assimilated into settled living and waged labour, they have started to demand cultural recognition in other areas of life, areas that do not threat the lifestyle of the majority population or the economic progress of the society.

Arguably, societies that encourage multiculturalism will tolerate or even embrace their minorities' cultural differences, as long as they are willing to assimilate into the official education system, labour market and to the majority's living patterns. The moving permit custom can be seen as one of these cultural differences that has been tolerated, in some occasions even assisted by the Finnish government. An explanation, for why it was first supported by some government institutions and officials, is most likely that it helped to retain order and to avoid conflicts both within the Roma community and wider society. In fact, this custom is a tool that enhances 'normalisation' into Finnish society and lifestyle by enabling Finnish Roma to avoid being stereotyped or having to live close to other Roma. It is also a traditional cultural practice which has been modified to suit the modern lifestyle, and which enables Finnish Roma to differentiate themselves from the majority. The reason why this custom has recently been criticised by the government, and is now seen as the most problematic issue inside Finnish Roma community, arguably is its increased visibility and publicity. Now, it seems, the government is feeling obliged to try to get rid of this custom, since it is seen as an illegal, 'deviant' cultural practice at odds with human rights law and mainstream EC guidance which promotes a 'deviant' way of life that can potentially be a threat to the populations 'normal' lifestyle.

Since Gypsies and Travellers see living with their extended families and communities, and working outside the common labour market as the defining features of their culture and lifestyle, their demands for cultural recognition are within these areas. Consequently, the UK government, having moved in policy terms from multiculturalism towards promoting greater community cohesion through greater homogeneity, have not granted specific concessions to Gypsy and Traveller cultural claims. This has created a situation where the Government continues to target Gypsy and Traveller communities with hostile assimilation policies, in order to assimilate them into the majority's lifestyle (specifically in relation to house-dwelling), and therefore constantly driving them into the segregate further as a resistant response.

In the next (and penultimate) Chapter the effects of self-segregation by Gypsies and Travellers and all respondents' attitudes towards relations with wider society, are treated to scrutiny as we begin to frame the discussion on the impacts of self -and externally imposed assimilation.

8 Interaction with society

This Chapter first introduces the degree and nature of interaction Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers have with their neighbours and neighbourhoods before addressing the racism and discrimination to which these communities continue to be exposed.

It is useful to begin with an example that highlights the difference between Finnish Roma's and Gypsies and Travellers' views about living close to their own community members. Interestingly, and unprompted, by using the same argument of not wanting unknowingly to live near to a paedophile, a Finnish Roma and an Irish Traveller respondents give opposite reasons for living among or away from their community members. It is noteworthy that for the Traveller respondent external (non- Traveller) people represent a threat, whilst for the Finnish respondent a Roma may *also* be a dangerous person, a concept which seems inconceivable to the Traveller respondent. Thus in this example, in order to protect his children, this Finnish Roma man does not wish to live near other ('bad') Roma but wants to be able to choose who moves into his neighbourhood, explaining why he wants to have the power to choose who, (from the Roma community), moves into his neighbourhood:

> Well I don't think you would either if you had a family, small children for example, and you knew that there's a paedophile living right there. Would you like to live next door to him, that a paedophile lives next door to you? And your kids are used to being outside by themselves, for example. (**OAM, 45**)

Whilst also emphasising wanting to keep her children safe, this Irish Traveller respondent speaks about the stress of having *strangers* as neighbours whom she cannot trust and with whom she does not want to interact.

> Because you don't know who you are living next door to, it can be paedophiles or anything like that, and it's in my brain. And me coming from a Gypsy – Traveller community we just mixing with Travellers, and just being in a house these last couple of year, you don't know, police don't tell who are paedophiles. They can put them into your neighbourhood. They can be so nice of people and they can be watching your kids and so I prefer not to mix with them. Then I can protect my kids more because you cannot trust, I know everybody is not paedophiles, but I just don't trust [outsiders]. It's just the way I am. I wanna protect my kids and protect myself. For protecting I prefer them not to be mixing with them or get to know them. (**YTF, 30**)

This is yet another example demonstrating the different levels of assimilation between Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers in England. Finnish Romas' trust for outside society is considerable higher than that expressed by Gypsies and Travellers, and since Finnish Roma are a relatively small community, where everyone is said to know everyone and able to use family histories and reputation to find out about each other's backgrounds, mistrust is more easily directed towards their own community members who are known to have a 'bad' reputation. As such, Finnish Roma are able, with the help of the moving permit custom, to keep mistrusted and unwanted community members away from their neighbourhoods. This power is therefore a significant tool to improve their housing - related well-being and sense of safety. In contrast, since Gypsies and Travellers usually prefer to live next to members of their own community, and have high levels of distrust towards other people and communities, they often are forced to live in situations that arguably decrease their well-being in housing as they have no power of control over who are their neighbours.

8.1 GYPSIES AND TRAVELLERS: "STICK TO YOURSELF AND LET THEM TO STICK TO THEMSELVES"

As was illustrated in Chapter 5, protecting their children was one of the biggest concerns for Gypsies and Travellers living in settled housing. Respondents mentioned having hidden their ethnicity to protect their children from racism and bullying (further discussed in Chapter 8: 8.5.1), as well as not allowing their children to interact with other children outside school settings in order to protect them from pernicious influences and, (as we saw from the quote above), bad and dangerous people. In the following quote a Traveller woman explains how she will not allow her children have contact with other non Gypsy/Traveller children outside of school hours:

> Ooh different people living there, yeah. All them goes to school with my kids, they do. They say hello to me if they see me outside the school, they put their hands up and wave to me. They seem to be very friendly people. And my kids plays with them at the school, but when I pick up my kids and they pick up their kids that's it there. They live around my neighbourhood but I don't let my kids mix with them because I don't know if they would let their kids mix with mine, but I just don't let my kids out of my house unless I'm taking them out to their grandma's, cos I'm protecting them. And then they are not seeing one another until at school again. They're allowed to play while in school. (**YTF, 30**)

Most Gypsies and Travellers acknowledge that staying segregated from the rest of the society is becoming increasingly difficult, especially with more children going to mainstream schools for longer periods of time. However, this is not considered by all to be a purely negative thing and some respondents were glad children were breaking barriers and reaching the outside world.

R: Do you think its gonna change with the younger kids now? To make them mix more?
I: Yeah I can see it now. I say give it another five year and we are gonna be all classed, we are all gonna be one. Like I know that we are like all humans now and, but still its ..
R: Do you think there's a danger that you are losing your culture?
I: Yes, because I'm older now like ... Go back 10 year ago and we wouldn't even speak to an outsider, like wouldn't do anything, talk to them nothing. But now, over the kids stance to go to the schools longer, all my nieces and nephews come back and talk about their friends or that "can we go over to our friend's houses" and all like that.
R: Do you think it's a good thing or?
I: Yeah I do think it's a good thing. (**YTF, 21**)

Besides limiting their children's ability to interact with other communities and people in order to protect them, the whole issue of engaging with other communities in their neighbourhoods generated much discussion among the respondents. Most stressed that they would like to live within their own community and do **not** wish to have closer relationships with their settled neighbours. Not surprisingly, the more educated and 'assimilated' Gypsies were happiest living among other communities and people. Of the remaining interviewees only three, an older Traveller man and two younger Traveller women, liked to live among more diverse communities and interact more with their neighbours.

When asked whether they preferred to live close to their own family, only three Traveller men indicated that they do not want to live too close to their families:

R: Why do you think it's important to live near family?
I: Well us Travellers all over, there's over 200 hundred caravans on the site. You are on top of one another. No, I don't want to be really close but maybe a mile or two mile apart. So what's best? That's the best, you don't want them on your own street, you just have them mile or one and a half mile away. You don't want them to be one and half feet [right] and one on the left (laugh). (**OTM, 47**)

R: What about family, would you have them close or?
I: Yeah I prefer them close yeah. R: In the same big building?
I: Well maybe not that close, I don't want them too close, but in the same area, local close yeah. (**YTM, 30**)

R: Ok. What about if they [family] are in the same building? Would that be good? I: I wouldn't like this.
R: No? Why not?
I: Because it's too close. You need your privacy. (**YTM, 27**)

As was shown in the previous Chapter (7: 7.1), moving into settled housing affects Gypsy and Traveller women more than it affects men, most com-

monly because it was indicated that men spend more time outside the home looking for work and working. This may be the most relevant reason why the men quoted above do not feel the need to live too close to their families.

However, living close to other Travellers enables the respondents to preserve their distinct culture and traditions better. Travellers' morals were universally seen as higher than the moral practises of settled people, and hence, other than work-related contact with outsiders, were considered undesirable or in fact impossible because of simple practical differences in lifestyle. Perceiving of 'outside' society and communities as different and lower in moral worth, therefore works as an efficient tool in building and sustaining mono-ethnic communities (Smith & Greenfields, 2013: 117). If there is a strong perception within an in-group that an out-group constitutes a threat to an in-group's interests and survival, fear and hostility will be associated with that out-group (Pettigrew, 1998), and hence contact with them will be avoided (Brambilla, 2013). Particularly disadvantaged subordinate groups, such as the Gypsies and Travellers in England, identify strongly with their own in-group, and express prejudice towards the dominant out-group, as well as demonstrate suspicion when interacting with it (Pettigrew, 1998). Since the natures of possible inter-group interactions are often determined by prior experiences and attitudes between different group members (ibid.), it is not surprising that most Gypsy and Traveller respondents wished to avoid contact with the majority who for the most part have been (and continue to be) hostile, discriminatory and racist towards them.

Respondents articulated the difference between themselves and settled people on numerous occasions and in varying contexts. For example, a younger Traveller woman felt that she cannot talk with her settled neighbours because she does not know what to say to them. She felt they have nothing in common and hence did not even want to visit them, even if they were nice people.

> I: Why is it important to have your family? Well because … we don't mix with anybody else, we don't speak to anybody else. I don't know. When my neighbours, I live, where I live in a house, my neighbours go into each other's houses for tea, for coffee in the mornings and that. They go to the gym together and I've seen. I've been in my house for twelve year and the lady next door has just moved in about six months ago, and she's already been in my next door neighbours house when I haven't been there.
> R: Aah really?
> I: Yeah. See I wouldn't go in there cos I would, I wouldn't know what to say to her. I have nothing in common.
> R: So you don't want to or are you afraid to, or?
> I: No it's not, it's not that I'm afraid to or I don't want to, I say hello to her she's a nice lady. But I feel like if I go in there I don't know what to speak to her about. I can't – if I go into an Irish Traveller person's house I can take off my shoes and open the fridge and do whatever I feel like cos I feel like I'm home. I wouldn't know what to say to her. (**YTF, 21**)

There also is a sentiment among some interviewees that settled people would not *want* to interact with Travellers even if they themselves would be willing to spend time with non-Travellers. In fact, previous studies indicate that group members often justify their avoidance of inter-group interaction by adducing their belief of out-group members not wanting to have good relations with them. Out- group members are widely believed to be prejudiced and misunderstanding of their lives. (Bourhis et al., 2009.) Some studies even argue that significant amount of negative attitudes towards inter-group interaction is the result of concerns that the interaction will go badly (e.g. Butz et al., 2011). Interaction between minority and majority members are thus described as full of misperceptions, distrust, confusion and awkward moments that derive from differing expectations and prejudices the parties have about each other (Shelton et al., 2009).

Traveller women's cultural practices of getting married and having children at an early age were seen by some interviewees as decreasing those women's chances of a longer and happier life. On the other hand, some women saw it as their only way out from the overly restrictive protection of their birth family. In fact, tight family networks can also be stressful for its members, especially if interaction with other social groups and communities is minimal or non-existing. Tight and excluding networks can impose excessive obligations and responsibilities that may decrease the well-being of its members. (Ferlander, 2007; Smith & Greenfields, 2013.) Although none of the respondents mentioned wanting to live some distance from other Gypsies and Travellers to avoid conflicts and grievances, there is recorded evidence of this kind of behaviour in these communities (Smith & Greenfields, 2013: 170).

It has been argued that the most important part of individuals' overall social capital are the networks outside of their family because these potentially help to gain access to employment, housing and important information, and therefore can increase individuals' social-economic mobility. Access to these external networks can therefore be seen as essential when assimilating into a society. (Portes, 1998.) Although homophily or "to prefer friends from the same group" (Rostila, 2008: 69-70) is said to be health-enhancing for people, and thus to increase their well-being (Portes, 1998), studies among migrants in Sweden concluded that closed networks can inadvertently maintain unhealthy socioeconomic conditions and norms that are harmful to individuals' well-being and assimilation (Rostila, 2008). On the other hand, if there are negative effects from living in tight and exclusive community networks, there are also negative effects when these networks break down. For example, the destruction of traditional control mechanisms has contributed to a rise in criminality and drug abuse among young Gypsies and Travellers (Cemlyn et al., 2009; Ryder & Greenfields, 2010).

When scrutinising the length of time in housing against attitudes towards interacting with outside society and settled neighbours, those Gypsies and Travellers who have lived in housing for less than five years all wanted to avoid interacting with their neighbours, to protect their children from the outside world, and did

not trust anyone outside of their own community. They commonly felt that they have nothing in common with settled people and for that reason thought it would be impossible to interact with them. Among those who have lived in settled housing from between five years and the whole of their lives, there were 14 (out of 21) respondents, (including those who were 'more assimilated'), who did not completely dismiss the possibility of social interactions with their settled neighbours. There are no significant differences between those who had been in housing for five, ten, fifteen or twenty years, or all their lives in terms of attitudes towards contact with non- Gypsy/Traveller neighbours. Amongst these groups there were those who acknowledged interaction is necessary if Gypsies and Travellers are to survive and succeed (7/28); those who highlighted the important role of children in breaking the barriers between their community and the settled society (5/28); and five respondents who simply enjoyed interacting with members of other communities (the three 'more assimilated' respondents, and a younger Traveller woman and an older Traveller man). Strikingly, of those respondents who had lived in housing all their lives (excluding the three 'more assimilated' respondents), all but one (3/4) did not wish to interact with 'outsiders'.

Avoiding racism seems to be the major reason why Gypsies and Travellers prefer to avoid contact with the settled society. While Finnish Roma wish to maintain good relationship with their neighbours by 'living well' and 'normally', Gypsies and Travellers consistently talk about avoiding conflicts with neighbours through "sticking to yourself and letting them to stick to themselves". In both cases the wish is to live peacefully without conflict, although the means of seeking to achieve this are almost the opposite.

> R: So neighbours won't be the reason for you to move?
> I: No not really, I have had places when the kids were younger where I've had racist remarks and things and that. And … it hasn't got that bad that I'd move. I know it has for some people, it has for some people but, I think that's why Travellers keep themselves to themselves and they don't wanna get involved. Or they don't wanna let their kids to get involved with settled kids because they know they're probably going to get racist remarks and bullied yeah. (**OTF, 49**)

In contrast, Finnish Roma explicitly want to be acknowledged as members of the wider society and to avoid racism and discrimination, and they pursue this goal by adopting significant parts of the majority's lifestyle. There is little doubt that Gypsies and Travellers would also like to be acknowledged as equal members of the English society and to avoid racism and discrimination, but since they have not embraced the majority's lifestyle, but prefer to preserve their own, even when in settled housing, it seems that the only way to avoid racism is to keep a low profile by avoiding contact with neighbours, and by hiding their ethnicity (8.5.1).

8.1.1 Gendered expectations

As established above (and discussed in more detail in Chapter 9: 9.2.1), there is a perceivable in-group pressure to avoid (other than self-employment work-related) interaction with the settled society among Gypsy and Traveller communities. Experience of working with Gypsies and Travellers for many years as well as collected research data has led Greenfields (2013: 119) to argue that women in these communities are often considered as guardians of their culture and therefore responsible for the appropriate socialising of young people. When moving into settled housing, away from the immediate support of their family and friends, many women are reported to feel guilt and shame if they fail to prevent their children from interacting with outsiders (ibid.). The pressure that women face in settled housing emerges also from the data gathered in this thesis. It was felt among the Traveller women that they would be judged or ridiculed by their own community if they spent time with people from other communities or took on a 'settled job'. Furthermore, since women's honour is so carefully protected, some of the younger women feel they were trapped in their own houses without the possibility of going out and interacting with other young people.

> If I go into, I have a non-travelling friend that I know. Like I know she's – I go to the gym with her and swim with her and things. But I'm not really, like I don't mix with her a lot because I'm afraid, not afraid but the other Travellers will judge you if you mix with non-Travellers. (**YTF, 21**)

> I: Umm there's a lot, the community, the Travelling community will only work within their own community. Like they wouldn't go to Tesco's or McDonalds or jobs like that. If they wanted to do any kind of work, the women especially, they'd, it would have to be within their own community.
> R: So you have to make your own work, job?
> I: Yeah 'cause there's a lot of Traveller women who wouldn't be allowed to work. The man is the breadwinner and they look after the kids. (**OTF, 49**)

> We don't, to be honest really go out. If we don't go out within our own community, like the shopping or go out to our aunt's house. We don't, when we are in home we don't go out of our house, kind of thing. When I look over and I see girls my age standing across the road or sitting in cars, speaking and going into their friend's houses across the road, but I wouldn't do that. I don't believe in that. (**YTF, 21**)

It has been argued by feminist scholars that power relations within home environments can be revealed by studying women's personal life experiences (e.g. Sawicki, 1998). Therefore, it can be established that gender roles within housed Gypsy and Traveller families in England demonstrate that these communities are still strongly predicated on the mechanics of patriarchal power, where women's role is to take care of the home and the children, and men's to work outside home and to provide for the family. Moving into contemporary housing has strength-

ened the patriarchal power within Gypsy and Traveller families by making women's roles increasingly domestic (e.g. Okely, 1983: 203; Smith & Greenfields, 2013: 178) with never ending household chores. Women are rarely allowed to work in or interact with the outside society in order to protect their families' honour (see 4.3.2).

Foucault's theorisation about power relations (power without subject) (e.g. Foucault, 1975; King, 2004) has supported feminist theories which view men and women as gendered behaviour constructed by historical, social and economic events, rather than only as biological sexes mainly structured by their genes. This has helped, for example, to uncover how norms and patriarchal ideals are often based on men's physical capacities, constructing women and their bodies, as inferior (Jaggar, 1983; Butler, 1987; King, 2004). For example, Finnish Roma's cultural rules and norms that especially define the female body as impure and polluting can therefore be seen as using biological differences between the sexes as a justification to legitimize and naturalize gender inequality. Similarly, placing family honour on female (sexual) behaviour, as it is located within both Finnish Roma and Gypsy and Traveller communities, is to legitimize the constructed assumption of women being the more sexual (and emotional) gender compared to men who are by nature seen as more rational and controlled.

Although the post-industrial style of living might be the cause of numerous problems such as loneliness and work-related stress or the pressures of having the 'perfect body' (Bartky, 1988; King, 2004) for example, only a few can deny the improvements women have experienced in general, compared i.e. to the time of Enlightenment when women's possibilities were limited in all areas of life. The data for this thesis illustrates that many of these improvements, such as sexual and work- related liberation (e.g. Sawicki, 1987), have not yet actualised within Gypsy and Traveller culture (and only partly for Finnish Roma women), where women's roles and future are still predominantly defined by their biological gender.

8.2 FINNISH ROMA AVOIDING OWN COMMUNITY

In stark contrast to Gypsies and Travellers in London, in Helsinki, when asked about their relationships with neighbours and their willingness to live close to other Finnish Roma, all respondents mentioned the importance of having a good relationship with one's neighbours, and their preference to live further away from other Finnish Roma. As was established when discussing the moving permit custom (7.4), there are several reasons why it is not considered preferable to live close to other Finnish Roma. Despite this, some respondents indicated that they would not mind having Finnish Roma neighbours, if they are 'normal' people who know how to behave.

R: Ok, so you would prefer to have [Finnish Roma neighbours]?

I: Well it would be nice to have one or two families. They would have to be peaceful though, yeah and those kind of people who would also go to work (laughs). (**OAF, 40**)

R: Would you like more [Finnish Roma] here in this yard for example?
I: Hmm it depends, it depends from the people. Like if they were that kind of peaceful and normal people who know how to behave, then it would be fine. But I don't want any troublemakers here … I would get in trouble as well and my quality of life would suffer, and good relationships with neighbours would diminish. (**OAF, 42**)

The themes of 'living well' and 'a normal life', as well as explicit negative judgment of those who fail to do so (see further Chapter 9: 9.2.1), can be found in most Group A and some older Group B Roma's answers, when asked about their attitudes towards living near other Roma. Some respondents openly talked about having prejudices towards their own community and some Roma's style of living. This next (older Group A) man explains how he has realised it is better for him personally to be able to 'get along' in his surroundings and to avoid conflict with the majority. He admits being prejudiced towards other Finnish Roma families whose lifestyle might cause conflicts in his neighbourhood.

I: ... like usually when a Roma family has lived in a same house for a long time, they are liked. R: Yeah, yeah.
I: Not always, but most of the times. So like Gypsy [mustalainen]1 has kind of understood the importance of that connection, the meaning of that connection. And the importance that it is nice to get along, and that it's nice to make your own life better. Like that I'm not in conflict with my neighbourhood. But especially if strange Gypsies are moving, I always have a feeling of "who are they?" Then I'm always conducting a genealogy of their kin and also: "are they going to be noisy?", "do they sing karaoke?" So that, I've found myself to have prejudices as well. (**OAM, 45**)

This same respondent explained how he, when searching for a new place to live, went through all the apartment blocks in the area to see if any other Finnish Roma lived there. He did this by checking family names on staircases[8], and curtains on windows. Finnish Roma's family names are relatively well recognised, as are traditional styles of curtains used by numerous Roma (see the discussion on household furnishing Chapter 6: 6.6).

I: So like when I went there to see it, I always went through all the staircases and all near areas and houses. R: Family names?
I: Yes, I glanced through all the family names there, like there are 60-70 Finnish Roma family names altogether. And then I checked curtains from windows. (**OAM, 45**)

This example clearly indicates not only how there are obviously external recognisable cultural markers within homes, visible to anyone who knows or who is a member of the community, but also how well some members of Finnish Roma

[8] In Finland, it is the custom to have one's family name written on the door, and for residents of building block apartments, also displayed in the hallway of that building together with all the names of people living there.

community have adopted the lifestyle of the Finnish majority, to the extent that the assimilation process has proceeded to a degree where Finnish Roma find themselves being prejudiced towards their own community. Furthermore, interviewees clearly felt there are different groups inside the Roma community, and that specific groups judge other groups' way of life. The majority of the respondents mentioned at least once while being interviewed, how they personally suffer from society's way of treating Finnish Roma as one homogenous group who will defend each other in any possible situation. In fact, correcting this generalisation appears to be what most respondents wished for as an outcome of this research.

According to this next (Group A) woman, there are three different Finnish Roma groups in Finland; those who are doing well and living a 'normal' life by going to work or school; those who are also 'good' people but still hung up in old traditions which may be holding back their assimilation and opportunities to succeed, and finally those who are more marginalised and often involved in criminal activity.

> I: Let me say this way, that our Roma, in Finland at least, or especially in Finland, they are divided into sort of like three different groups.
> R: Ok.
> I: Like there are those who are doing well in society, who want to study, and to be involved in working life, and participate in society and all this. So, to live a normal life. And then there's those who, who have somehow got stuck. They are normal people, honest people. But they don't, they don't know how to get going, and they don't kind of know how to educate themselves and all that, to get out from home. So there are those families. And then their finances are like, their financial situation is quite bad. And then there are the marginalised. Who are involved in all this underworld stuff and live criminal lives. Those are them, like they are their own group. And at the same time they harm all of our lives because we are being generalised! (**OAF, 58**)

Previous studies suggest that judging one's own in-group members is associated with seeing these members' actions as threats to the group's image and morality (Brambilla, 2013). This 'image threat' can be seen as a possible explanation for why Finnish Roma judge and categorise other Finnish Roma whose lifestyle and life choices they perceive of as publically endangering the whole community's reputation.

Respondents from Group B (who would be classified in the above quotation as 'stuck' or 'marginalised') also mentioned differences between Finnish Roma. In this next quote an interviewee talks about how the communality has weakened, mentioning 'metro-station Gypsies', as the lowest 'caste' of the Finnish Roma community.

> I: Here we have the metro-station Gypsies separately, who are a bit of lower caste, those who just hang out here all day.
> R: Yeah I've noticed some people are quite intoxicated.
> I: Yeah yeah. And then you see some mums with families, who are a bit more normal.

> And they try to keep away from them [metro-station Gypsies]. You have this kind of mixed lot here you know. (**YBF, 34**)

To roughly categorise, Group B Roma consist of the 'metro-station Gypsies' and the 'bit more normal' families, or according to the first quote, the marginalised and the traditional Roma. Group A Roma on the other hand are those who are living 'a normal life' and 'doing well' in the society. As with any other category, these crude generalisations can only be seen as a guideline or a tool in helping to analyse data. In this study the purpose of defining Groups A and B is to highlight the different position and starting points of Finnish Roma families, and to demonstrate how (recognition) policies, often influenced by Group A Roma, might be covertly decreasing the well-being of socio- economically less well-off Group B Roma. In fact, as Viljanen (2012: 392) points out, although there are some hierarchical structures inside the Roma community, between different families, it would be a mistake to interpret it as elite – lower class –dichotomy. Instead hierarchy is mainly based on 'honour' which is sustained by good manners, respectful living and obeying cultural cleanliness codes. To these one could also add family reputation and history.

As indicated above, the theme of trust was important in considering levels of assimilation in local areas. There was a marked contrast between positive attitudes towards non-Roma neighbours expressed by Finnish respondents when compared with English Travellers. In fact, Finnish Roma argue about the importance of neighbours in providing safety, as the next quote demonstrates:

> I: Yes because it creates that safety, for example, outside in a suburb kids or parents can let their kids out because they know that they [neighbours] will keep an eye on them. So like that safety that you don't have to think that when your kid disappears from here and you go ask where, that they just say "well he never even was here" or things like that. So that it is kind of normal.
>
> R: That your neighbour looks after your kids?
>
> I: Yes, and also sees if there's some strange people in the area, so like keeps track and follows. It creates a certain kind of safety. (**OAM, 42**)

In relation to Finnish Romas' high trust for their non-Roma neighbours, Gypsies' and Travellers' argument of not trusting and therefore avoiding their settled neighbours is the outright opposite, as shown by the quote below where a Traveller woman explains the impossibility of her having good relations with the majority.

> It'd have to be like mixing with them three or four days a week for ten or twenty year, that is the only way. If they don't take that step and do it I ain't doing it! 'Cos the way I am to protect my kids, cos I don't trust a lot of people. (**YTF, 30**)

Trust requires appropriate circumstances to develop, and when dealing with communities at risk of marginalisation often has to be earned, thus the next section discusses racism and discrimination that affects the relationship

Roma, Gypsies' and Travellers' have with/in their respective societies, introducing English (London based) Gypsies' and Travellers' and Finnish Roma in Helsinki's experiences of everyday racism and discrimination in their home neighbourhoods and at work.

8.3 GYPSIES AND TRAVELLERS, AVOIDING RACISM AND BEING DISCRIMINATED AGAINST

Eight (8/28) of the interviewed Gypsies and Travellers stated that they had experienced racism from their neighbours and in their neighbourhood. They are all women, (four younger and two older Travellers, and one younger and one older Gypsy). Since three of them have lived in housing for less than three years and the rest for 8, 10 or 20 years/all their lives, there is no connection between the time lived in housing and experience of racism. Those three women who have lived in housing less than three years also express higher distrust towards the outside society and missed their own community most acutely, whereas the five women who had been in housing for longer indicated that they would all want to have 'nice' settled neighbours with whom they could interact slightly more, but stated that they had not been able to do this because of experiencing racism. Since not all respondents who had lived in settled housing for less than three years (3/5), or who would like to interact slightly more with their neighbours (3/6), had experiences of racism, no clear generalisations can be made in relation to duration of residence, perceptions or experiences of racism and strength of desire for closer relations with settled neighbours. Therefore it seems likely that individual personalities and behaviours (also Pettigrew, 1998) as well as settled neighbours' own fixed attitudes towards Gypsies and Travellers are the most significant factors when predicting whether racism will or will not occur when someone has moved into settled housing.

Traveller and Gypsy women specified the forms of racism they had experienced in their neighbourhoods as being 'looked down on' and 'stared at' in pubs and restaurants (which could potentially be subjective perceptions of prejudice triggered by anxiety: see further 8.1), and by being followed by staff in shops. Several respondents, both women and men have experienced racism from private landlords and housing agencies when seeking accommodation, and men indicated experiencing prejudice from employers when applying for work. These findings support existing evidence that it is extremely rare for Gypsies and Travellers to find private rental apartments or 'settled jobs', without hiding their ethnicity (also Ryder and Greenfields, 2010). This demonstrates how racism against Gypsies and Travellers in the wider civil society is not only based on their travelling lifestyle (culture as choice), but rather is predicated on them being Gypsies and Travellers (culture as nature) (e.g. Ni Shuinear, 1997; Clark and Greenfields, 2006; Smith and Greenfields, 2013: 135). It may be argued that even when the members of Gypsy and Traveller communities, for any reason, end up moving into settled accommo-

dation, the stigma of their past differing lifestyle follows them and is externalised as anti-Gypsyism by wider society.

In two cases within this primary data set, racism had been particularly serious. In the first quote a younger Traveller woman explained how neighbours tried to get her family evicted when they first moved in the area:

> R: Has there been any racism or bullying or?
> I: No, after we moved in first they did like get an eviction team to get us out. R: Really?
> I: Yeah cos there's a neighbourhood watch and like they don't like, I think they [tried to] get us out all the neighbours.
> R: What did they do then?
> I: There was like a list, a letter going around door to door to try to evict us out of it. R: Really? What happened?
> I: Some, some people wouldn't do it [sign], some people did do it, and we were told about it. So my mum got very upset and she phoned up the council, she told the council. She said they like, she said I haven't done none to them and all that but it was just over [us] being Travellers. But now they [neighbours] kinda have got used to us so. (**YTF, 19**)

In accordance with numerous other interviewees, this respondent thinks her settled neighbours adjusted to her and her family after a while and accepted them as individuals rather than representatives of a distrusted and hated ethnic group. The fact that organised discrimination initiatives are still being undertaken (contrary to law) against ethnic minorities in 21st century Britain, enhances the argument that racism against Gypsies and Travellers is the last tolerated form of racism in Britain (Bhobal & Myers, 2008). In the next quote an older Traveller woman describes what her and her family have had to go through while living in their settled house:

> In the area I'm in. My son was alone and was slashed with a key he was only 13-14. And a lots of things happened you know, we were getting, stones were thrown at us. There was people standing in crowds outside in the nights, saying awful things. You know it nearly threw me husband mental, you know it has done a lot of damage to him as well in the line of not trusting anybody. (**OTF, 54**)

Later in the interview this respondent stated that after living for 20 years in the same house racism had reduced to one third of the amount it used to be at the beginning of their tenancy but had still not totally ceased. She believes her family were targeted because she was given a council house that numerous settled families were waiting to get. This situation escalated to a point where her husband as well as two of her children tried to take their own lives. These extremely severe cases of racism against housed Gypsies and Travellers are relatively rare mainly because members of these communities will not often disclose their ethnicity to their neighbours (see further Chapter 8: 8.5.1) preferring to 'pass' as something else. As the interviewed woman stated, trusting anyone outside the travelling

community is difficult when incidents like this still occur, and therefore Gypsy and Traveller communities are more likely to stay segregated.

Interviewed men seemed to either: experience less racism than women, were more oblivious to it, or did not talk or care about it as much as the women. A younger Traveller man said that their neighbours used to pelt his family's house with eggs when they first moved in, whereas an older Traveller male admitted that he has started to adopt settled ways to avoid racism. By adopting settled lifestyle this respondent meant having only one or two visitors at a time, parking his car only in front of his own house rather than anywhere a space exists, and generally living quietly without disturbing his neighbours. Besides him, only one other respondent, a younger Traveller woman, discussed having consciously adapted her lifestyle to avoid trouble with neighbours. She also mentioned use of parking spaces as the main way of avoiding conflicts with neighbours. In comparison, as was illustrated above in Chapter 6 (6.3), all Finnish Roma stressed that they had adopted majority Finnish lifestyle practices and now wished, or are pressured by their community, to 'live well' in order to avoid conflicts with and gain trust from their settled neighbours. Again, this can be seen as a clear sign of the higher level of assimilation of Finnish Roma and degree of intra-community pressure experienced when compared with English respondents.

Altogether sixteen of the respondents in London indicated that they had not experienced racism from their neighbours or in their area, this may have been because they had either hidden their ethnicity or had lived in the area for a substantially long time and were known to their neighbours. Albeit only eight (8/28) interviewees report having experienced racism, most mention that they still did not have close relationships with their neighbours. Although this is largely due to respondents' unwillingness to interact with settled people, neighbours were also thought to avoid contact with them because of their differing lifestyle. Big families and 'being loud' together with deviant time schedules were mentioned as visible cultural distinctions that settled neighbours may find strange.

According to respondents, every Gypsy and Traveller child suffers from racism at school, either from other pupils or from teachers, or both. The next quote gives an example of what Gypsy and Traveller children are stated to have to go through when in school:

> Considering that teachers think that Traveller don't wanna go to school and they don't wanna learn. Like when I put my hand up, a teacher called me dyslexic before and I wasn't. I know I can read and write perfectly, and I put my hand up and they just ignore me like. And then the teach[er] said one day to me when I asked 'why do you ignore me'? "Well you don't wanna learn! You wanna be married at 16." (**YTF, 19**)

Being stereotyped by her teacher, made this respondent react by wanting to give up official education, even though she stated that if more supported she would have liked to continue her schooling. Gypsy and Traveller children in the UK, as well as Roma in other parts of Europe suffer from

both institutional and direct discrimination. Racial stereotypes of Gypsy, Traveller and Roma children portray them as being lazy, and with low educational expectations. There is a widespread assumption that girls will get married, become pregnant and quit school at early age, and families are not thought be supportive of school work (Fargas, 2007). Research has shown that being associated with a devalued social group, characterised, for example, by poor academic achievement, often weakens individuals' performance. This phenomenon is called 'a stereotype threat', whereby an individual's ability to perform is disrupted by an inner fear that s/he might unwittingly reinforce that stereotype, or will be treated according to that stereotype (Good et al., 2007).

Not only children were reported as being stereotyped by mainstream society, in fact seven interviewees talked about their frustration at being labelled as 'all the same' by the outside world. As with many other minorities, Gypsies and Travellers share a 'joint liability' with everyone in their community and therefore are usually judged by whole community's actions (e.g. Bancroft, 2005: 50). In the following quote a younger Gypsy woman expressed her feelings about a racist Job Centre employee she had encountered previously:

> But do you know what I wanted to say to her: "But you are black, what's the difference like?" You are different I am different, what's the difference? There is no difference in us. If you cut me I'm still gonna bleed the same as you. I am not different, I'm human. I am not an alien from the space. Just because I speak a few different words, and believe in few different things, it don't make me a bad person, which is the truth. It's like, - don't get me wrong there is good and bad in everyone, and there is bad Gypsy people, and you know that, as well as there is good. But what I could have said to her, is "are you a drug dealer?" you know? "Are you a drug dealer? Is your husband a drug dealer? Are you a prostitute?" "[negative stereotypes of Black people]" is what I could have said to her. You know? (**YGF, 23**)

This respondent was angry about how it is apparently seen as acceptable to label all Gypsies as bad, when it is not socially permissible to do so with other minority groups. The above quote might be taken as an indication of this respondent's own racist opinions towards black people, but it is also a clear example of cultural, institutional racism within the Job Centre, and a valid argument that questions the tolerant reputation of England and the English towards different ethnic groups and demonstrates how even minority communities might take on negative stereotypes of Travellers and Gypsies. The frustration of being stereotyped can also be detected in the next quote where a younger Traveller woman explains how she would like people to understand that most Travellers are "good" people.

> It's just being a Traveller, it just they just don't like us basically. They don't, I don't understand why. … basically you get like half of our community, Travellers, are bad. … Then you got the other half, you got most of us are actually quite good. You get that

one per cent or two per cent, the Travellers that are really bad, and they go out robbing and beating people up and stuff. But what they [mainstream society] don't understand, they can't paint all of us with the same brush. (**YTF, 19**)

When asked if they have been actively *discriminated* against in councils' housing services, nine (9/28) respondents say they have, whereas 13 (13/28) say they have not. The remaining six interviewees either ignored the question, or in case of 'more assimilated' individuals, stated that they did not feel the question was relevant. These results are in accordance with previous research which indicated that around one third of Gypsies and Travellers reported experiencing discrimination within official services (London Boroughs' Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Needs Assessment, 2008: 6).

8.4 FINNISH ROMA PREVENTING RACISM AND FRUSTRATED BY DISCRIMINATION

Although the situation of Finnish Roma is, in many respects, better than Gypsies' and Travellers', they are still faced with same (often serious) forms of racism from their neighbours. In the following quote an older Group B Roma woman explains how her daughter was evicted from her apartment by her neighbours.

I: Just because she's a Gypsy [mustalainen][1]. And on top of that they were making up lies about her, they broke the windscreen wipers of her car, pierced her tyres. They told the local authorities that my girl was drunk driving. They called the police but obviously they didn't have any evidence against her. The police said to my daughter that it was a false denunciation. But they thought it was right to evict her.
R: Is this an isolated incident, has anything like this happened before? Is there a lot of prejudice? I: Yes, mmm.
R: And is it mainly from neighbours and the neighbourhood or also from officials?
I: It's also from the officials. Like you can have a nice and smart Roma person, almost 90% of Roma are clean. And then some drunk or a junkie [neighbour] can decide that this Roma cannot live there. (**OBF, 55**)

In terms of frequency of experiencing racism, discrimination or prejudice in housing and employment, or from neighbours, younger Group A Roma women and men seem to be the most fortunate, or the least aware of prejudice. Amongst both groups (YAF and YAM) no one feels they have experienced racism or prejudice from their neighbours although two respondents indicated that they have been discriminated against when looking for housing, and four when in employment. In comparison, in all other groups (older Group A and Group B Roma) **everyone** had experienced discrimination and prejudice in housing and employment, and all but three respondents

from their neighbours, indicative of class and age related domains of discrimination. One possible explanation for why younger Group A respondents seem to experience less racism, is that they might be considered as the 'most assimilated' individuals in the Finnish Roma community. Arguably, younger minority group members are closer to the majority's lifestyle and have learnt better to balance their lives between two different traditions and cultural practices. In this study, Group A respondents were generally better off socio-economically as well as coming from more privileged families within the Roma community, which therefore gives them a higher chance of, for example, gaining housing in 'better' areas where residents might not be as hostile towards members of minority communities (see below).

The type of racism, prejudice and discrimination experienced by respondents does not seem to vary between the different groups of Roma. When asked about racism from their neighbours and within their neighbourhood, incidents were usually referred to as prejudice against or 'labelling' of Finnish Roma, and not as racism per se. As was illustrated in Chapters 6 (6.3) and 8 (8.2), good relations with neighbours were achieved with hard and persistent work that was sometimes built up over years. Before gaining the trust of their neighbours and the neighbourhood however, Finnish Roma reported that they were subjected to constant labelling and suspicion by their majority neighbours.

As has been discussed above, most Roma had eventually managed to establish good relationships with their neighbours. In fact, there were indications of Finnish Roma uniting with their majority Finn neighbours against other minorities who fail to live according to common rules and norms, utilising the 'moving permit' custom to ensure compliance with a socially accepted 'norm' of mainstream behaviour.

The next quote is a part of an older Group B woman's narrative of the 'otherness' of her Somali neighbours whom she suggested were urinating in hallways and lifts, leading to her and her majority Finn neighbours making an official complaint about the issue. Interestingly, she refers to the differing ways of her Somali neighbours as 'their own' culture, implying that their 'ways' were unassimilated and inferior to both mainstream Finnish and Roma practices.

> R: What for [Somali's urinate on hallways and lifts] (laughs)?
>
> S: I don't know. We have complained several times with the Finnish women about it. It's unbelievable, hoggish!
>
> J: Yeah? You don't think they care or? S: Well ...
>
> J: Or do you think that they don't know to pee in the toilet?
>
> S: Yes, yes! And then there's 9 or 7 year old girls in the laundry room who pour washing powder straight inside the machine from these 2 litre boxes. And then they put rocks inside the machine to make their laundry cleaner.
>
> J: Ok, inside the machine? S: Yes!
>
> R: Rocks?
>
> I: Yeah. See, that's 'their own' culture. (**OBF, 55**)

Given the fact that Finnish Roma are very strict about their cleanliness morals and rules, and expect outside society to understand and respect their differing practices, this lack of understanding towards other minority's culture can be seen as contradictory. On the other hand, ethnic minorities may oppose one another and fail to recognise or refuse to see the similarities between discrimination faced by them and their own discrimination against other communities (e.g. Shapiro and Neuberg, 2008). Finnish Roma clearly do not want to be placed in the same category with immigrants, and often reminded the interviewer how they, as a national minority, have lived in Finland for over 500 years. There is a common feeling that immigrants in Finland were often treated better than Finnish Roma (a finding also noted by some researchers in relation to English Gypsies and Travellers, see Smith and Greenfields, 2013), and this caused resentment in some respondents.

> R: Why do you think that there still is discrimination against Finnish Roma?
> I: You know it's actually hard for me to say, otherwise I would be guessing. I don't know. Like then I have the feeling that all other minorities that come to Finland, that they get accepted faster than Finnish Roma. (**OBF, 66**)

Somali immigrants were mentioned separately by three older women respondents (one Group A and two Group B) as causing 'problems' in their neighbourhoods. Somali immigrants and/or refugees have been also targeted by the Finnish media and right-wing politicians as problem communities whose lifestyle and values are contrary to the so called 'Finnish values' and 'lifestyle'. Finnish Roma are arguably as influenced by this discourse as are any other Finns, and therefore discriminatory views against Somali immigrants cannot be seen as something unique within the Finnish Roma community.

Different ethnic groups living within the same regions have been noted as being in competition over scarce resources (Cunningham & Weidman, 2010), and this was also mentioned by an interviewee when talking about the racism Finnish Roma encounter.

> Usually those who are against us moving into their area are themselves from the lower classes of society. They imagine that everyone is using their share of benefits … and they think that Gypsies don't work and all that. (**OAF, 40**)

On the other hand, Finnish Roma' strong wish to 'live well', according to majority norms, may contribute to their own negative feelings towards minority groups who are perceived of as not living according these social norms. Since Finnish Roma have significantly changed, (or have been forced to change), their lifestyle in order to get accepted in the Finnish society, it is predictable that some may feel they have been treated unfairly compared to immigrant groups, who they see as being more easily accepted whilst seemingly being less willing to take on mainstream values and cultural practices.

The most common form of *discrimination* within housing reported by Roma respondents was said to be discrimination by private landlords and housing

agencies. Every respondent who has tried to rent an apartment from the private sector reported having faced discrimination of some kind. Therefore, the argument that the stigma of Roma's past 'lifestyle deviance' follows them no matter what changes they make, gives more proof to the 'culture as nature' theories of racism that dehumanise these communities (see Chapter 2:3.1). Assimilation to the majority lifestyle has increased Finnish Romas' socio-economic well-being, but has not spared them from discrimination and racism emanating within and from wider society (see further 8.6).

Employment related discrimination was mentioned almost as often as discrimination in the private rental sector. As obtaining a good education and being employed has been important and an encouraged part of Finnish Roma life throughout the 2000s, being treated differently within these institutions is frustrating and painful for most victims of such discrimination. This next quote summarises many Finnish Romas position within the mainstream labour market as despite their eagerness to obtain work, on the one hand they are stereotyped as lazy and work-shy, while on the other hand very few employers are willing to hire them and enable them to demonstrate their work ethic.

> I: You still have those people in this working society that they may say on the previous day that Gypsies don't want to work, and the next day …
> R: They don't hire you?
> I: Yes, like "He's probably a Gypsy [mustalainen][1], I'm not going to hire him for sure." Like kind of conflicting. (OAM, 45)

Overall, in contrast to the often shockingly physical examples of racism recounted by Gypsies and Travellers (stones thrown, children attacked etc.), interviewees call the racism they face in the 21st century Finland 'civilised discrimination', or a form of racism which it is impossible to externally verify.

> R: Do you experience prejudice or discrimination because you are Roma? I: Well you can find it everywhere.
> R: How does it usually appear?
> I: Now a days it's mostly that kind of, civilized discrimination. You can't take a picture of it. It, it can be just, within this kind of small area it can be just contempt, certain kind of facial expressions, behaviour or communication. (OAM, 45)

> I: It is so deep, you are in it every day. If you leave your home and go out there, you have to face it. You are forced to face it.
> R: How do you live with it?

> I: You have to constantly work with yourself. On bad days you can't take it at all, you react to it immediately on the spot. On a good day you have the strength to give the person thumbs up, which usually makes them even angrier. (OAM, 45)

Although some spoke about such 'civilised discrimination' as being a part of their everyday lives, something that they have got used to, there were also respondents who thought racism was avoidable by behaving and living by the 'rules' and by respecting other people. These sentiments were most common among the 'more assimilated' individuals and Group A Roma.

> R: So do you think that it [not experiencing discrimination] is because you don't wear the traditional dress and that?
> I: Partly for sure, and also because I know how to behave. I'm not noisy or offensive, and I don't steal, and I don't do anything that is not allowed to do. That's one reason. (**OAF, 45**)

> Well, like I already mentioned, our family respects other people. Like we, my aunts and my mom all have majority Finns as friends, and they like come to ours for coffee and mom goes to theirs for coffee. It's like kind of interaction, respect of other people. (**YAF, 26**)

As was discussed above in relation to the moving permit custom, not only individuals' behaviour, but also their wider family's reputation and lifestyle were thought to determine whether someone experiences racism. The way racism and discrimination were discussed by the majority of respondents leads to the belief that those Finnish Roma individuals and families who fail to 'live well' and according to 'norm', were widely felt to deserve the discrimination they experienced as a result of their own bad or foolhardy behaviour.

8.5 HIDING ETHNICITY

Based on the data overall it can be argued that, in general, Finnish Roma emphasise their ethnicity more outside of their home and reduce it while at home and in private (see 'home as a place', Chapter 6), whereas Gypsies and Travellers in contrast hide their ethnicity outside of their home and strengthen it more at home through distinctive cultural practice ('home as a space'). This argument, like most arguments, is not completely flawless given that Finnish Roma also admitted hiding their identity occasionally even though it is significantly harder for those who dress traditionally to do so because of their recognisable appearance. As such, it is clear that Finnish Roma are not as compelled to 'pass' as are Gypsies and Travellers, who often hide their identity even from officials, as the returns of the 2011 Census demonstrates (above) (and see also Cullen et al., 2008).

8.5.1 Gypsies and Travellers: have to 'pass' (as someone else)

There are two main reasons why Gypsies and Travellers in England are said to conceal their ethnicity: to gain acceptance from the settled community and to avoid discrimination and judgement within public services (Okely, 1996: 53; Cullen et al., 2008: 12). Since Gypsies and Travellers are often forced to hide their

identities in order to be treated fairly in mainstream society their position as equal members of the English society still seems like a distant dream in practice, even if not in law. This can act as yet another reminder that assimilation (represented in official discourse as integration) is a two- way process in which the majority must also take responsibility for the process to be successful (Bourhis et al., 1997; Bourhis et al., 2009; Carrera & Atger, 2011).

Hiding their identity or 'passing' is almost without exception the tactic that Gypsies and Travellers used to build trust among other communities and with individuals, local services and authorities. When openly asked, 18 of the 28 respondents stated that they have hidden their ethnicity at some point in their lives. Interestingly, of the nine respondents who say they have never hidden their ethnicity only three are younger respondents (one Traveller woman and two Traveller men). This is arguably due to mainstream education, that has brought the outside society closer to the younger Gypsies and Travellers and made it easier and more acceptable for them to, for example, speak with accents related to majority Brits. Or since older respondents have more often lived much of their lives on sites or in more traditional environments, where they have never felt the need to 'pass', they have continued this practice as they become older. Younger Traveller women respondents were most like to mention 'changing their accent' to be more understandable to settled people, as well as to avoid being bullied or discriminated against.

> It's very hurtful, like you shouldn't have to be ashamed who you are. But even when I used to go to school, I used to put on a British accent just so [I] wouldn't get bullied and picked on for being a Traveller. (**YTF, 19**)

> R: Do you think, is it hard if you wanna look for a new house or a flat? Is it hard to get one?
> I: Yeah, you have to talk different on the phone. Yeah you have to change your accent, you have to hide that you're a Traveller. (**YTF, 28**)

Although changing the way they speak might be easier for younger people, self-employed travelling men have always had to do this when peddling from door to door.

> And even travelling men has to do it for work. They can't go to a door and saying "oh yeah dadada" cos people put them off … "You're a Traveller, you're a pikey you're this, you're that". What else can we do, you know? (**YGF, 23**)

Going to pubs, restaurants and shops are the most common everyday situations where Gypsies and Travellers state that they want to hide who they are. As shocking as it may seem in the 21st century England, Gypsies and Travellers are still often denied access to restaurants and pubs.

R: What are the usual situations you have to do that [hide ethnicity]?
I: Umm like if you go to a pub: "Are you Travellers?", then you have to say no before you can get in. R: Really, still now days?
I: Yeah. Like [will be told]: "Oh you get out, your parents are Travellers." (**YTF, 19**)

I: Often when we go to any pubs and this and that, you try to hide your identity. Cos they won't serve you. R: How, how does it make you feel that you?
I: It makes you feel so bad, it makes you feel embarrassed to people, to wonder why they don't serve you. (**OTF, 43**)

For the women respondents, hiding ethnicity was often undertaken so that their children can have an easier life without having to experience racism or bullying.

Yeah, but I think when the children was growing up its kind of hard to disclose that information because of the racism. Like especially in schools and that, and the streets and that. So that I mean, you just don't disclose it. It's when they get older, the children themselves and it's up to them whether they want to tell their friends and whatever, which they do. But I suppose all I'm saying that they understand that themselves you know, and they get to that age they are able to stand up for themselves. But when they are smaller they can't so. (**OTF, 43**)

All Gypsy respondents have hidden who they are at some point in their lives and all of them suggested that this was to have better chances in life for themselves or for their children. The 'more assimilated' and educated Gypsies stated that while they do not hide their ethnicity per se, they will not usually openly disclose it either.

When I'm with country people [non Gypsies/Travellers] it just makes me feel like it's something that I have to do to be given an equal and fair chance in life, and to protect my children as well. Going into schools there's been times where I've signed the ethnicity statement that I'm a Traveller but there's been times when I'm just gonna say white British because I am (laugh). Yeah and why should I tell them something that is gonna disadvantage them possibly, because some people are so prejudiced and small minded. And you just get so sick of being called effing pikey and scum, and you know if it ain't bolted down you should get it away (laugh). (OGF, 36) [This Gypsy woman has been married to a Traveller and therefore uses terminology usually used by Travellers ('country people'), and refers herself as a Traveller]

As there are those interviewees who hide their ethnicity to be able to become more involved with the outside society, there are also those who indicated that they would rather stay at home than hide who they are, as this next quote demonstrates.

It's terrible, you have to, I'd rather stay home and not work than had to do that. And that's probably why I stayed at home for years. (**OTF, 49**)

Being forced to hide their ethnicity in order to participate in society's life can also be seen as a form of assimilation, emphasising the gradual expansion of assimilation practice impacting Gypsy and Traveller communities in England.

Among the Travellers who never hidden their ethnicity, there are also those who say they are proud of who they are and would never hide their ethnicity on any occasion. They also admit that this often gets them into trouble.

> R: What about you, have you ever hid your ethnicity, that you're a Traveller?
> I: Umm, no I can't hide it. I don't want to hide it. I am who I am, I'm proud of who God made me. But yeah, it just gets me into trouble, gets me in a lot of trouble. You can't go anywhere, you can't do nothing because people has an opinion. And they don't give you a chance to say I'm the same as anybody else, "Everybody, I'm a nice person". (**OTF, 54**)

There are also those who would like sometimes to hide their ethnicity but are unable to. Hiding is impossible for those who cannot change their strong Gypsy or Traveller accent to a more majority 'British' accent.

> I cannot change my voice so they know. But if I could yes it would be better. It would, there's no point saying [otherwise], if you got [an accent], if they know you're a Traveller they will be hard on you. (**YTM, 27**)

Besides hiding their ethnicity in everyday public situations, respondents also spoke about consciously concealing it when applying for a job or an apartment, or when accessing public services, with a slightly higher number of respondents to this study doing so than is claimed in an earlier larger scale study (LGTANA, 2008:78 and see further Chapter 8: 8.4).

Having to hide their ethnicity was widely identified as embarrassing and distressing but necessary. The majority of interviewees preferred 'passing' to avoid bullying, racism and discrimination over being openly identified as a Gypsy and Traveller and risking the consequences of such openness although (as indicated by this young Traveller woman) some worried their families might think they were ashamed of their culture when they sought to hide their ethnicity.

> It's quite bad, it's … I don't know – it's quite embarrassing really because then, like your family they think like why are you embarrassed and stuff like that, of your culture and stuff. But I think it's just for getting a job and, you need to really, sometimes. Not always but sometimes. (**YTF, 19**)

In the next quote, an older Traveller woman explains how her children have internalised the need to hide their ethnicity. In fact, all respondents, even those older respondents who will not hide their own ethnicity, reported thinking that their children are better off having the ability to 'pass'.

> R: How do they feel about that, is it something normal already?
> I: Well they are just used to that aren't they? I suppose if you are growing up and that, and they know that the prejudices are there, so that they just don't disclose that information. (**OTF, 43)**

8.5.2 Finnish Roma: difficult but occasionally better to 'pass' (as someone else)

In contrast, and indicative of both the more obvious visibility of many of the community and the different social constructions of society in Finland and England, only six Finnish Roma respondents (2 OAF; 1 YAM; 2 OAM and 1 YBF) say they have ever hidden their ethnicity, and then usually only when applying for an apartment. Most interviewees say they never hide their identity although usually they will not openly disclose it either, although for those who wear traditional clothing this is often not necessary as they are a visible minority. All respondents knew some Finnish Roma who 'pass', as well as understanding and approving such actions in certain circumstances.

Perhaps most interesting was the finding that as well as blaming general prejudice against Finnish Roma as a reason for hiding their ethnicity, a number of Group A Roma blamed those members of their community who failed to 'live well' for forcing others to hide their ethnicity in order to avoid negative labelling by wider society. In contrast, Group B Roma did not blame their own community for widespread prejudice, but instead claimed that racism, discrimination and prejudices in Finnish society were the main reasons which forced some Finnish Roma to hide their ethnicity.

When Gypsies and Travellers in London discussed how social pressures made them hide their ethnicity, Finnish Roma generally understood the question to mean that they *personally*, and as a community, were being blamed for not revealing who they are as though 'passing' was a personal deficit and indicative of shame over their identity. The next quote demonstrates how, Finnish Roma women especially, are often forced to dress more like majority Finns when viewing apartments, in order to have an equal chance of obtaining a tenancy. This respondent's defensiveness (see the bolded comment below), when asked whether Finnish Roma ever hide who they are, is an interesting reaction and can be analysed as possible guilt about not being honest or being perceived of as not 'living well', something that has been proven within this research to be highly important for most Finnish Roma.

> R: Then I have this question, it's a bit difficult for you as a Finnish Roma woman, but have you ever hidden or thought about hiding your ethnicity?
> I: No.
> R: Do you know if it happens in Finland?
> I: Yes it does. For example when applying for an apartment, women have to put on majority clothes, especially when they are looking for private rentals, like they are forced

> to do it. Not so much in working life but in housing they have to do it!
> R: Is it very common?
> I: It happens, I can't tell you how common it is but it happens. R: Well how, how does it make you feel?
> **I: Fine, it's not hurting anyone. Like if you sign a contract with your own name but wear a tracksuit, it doesn't hurt anyone.** [this was said angrily]
> R: No I mean how does it make you feel that still in 2012 Finnish Roma have to do this?
> I: Oh that, well you know, on the other hand I understand, I understand. I know how my people can live and act. On the other hand, I also understand that some have to do that because of those people. But on the other hand I think that our Finnish society is so behind in general sophistication and in giving chances to people. (**OAF, 40**)

Other methods of 'passing' utilised by Finnish Roma respondents could depend upon physical characteristics rather than mode of dress. Since Finnish Roma are generally (but not always because of exogenous marriages) darker skinned than majority Finns, it is sometimes possible for them to use the tactic of pretending to be 'foreigners' (e.g. having a Mediterranean parent) when, for example, trying to undertake business with majority Finnish people. Despite the fact that it may be considered that a Finnish national would be favoured in trade over someone with fewer connections, negative stereotypes against Roma were more significant than were potential xenophobic attitudes. As the next quote reveals, Finnish Roma' opportunities are often significantly worse than are of those of other minority groups:

> So I put it [a car] up for sale online and thought it would go straight away. Numerous people came to see it [but it didn't sell when they realised the seller was a Roma]. Then once I put on sweatpants, a hoodie and trainers [change of visible, clothing related identity] and pretended to be a foreigner. I sold the car straight away. Yes, it made me think that can it really be like this? I was kind of disappointed of people that they would be like that with a small thing like that. (**YAM, 21**)

Finnish society and its people clearly and demonstrably still have prejudices against the Finnish Roma community to a degree where it hampers their possibilities in housing related issues as well as in the labour market. Although the Finnish Roma community (or at least the most influential and distinguishable members of the community) wish to get rid of the 'social problem' stigma, and concentrate more on cultural heritage issues (recognition over redistribution) even sometimes denying that there are problems within the Roma community (Männistö, 2012) or that discrimination exists against Roma, it is clear that sometime Finnish Roma are forced to hide their ethnicity to receive equal treatment.

Since Finnish Roma are, mainly because of their traditional clothing but also in some cases because of their darker colouring, a recognisable minority group, their chances of hiding their ethnicity are significantly smaller than are Gypsies' and Travellers' in England. Whether this 'visibility' has influenced their assimi-

lation into the Finnish 'norm' of living is impossible to determine for certain, but it is highly likely that a minority group that clearly differ in appearance from the majority is forced to develop ways (other than hiding who they are) to make their everyday lives easier. In other words, preferring to live 'normal' lives away from their extended families and community, and to be willing to spend years building trust in their neighbourhoods, can be interpreted as result of normalising assimilation (Chapter 2:2.2) implemented by Finnish society in the face of widespread failure of the mainstream to accept responsibility towards meeting Roma half-way in the project of Finnish nationhood.

8.6 INSTITUTIONALISED DEVIANTS

Regardless of Finnish Roma's relatively high level of assimilation into majority Finns lifestyle, they continue to be discriminated against, and still face racism on an every day basis (which is one reason they want to assimilate). It would appear that this 'culture as nature' form of racism, encountered by Roma, Gypsies and Travellers everywhere, is not easily explained by the theory of 'lifestyle deviance' as it is, by definition, racism that dehumanises these people no matter what changes they make into their lifestyles. In other words, it is possible to explain why they are treated as deviants and targeted by assimilative policies, but it is harder to explain why *after* assimilating, Finnish Roma are still widely discriminated against and hated.

One explanation is that minorities have to be *completely* assimilated if they wish to be accepted by the majority population. They have to not only to *act* but also to *look* and *dress* like the majority, blend in and not to be recognised as anything other than mainstream majority. If this is the case, minority policies based on multiculturalism will never result in minorities being accepted by the majority population, and instead the UK's idea of cohesive communities, where people are required to be more similar than different, will have a better chance of organising and controlling diverse societies.

On the other hand, 'racism' is seen within this thesis as a necessary technique through which States define 'normality' and protect their societies from external (and especially internal) threats (Foucault, 2003b; Bhandaru, 2013), a technique that uses state institutions to implement normalising assimilation policies on those 'deviants' identified through utilising that very 'racism'. That is to say, societies need difference in order to define and differentiate themselves the same way States need deviance in order to use and justify their power (Foucault, 2003b). Arguably then Roma, Gypsies and Travellers continue to be needed by post-industrial Western societies as the 'deviants' against whom they can reflect their own 'normality'.

A conclusion can be made that Finnish Roma have assimilated to majority's lifestyle but have refused to 'blend in' to the wider Finnish population and therefore experience racism and discrimination, whereas Gypsies and Travellers refuse to assimilate into the majority's lifestyle and therefore often hide their ethnicity

and try 'blend in' in order to avoid racism and discrimination. Regardless of the differing situations, racism is a part of everyday life for both communities. Not only is this racism institutionalised, but it so mirrors the historical negative stereotypes that Roma, Gypsies and Travellers are associated with in every society they inhabit (Coxhead, 2007), that therefore these communities are arguably automatically and irrevocably positioned as the 'institutionalised deviants' of post-industrial societies, condemned to an outside status regardless of what they do.

In the final Chapter we now begin to review the evidence which underpins this core theory.

9 Findings and discussion

This final Chapter which draws together the themes of this thesis, starts by revisiting and comparing the findings from the 'Policy Analysis' and the interview data to see whether Finnish Roma's and Gypsies and Travellers' housing related well-being and 'level of assimilation' are in any sense comparable between these two sets of data.

After this, evidence which supports the central argument; that of Finnish Roma's high level of assimilation to Finnish society and 'mainstream' lifestyle, and housed Gypsies' and Travellers' strong segregation from English society and lifestyle are presented, discussed and analysed.

This final Chapter concludes by presenting the models of Finnish Roma's and Gypsies and Travellers assimilation/segregation processes firstly in their respective societies and secondly within their own communities.

9.1 COMPARING DATA

It is striking that housing related problems reported in existing literature i.e. 'Policy Analysis' data do not correlate well with the data gathered from Finnish Roma in this study but are relatively accurate when compared to findings from housed Gypsies and Travellers

9.1.1 Finnish Roma: being stereotyped

Stark differences exist in relation to the literature on housing related problems experienced by Finnish Roma and respondents' answers. In particular, earlier studies suggest that overcrowding due to big family sizes; regular visits from family members (which cause conflicts with neighbours); neighbour hostility and bullying; and discrimination operationalised by municipalities are the key challenges experienced by Finnish Roma. This research has found in contrast, that the Finnish Roma family has in recent years changed towards the nuclear family model in which only children and parents co- reside, minimising some of these conflicts. Furthermore, because of widespread labelling and prejudices from the wider society, Finnish Roma expressed a strong desire to live according to the 'norms' of Finnish society, leading to changing behaviours. One key element of this involves a desire to build trust with their neighbours by, for example, limiting the amount of visitors received, in opposition to traditional cultural practices.

As a consequence of these lifestyle changes conflicts with neighbours are said to be extremely rare. Discrimination by municipalities is also reported to occur only infrequently, partly because of Finnish Roma communities' excellent abilities to effectively utilise the welfare system, and arguably in part because of Finland's

non-segregating social housing policy which minimises the opportunity to 'ghettoise' Roma households.

Whilst loss of community, and subsequent problems of isolation caused by this, are mentioned by some older respondents who criticise the urban lifestyle in Helsinki while missing a more communal life in smaller cities, it cannot be seen as a problem unique for the Finnish Roma, since the majority of respondents prioritised their privacy over residence in closed tightknit extended family networks. This tension seems to be a problem in particular for older individuals who originate from smaller places outside Helsinki, and who have therefore not adapted as rapidly (or effectively), as do those individuals whose families have resided in urban areas for some generations.

Particular concerns focused on socio-economic problems experienced by some Group B Roma who identified problems in paying rent as well as homelessness. In the main, these difficulties were most commonly experienced by respondents of this category, whose socio-economic situation is generally weaker than that of Group A Roma. Contrastingly, and indicative of the tensions inherent in balancing integration with identity, Group A Roma, (of whom some have had a significant role in designing Finnish Roma policies), are trying to get rid of the stigma of their community being associated with 'social problems' by focusing on cultural issues and recognition over redistribution policies. This emphasis clearly demonstrates existing differentiation inside the community, and casts a doubt over the Government's preference for recognition over redistribution when framing Finnish Roma policies.

Overall, the two issues Finnish Roma respondent agreed on as decreasing their housing related well-being, are in relation to shortage of government funded rental apartments (social housing), and issues pertaining to cultural 'cleanliness' rules (see 6: 6.1) which were seen to cause problems both when in housing, or more specifically, when *looking* for housing. The 'more assimilated' respondents (e.g. those who do not wear traditional clothing) as well as younger Group B Roma also acknowledged that the *moving permit* custom and *avoidance* practices (see 7: 7.4) can reduce some Finnish Roma's opportunities to access housing, but nevertheless all respondents felt that both avoidance and 'moving permit' practise are necessary within the Finnish Roma community context.

Given the strong community preference for these forms of internal social control and the contrasting concerns of the Finnish government who consider these cultural practices to be the most worrying housing issue experienced by Finnish Roma (on the grounds that these mechanisms deny some Finnish Roma their constitutional right to choose where to live), these matters are the most obvious examples of the differences in objective and subjective well-being as conceptualised by Roma and the 'outside' world.

Whilst it can be seen that the literature has similarities to the findings of this thesis, based on the comparison of the 'Policy Analysis' and the Interview data, it is possible now to argue that the assimilation of Finnish Roma into Finnish socie-

ty and their adaption of majority lifestyle practices, within the areas they inhabit, is more profound than had previously been thought. As considered in detail in earlier chapters, social reaction to widespread prejudice and negative stereotypes associated with Finnish Roma by wider society have arguably had a profound impact in steering away from traditional modes of life and practices of those Roma who report having spent years 'living better' and according to the 'norms' of Finnish society, in order to earn the trust and respect of their majority neighbors. In fact, the existing literature presents a stereotypical picture of Finnish Roma's lives and problems. This was first noticed by the researcher when respondents from both Groups A and B became obviously annoyed by the topic guide utilized in this study and designed in accordance with the literature findings, which respondents felt provided a simplified, stigmatized and one-dimensional view of their communities.

9.1.2 Gypsies and Travellers: on-going hardship

Contrastingly, housing related problems of Gypsies and Travellers, identified within the 'Policy Analysis' data, are with two exceptions, accurate, when compared to the Interview data. These variations are as follows: overcrowding is not seen as a problem by the majority of respondents (and is in fact no more common than found amongst other tenants of social housing in London). On the contrary, Gypsies and Travellers who have been used to living in small caravans or chalets prior to rehousing, often find their apartments or houses too big, incorporating too many (and too large) rooms and floors.

The other contradiction is the claim that regular visits from extended families cause problems with settled neighbours. This research did not bear out that claim. In common with Finnish Roma, housed Gypsies and Travellers stressed their wish to avoid conflicts with their neighbours and therefore to live quietly (and avoid interaction) with other tenants in order to avoid trouble. One way to do this is to limit the amount of visitors and as such, in common with Roma respondents, this adaptation had been made to traditional lifestyle behaviours.

All of the remaining issues identified in the literature as causing problems for housed Gypsies and Travellers were also mentioned by the interviewees. In particular, a cultural aversion to settled housing was found to manifest as feelings of insecurity and depression, loss of community was felt as severe loneliness, and cultural practice -related issues such as avoiding using upper floors and leaving windows and doors open constantly were reported by many respondents. Gypsies and Travellers were found to overall prefer social housing over privately rented accommodation, and in common with Finnish Roma, also felt that there was insufficient supply of social housing available. Although the majority of respondents did not want to rent from the private sector, preferring social housing if it was accessible, they also stressed that they believed it would not even be possible to access such accommodation because of prejudice and racism enacted by private landlords, demonstrating similarities to Finnish Roma respondents in their pessimistic assessment of housing related discrimination.

Although in the London context racism and bullying from settled neighbours exists, (sometimes in extreme ways), most respondents avoid such problems by hiding their ethnicity and it may be that fear of such racism is stronger than the likelihood of it occurring in multicultural and diverse neighbourhoods in the City. Illiteracy and/or socio-economic problems in relation to paying rent, together with homelessness issues are common problems within housed Gypsy and Traveller communities, demonstrating similarities to Group B Finnish Roma. In relation to these problems, respondents indicated that they usually seek help from specialized third sector or volunteer organizations since public services are felt not to meet their needs as well as being highly discriminatory in how they delivered services. Being placed in the most deprived and rough areas and very run-down housing estates were seen as a symptom of this discrimination, although again this requires further analysis in relation to overall allocation policies by ethnic group, as it may potentially be that housing becomes available at a more rapid rate in poorer locations whilst there is a longer wait to obtain property in 'nice' areas or via housing associations. In addition, preferences for living amongst relatives may also lead to 'clustering' of households in poor quality accommodation as a result of conscious transfers to certain areas, or a stated preference to live near to family. Without further and more in-depth evidence from a larger scale sample and access to local authority data this is not as yet possible to ascertain.

The Interview data from Gypsies and Travellers in England supported the findings of the 'Policy Analysis' about these population's housing related problems. Mainly it reinforced the picture of housed Gypsies and Travellers as living in highly segregated communities with limited contact with wider society. One half of Gypsies' and Travellers' housing related problems reported by interviewees derived from their cultural aversion to settled housing and associated issues that living in a strange environment and setting brings to communities. The other half of their reported concerns impacting on their well-being, derived from experience of loneliness which was produced by not being able to live close enough to their family and friends, as well as from lack of interaction with the rest of society. Although Gypsies and Travellers reported avoiding interaction with settled people voluntarily, they are also compelled to take this step to avoid widespread racism, bullying and discrimination. These communities have had to hide their ethnicity to avoid racism, discrimination, and in order to have the same possibilities in life as everyone else. As such (and further supporting some of the literature findings, e.g. Irish Traveller Movement in Britain, 2013) it is argued that *publicly tolerated racism, discrimination and prejudice against Gypsies and Travellers in England is a major issue increasing these communities' segregation from the wider society and adding to their lack of well-being and positive integration*.

9.2 ASSIMILATED INDIVIDUALS AND SEGREGATED COMMUNITIES

As has been demonstrated throughout this study, Finnish Roma are in many ways 'more assimilated' to the Finnish 'norm' of living (housing and employment) than are housed Gypsies and Travellers in England. Finnish respondents also express better overall well-being and are more satisfied with their living and working situation than are English participants. Thus it is argued that, based on these findings: *"to measure a minority group's subjective well-being in a society is also to measure its level of assimilation or segregation in that society"*.

However, those Finnish Roma individuals and families who have assimilated into socio- economically more affluent parts (or quieter residential areas) in Helsinki, report higher levels of well-being than those who have assimilated into more marginalised areas and rougher parts of the city. In England, since not all socio-economically better off and more educated Gypsies indicated increased well-being when compared to the less- well-off and lower educated members of their communities, the following argument only applies to communities who aspire to live according to the 'moral norms' (in this case in settled contemporary accommodation and participating in waged labour) of the majority population. Therefore, a secondary argument about the structures and processes of assimilation suggests that in common with the behaviours of members of the majority populations; "individuals of a minority group that have started to self-assimilate will socialise themselves into the lifestyle (and behaviours) of the area that they live in". In other words, if they live in a rough area with particular social norms (which may be at odds with 'middle class' mainstream behaviours) they will follow those, and if they live in a 'quiet' more affluent locality they will seek to adapt and be accepted by neighbours in those areas.

The results and discussion on the well-being and assimilation/segregation of Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers will now be presented to support this argument which forms the core of this thesis. Four different themes: *state, home, family*, and *interaction* are addressed and discussed separately.

9.2.1 State

Both, Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers have a well attested history of suspicion towards governmental institutions as a result of histories of state persecution and discrimination. The difference is, that while Gypsies and Travellers still do not trust most governmental bodies or indeed the English State itself, Finnish Roma's suspicions have begun to decrease after they have learned to utilise public services to which they were entitled, increasing their sense of belonging and citizenship. In fact, Finnish Roma today are competent operators of the Finnish welfare system and rarely even need assistance when, (for example), applying for social housing, circumstances which are starkly in contrast to that of English Gypsies and Travellers. Arguably, the main reason for this is the overall structure

of the Finnish welfare state, where services have been, and largely still are, provided by the State itself, and where third sector actors have only a small role in providing welfare. As such, Finnish Roma have had to learn to negotiate directly with the state rather than using intermediaries such as third sector agencies. Other reasons for Finnish Roma's change of attitude and increased trust in the state is their communities' active role in designing policies affecting them, and the State's positive discrimination policies targeted at improving their housing situation. Although suspicions towards the State and its organisations have practically disappeared, Finnish Roma do however still recognise prejudice against them, especially in the private market, but also within public employment services and practices which significantly decrease their possibility of engaging on equal terms in the labour market. Regardless of this, their mainly positive relationship with the Finnish State is arguably a significant issue increasing their level of assimilation and resultant well-being. Nonetheless, it is important to acknowledge that although the assimilation level of Finnish Roma might generally be considerably higher than that of Gypsies' and Travellers' in England, they have still overwhelmingly become assimilated at a lower socio-economic level than much of Finnish society and as such, even among the more socio-economically affluent Group A Roma, dependency on social-housing and welfare assistance is more common than is found on average amongst the mainstream population in Finland.

In England, as indicated above, since the third sector has in recent decades had a major role in providing welfare services, ethnic minorities' (over and beyond Gypsies and Travellers) involvement with the state is arguably not as active as it is in Finland. English Gypsies and Travellers mainly rely on their families and private sector actors to assist with their welfare needs and therefore have not learned, (or even had to learn), how to effectively use many of the public services they are entitled to. This has resulted in to a situation where Gypsies and Travellers rarely even *consider* using public services when they are in need of help in housing related issues. Moreover, relatively high illiteracy levels within the communities as well as discrimination and racism from public officials make housed Gypsies and Travellers prefer to use third sector and voluntary organisations that cater exclusively for Gypsy, Traveller and Roma customers.

Since Gypsies and Travellers have never had any role in designing policies affecting them, and have not been a target of effective positive discrimination measures, (in fact quite the opposite), their suspicion of the State and its institutions as well as their segregation from the wider society remains high, impacting on their degree of assimilation and resultant well-being.

9.2.2 Home

Home has an important and ambiguous role in Finnish Roma's well-being. It is a place that is shared with the nuclear family and into which a lot of effort, time and money is poured. As such it is a place where one can have privacy both from their own (Roma) community and from the wider society. On the

other hand, home is also a cultural space that demonstrates respectful living and belonging to the community (cleanliness rules & display of prestige furniture).

Cleanliness morals and rules are a way for Finnish Roma to differentiate themselves from the majority, and therefore, homes are required to be cleaned at least once a day. Although increased participation in employment and education has limited the possibilities to clean, Finnish Roma women arguably spend more time in cleaning their homes than on average in Finland. Although life inside the home is structured by culture related cleanliness morals and rules, Finnish Roma have however made adjustments that allow them to be more relaxed about the rules at home, demonstrating a pragmatic acceptance of the realities of attempting to balance culture and modern life. For example, since traditional clothing must always to be worn when in kitchen (for it is considered the purest and cleanest place), Finnish Roma deliberately look for apartments with separate kitchens to enable them to wear 'normal' clothing elsewhere in their homes and minimise the harshest rules of cultural practice which do not fit well with modern assimilated lifestyles. In conclusion, although Finnish Roma's home-lives are strongly affected and structured by their cultural practices, these places are nevertheless sites in which individuals enjoy their privacy and relaxation, just as they are for most westernised people living in a post-industrial society.

In contrast, housed Gypsies and Travellers in England mostly talk about their home as a *space* where they can be with their extended families and friends, a space where they are not alone (as they so often are in their daily, isolated lives) and where they always have someone from their own community to talk to. In other words, home is not a place for an *individual* but a space for the *community*. When forced into settled contemporary housing, a settled home as a 'place' feels foreign and isolating to Gypsies and Travellers, and therefore everything is done in order to make it more closely resemble life in a caravan. For example, kitchenettes or open kitchens, and open-plan ground floor apartments with gardens are preferred over individual flats with small divided rooms. A strong preference is expressed for living near to family and community members in order to make life in settled housing resemble life on caravan sites, and facilitate day to day communication and support. Whilst selection of, or preference for, this type of accommodation can be seen as utilising agency and cultural resistance to the mainstream, housed Gypsies and Travellers refusal or resistance to assimilate into the Western individualistic (nuclear) model of home life is also decreasing their well- being and segregating them further from wider society potentially adding to the risk of a down-ward spiral of exclusion.

9.2.3 Family

Finnish Roma families (at least those living in Helsinki) have changed their structures in recent decades moving more towards the nuclear family

model. As such Finnish Roma respondents now stated a clear preference to live only with their children and partners, further away from rest of the kin, adhering to the 'norms' of Finnish society in a way which demonstrates assimilation and increasing orientation towards the lifestyle of the majority society.

Regardless of this change in family relations in everyday life, Finnish Roma still wish to preserve their own in-group social control system that regards individuals as part of their extended kin groups. Everyone is judged by the history and reputation of their family, and this often limits their possibilities to move and live with in Finland. The *moving permit* custom is an extension of the avoidance practice that keeps feuding families apart. This custom has become a medium for individuals to decide whether someone can move or not to their building, street or an area, a medium that disadvantages those who belong to families with questionable reputation or history. On the other hand, this custom is also used to help Roma to live more like the majority population, by making them move and live further away from each other and therefore preventing community clusters from forming.

The Traveller (and Gypsy) family on the other hand has in large parts avoided such imposed 'modernisation' and still functions within a more traditional extended family model, closely aligned to cultural practices and accepted gender roles. *When forced into settled contemporary housing*, away from the immediate proximity of their family and friends, Gypsies and Travellers often feel complete loneliness and loss of social life. Given that housed Gypsy and Traveller women are expected by the community to mainly have a domestic role within the family, which largely keeps them home bound undertaking domestic chores and taking care of children, such isolation has a particularly strong gendered impact. When in housing, women's employment, especially in the common waged labour market, is still not widely accepted within Traveller (and Gypsy) communities increasing rates of segregation from the rest of the society and arguably hindering integration. On the other hand, the idea of a 'nine until five' working life is rejected by these communities (particularly women) as they think it would keep them away from their families for too long; and amongst men, who largely state a preference for 'traditional' occupations and self-employment (see Cemlyn et al, 2009; Ryder & Greenfields, 2011), on the grounds that adapting to such a non-autonomous 'waged' pattern of life can be seen as a rejection of both culture and gender expectations of an independent, self-employed head of household.

9.2.4 Interaction

A clear indicator of Finnish Roma's higher level of assimilation, when compared to housed Gypsies and Travellers in England, is how much more they interact with their neighbours and the wider society in general. All Finnish Roma interviewed have majority Finn friends and they had all visited a 'majority' person's home. In contrast, housed Gypsies and Travellers have significantly lower levels

of external friendships as only few have a majority friend and just 18 out of 28 respondents have ever visited a majority person's home.

As indicated elsewhere in this thesis, the theme of having a good relationship with their neighbours proved highly important to Finnish Roma to the extent that they were willing to spend years building trust with their neighbours even though this usually means they have to 'live better' than the majority and be the 'ideal' residents in their neighbourhoods. Since Finnish Roma still face prejudices and are easily labelled in a negative manner by the majority population this has led to a situation where they judge and label those members of their own community, who, (in their opinion), strengthen the negative stereotypes associated with Finnish Roma. Since Finnish Roma are a relatively small minority, everyone can in theory be recognised by their family's history and reputation, making the judging of 'bad' individuals and families more simplistic, to an extent where mistrust and even prejudice is often internally represented and guided towards their own community members instead of the majority. In fact, the strongest pressure to assimilate to the Finnish 'norm' of living was found in this thesis to emanate from inside the Finnish Roma community rather than outside society.

Where Finnish Roma were willing to adapt their lifestyle to the Finnish 'norm' in order to become established, respected members of society and to have good relationships with their majority neighbours, housed Gypsies and Travellers in England clearly preferred avoiding contact with their neighbours in order to avoid racism and in an attempt to exclude 'bad influences' which could come from the majority population. Only two interviewees (after excluding the three best educated and simultaneously 'most assimilated' respondents) admitted having adapted their lifestyle to align more to that that of settled people in order to establish better relationship with their neighbours. Although the main reason for avoiding interaction with the settled society might be that Gypsies and Travellers want to stay segregated in order to preserve and protect their different way of living, there is an interplay of reasoning as wider society's racism and discrimination has to be considered as another understandable reason for such segregation. For example, all respondents expressed a belief (and at times a desire) to hide either their own ethnicity or want to enable their children to hide theirs as a mechanism for avoiding racism and discrimination, and to allow them to obtain equal treatment in society. In conclusion, even where there is in-group pressure to stay segregated from the wider society (e.g. to support culturally mandated women's domestication and roles), English society and its population also have their role in segregating Gypsies and Travellers by forcing them to hide their identities as a way of avoiding racism and thus enhancing their life chances.

This evidence enables the formation of theoretical models of the effect of assimilation on well-being of Gypsy, Traveller and (Finnish) Roma communities in the two study areas. These models are introduced in the following section (9.3).

9.3 THE ASSIMILATION AND SEGREGATION PROCESSES

Figure 1 (which has been purposefully simplified) demonstrates the general processes of Finnish Roma, and Gypsy and Traveller assimilation/segregation as developed since the 1970s. The model illustrates how positive and non-segregating discrimination policies in housing as well as greater State mandated opportunities for social inclusion have resulted in stronger individualism among Finnish Roma. This in turn has led to stronger trust in government and caused a resultant weakening of the role of family and community in supporting well-being. Assimilation to the norms and lifestyle of majority society is in turn seen as more desirable, and approved of by individuals who are no longer overly dependent of their families and community, but it also gives them better chances of increased socio-economic well-being.

In contrast, *Figure 1* also demonstrates how hostility and institutional racism of UK governments towards Gypsies and Travellers (e.g. Ryder & Greenfields, 2010: 10) has strengthened their family and community web of relationships and therefore has kept Gypsies and Travellers segregated from the rest of the society for a longer period of time. Being forcibly segregated from the rest of the society, and forced to abandon elements of their traditional lifestyle if they wish to engage with the mainstream, has led to major cultural conflicts and identity struggles which has in turn decreased the well-being of housed Gypsies and Travellers in England.

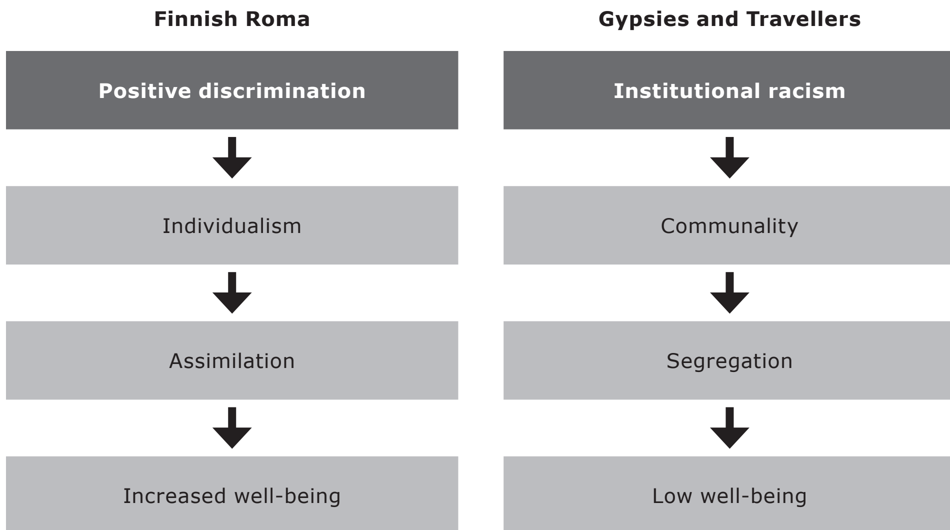

Figure 1: Simplified model of Finnish Roma's and Gypsies' and Travellers' assimilation/segregation processes since the 1970s.

Both positive discrimination and institutional racism can be seen as *'normalising assimilation'* through which Finnish and British states targeted their 'deviant' Roma, Gypsy and Traveller communities (Chapter 2: 2.2). Positive discrimination policies helped to house Finnish Roma among majority Finns and therefore introduced individualistic home and family life to them which has then encouraged participation in mainstream education and waged labour, characteristic of the post- industrial Western world. The core presumption within this thesis that "To measure groups' subjective well-being in a society is also to measure its level of assimilation or segregation into that society", is manifested in the final (bottom row) element of Figure 1, in which it is shown that deviation from the societal norm (rejection of assimilatory practices and modes of life) leads to increased levels of *ill- being* when measured subjectively by respondents to this study. Being the targed of mostly hostile discrimination policies and measures, while continuing to resist contemporary settled housing, has led Gypsies and Travellers' to further segregate themselves from English society and the majority way of life. This has led to isolation from services and public engagement and led them to be perceived of as 'deviant', exposing them to further negative discriminatory measures. These hostile measures, e.g. being forced to move into settled housing, in turn results in an increased rate of self- reported subjective ill-being for housed Gypsies and Travellers in England adding to the weight of alienation and perceived 'deviancy'.

9.4 IN-GROUP PROCESSES

In-group control within groups is argued to be possible because individuals are not only affected by their own, but also other group members', experiences of inter-group contact (De Tezanos-Pinto, 2010). Communities' past experiences and history and engagement with the wider society and population therefore have an effect on these communities' will to interact with the outside society. Whilst Figure 1 illustrated the broader processes of Finnish Roma's and housed Gypsies and Travellers' assimilation and segregation, *Figures 2ab* demonstrate how Finnish Roma have begun to self-assimilate into Finnish majority population's norms and values, whereas a strong in-group pressure to segregate from the English society exists within Gypsy and Traveller communities.

9.4.1 Self-assimilating Finnish Roma

In order to avoid being stereotyped and discriminated against by the wider society and to improve their socio-economic circumstances, the Finnish Roma community has started to self-assimilate into the Finnish majority population's lifestyle. However, this process appears to be differentiated within the community. The more affluent Roma are willing to spend years in

becoming 'ideal tenants', and even deny having experienced any discrimination, in order to be considered normal, respected and recognised members in their neighbourhoods. The less affluent Roma (Group B) instead have assimilated with and become more often socialised into the lifestyle of the marginalised Finnish population and therefore may struggle, for example, with drug abuse and homelessness. Whether an improved socio-economic position results from assimilation or is a prerequisite for it, does not seem to have significance in the case of Finnish Roma. Instead, those in better socio-economic positions appear to desire to assimilate into more affluent parts of Finnish society (although the level of society which they achieve is still below the Finnish socio-economic average) whereas those who are socio-economically less fortunate have assimilated to the more disadvantaged parts.

Figure 2a demonstrate how individuals with good family reputation and history, who therefore often have more power to decide where to live, assimilate into socio-economically more affluent, and quieter areas (although still on the lower levels of Finnish society), and consequently display higher levels of well-being. Individuals with a 'questionable' family reputation and history are more likely to live in, and assimilate into, areas with higher numbers of marginalised people, and to report lower levels of well-being, just as would be expected to occur among marginalised people from other minority communities as well as from the more excluded sectors of the majority population.

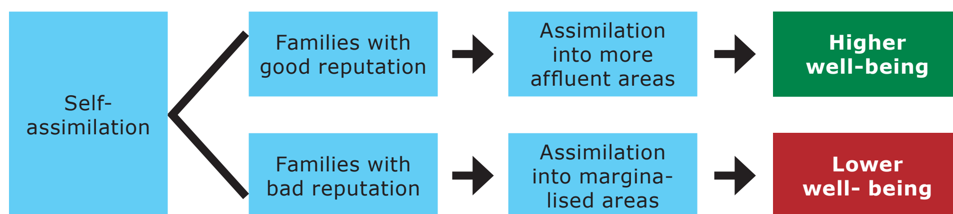

Figure 2a: The differentiated process of self-assimilation within Finnish Roma community.

As shown in Chapters 1: 1.1 and 1.3, Finnish society's and government's successful *normalising assimilation* (2: 2.2) policies and practices (e.g. the influence of Pentecostalism, removal of Roma to children's homes, positive discrimination in terms of accessing 'normal' housing) have created a situation where the drive and 'control' which requires Roma to live a 'normal', peaceful life and to engage with work in the common labour market, now comes from **inside** the community. This control operates by shaming and labelling those families and individuals, who refuse (or who are unable) to

live according to the norms, as 'bad, criminal' Roma or 'hung up in the past' Roma creating a norm of integration and assimilation which in turn refuses to recognise potential losses occasioned by adopting this way of life. There is a seemingly paradox working inside the community: on the other hand the generally more affluent families and individuals criticise the less affluent for giving the whole community a bad name and/or hanging onto old traditions, while simultaneously denying them access to better neighbourhoods (and for example local churches which they can attend (and which may aid assimilation), see Thurfjell, 2013) by pleading the disruptive effect of the often infamous family reputation and history of such 'outcasts'.

9.4.2 Gypsies and Travellers' pressure to segregate

UK governments' and society's failure to assimilate Gypsies and Travellers by targeting them almost exclusively with hostile and discriminative policies and practices has however contributed to these communities wanting to remain segregated from the wider society, and using internal control mechanisms to pressure their members to avoid interaction with other mainstream communities.

Figure 2b illustrates how, in order to avoid racism and discrimination and to preserve their differing way of life and set of values, there is in-group pressure to segregate themselves from the wider society and mainstream lifestyles among many housed Gypsies and Travellers in England. Women who are predominantly engaged in domestic tasks report the lowest levels of well-being in housing as they are expected to avoid interaction with wider society, and therefore, without the support of their extended families, experience extreme feelings of loneliness and insecurity. Men report higher levels of well-being in housing (although only a small number were interviewed for this study). Since they interact more with other communities through work, and since their 'honour' is not guarded as strictly as are women's, they have greater freedom than do females. As such, loneliness is not an issue which decreases housed Gypsy and Traveller men's well-being. In contrast, all but one of the more educated and therefore 'more assimilated' Gypsy women express higher well-being in housing, indicating that when the in-group pressure to segregate is absent, (or at least is weaker), and Gypsy (and Traveller) women have more freedom to interact with the wider society, their well-being is likely to improve.

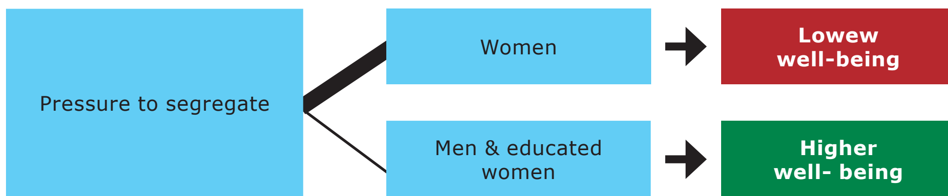

Figure 2b: The (gendered) pressure to segregate within housed Gypsies and Travellers in England.

There are signs too of English Gypsy respondents generally being in a better socio-economic position than are Irish Travellers, and also having higher level of assimilation into the majority's lifestyle (e.g. because of having lived longer in England than the Irish Travellers interviewed, enabling them to have greater cultural awareness and resources as well as not being subject to 'anti- Irish' discrimination which adds to anti-Traveller racism). In their case, although not enough Gypsies were interviewed to be able to form a strongly suggestive picture, assimilation has been a requirement for improved socio-economic position, whereas there were no examples found among this sample of increased access to wealth engendering a desire to assimilate. In other words, assimilation is driven more by financial need, and recognition of the value of integration to family well-being, than by a desire to become part of the 'mainstream' through adopting that lifestyle and set of behaviours. Similarly, while Irish Travellers in England are increasingly sending their children into mainstream education (Foster and Norton, 2013) and to some degree, entering waged labour, which indicates that they too are assimilating in order to fare better socio-economically. There is no evidence as yet however, whether being in a better socio-economic position supports or diminishes the assimilation of Irish Travellers into English mainstream society.

As an interesting detail, the better educated Gypsies do not blame less educated Gypsies and Travellers for giving their communities a bad reputation, as has been identified among Finnish Roma, but instead they defend their communities' right to keep on living a travelling life, recognising that they themselves have stepped outside of the norm of their community. Instead even 'well assimilated' Gypsies and Travellers direct blame at the rest of English society for not allowing Gypsies and Travellers to live as they wish to. The discourses of Finnish Roma and Gypsy and Traveller, about their communities' position in the wider society, therefore appear to be very different: Finnish Roma favour assimilation and see the State's role in the process of assimilation as a positive one, whereas Gypsies and Travellers speak of the right to sustain a traditional lifestyle and identify the State's historical and on-going endeavours to destroy it.

9.5 CONCLUSION

The question of why Roma, Gypsy and Traveller communities have difficulties in integrating (when integration is understood as a two-way process where majority societies also have responsibilities for the process to succeed) into every European society they inhabit, and instead continue to experience discrimination and racism within all of them, can be answered by stating that these communities are facing at least two forms of racism and discrimination in the post-industrial Western world:

Firstly, the discrimination associated with defining their lifestyle as *'culture as choice'*, where their 'deviant' lifestyle of previous or present nomadism, their objection to regular wage labour for an employer, and preference of communality over individualism, are the causes of this discrimination. Normalising assimilation policies and practices that were and still are forced on Roma, Gypsy and Traveller communities, are forms of cultural and institutional 'racism' that helps to define 'normality' within societies, as well as singling out and destroying the elements that threatens this normality. Government institutions such as employment offices, social services and the education system, are used to assimilate the nation's population into the state preferred model of life and social behaviours. Those who object, end up living on the margins of society while those who give in and assimilate, experience higher levels of well-being (although in-group discrimination can affect this process as seen with the Finnish Roma).

Gypsies and Travellers in England have (in the main) not embraced a settled contemporary lifestyle and do not wish to participate in the common waged labour market (e.g. Okely, 1973: 66, and identified here as standard employment opportunities provided by mainstream employers which implies rejection of family/community based group or individual self-employment see further Ryder and Greenfields, 2010 for a discussion on the 'Traveller economy') and therefore remain an extremely segregated and perceivably 'deviant' community. As such, their well-being is accordingly considerably lower than that of Finnish Roma's (fitting with the 'culture as choice' thesis). Even though 80 per cent of Gypsies and Travellers now (mostly against their will) live in contemporary housing, they still overwhelmingly report having to hide their ethnicity to avoid racism from their neighbours and discrimination from officials. This in turn is a clear indication of the *second* form of racism and discrimination, based on the *'culture as nature'* position in which Roma, Gypsies and Travellers are seen as being in opposition to the values and economic progress of post-industrial Western societies, no matter what changes they make to their lifestyle, and however hard they seek to assimilate. They are seen as not deserving the same treatment and right as are other Western people since they are seen as alien to Western societies and hence morally excluded.

The situation of Finnish Roma demonstrates both of these two forms of racism and discrimination by showing that although assimilation to the norms of settled, individualistic living and wage labour has in many ways operationalised, and led to resulting increased inclusion into Finnish society, and hence improved overall well-being for this population ('culture as choice'), they are still regarded as one of the most hated and discriminated ethnic minority groups in Finland ('culture as nature').

Therefore, Roma, Gypsies and Travellers can be seen as (the) *institutionalised deviants* of Western post- industrial societies, those whose existence is needed to define what is normal and what is abnormal within the nation's borders, and in so doing reassure the 'mainstream' of their superiority and cultural dominance. This argument, that societies have an in-built, institutionalised need to identify some groups as 'deviant' indicates that neither *multiculturalism* as a difference-celebrating political ideology or *community cohesion* as a model promoting common values and similarities will result in equality between, and acceptance of, all citizens, given that societies in fact *need* scapegoats who are seen to deviate from the norm, for example, as a result of their ethnicity, nationality, religion, sexuality, (or increasingly), as a result of their socio-economic situation. This is not to suggest that some people(s) are destined to be the scapegoats or the 'deviants' within our societies, but instead to highlight the importance of research that critically investigates the reasons and circumstances behind such presumptions of deviancy in order to challenge how such deviancy is framed and articulated. Within this doctoral thesis, I have hopefully managed to do just that, and in so doing provide an alternative narrative of processes of state governmentality, whilst giving voices to the often silenced actors in this constructed drama of the 'deviant other'.

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Appendices

APPENDIX 1: THE SIX KEY POLICY AREAS OF FINNISH NATIONAL POLICY ON ROMA (FNPR, 2009).

Policy Key Area
Enhancing the participation in education of Roma children and youth on all levels
Enhancing the participation in education of the adult Roma population and promoting their access to the labour market
Promoting the equal treatment of Roma and their access to various services
Supporting the preservation and development of the Romani language and culture
Promoting the equality of Roma and preventing discrimination against them
Developing the policy on Roma and enhancing their opportunities to participate in decision making.

APPENDIX 2A: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET, LONDON

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Thank you for considering if you will take part in this study.

This research is carried out as a part of my studies in Buckinghamshire New University towards a PhD.

The purpose of this research is to find out how Government policies are affecting Gypsy and Traveller communities living in housing in London. I am also talking to Roma in Finland about their experiences in housing. I am interested to know what you think and feel about living in a house, and your experience and feelings about working life as a Gypsy or Traveller.

If you decide to take part, although you may not see a benefit yourself, the study will help to see if there is something that the Government can and should do, to make your life as a Gypsy or Traveller living in housing and your working life easier.

Taking part in this research will involve talking with the researcher about your life in a house and your feelings and experiences of work and the mainstream working culture.

The interview will take from 20 minutes up to 2 hours, depending on how much you have to say.

Anything you say will stay confidential and all names will be changed in any report we write.

The interview will be recorded, so that everything you say is remembered correctly. All records will be kept in locked cabinets, and all tapes will be destroyed when this research is finished.

Interviews can happen in any place you want: coffee shop, your home, a community centre or somewhere else.

You are guaranteed that:
*****You don't have to take part in this study, and you don't have to give any reasons for why you don't want to participate if you change your mind at any time.

*****You can stop the interview at any time you want and you don't have to have any reasons for doing that. There will be no penalty.

*****Your name will be changed or deleted from the research so that you will not be recognised.

If you want to know more about this research, I am happy to answer any questions.
You can contact me: Jenni Berlin E-mail: jberli01@bucks.ac.uk
Mobile: 07817238808

Or you can ask to talk to my university supervisor Margaret Greenfields E-mail:mgreen01@bucks.ac.uk
University Switchboard: 01494 522141 x5770

APPENDIX 2B: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET, HELSINKI

Tutkimus Suomen romanien hyvinvoinnista asumisessa ja tyomarkkinoilla

TIEDOTE TUTKITTAVALLE

Kiitos kun harkitsette ottavanne osaa tähän tutkimukseen.

Tämä tutkimus on osa Itä-Suomen yliopistossa tekemääni väitöskirjatutkimusta ja se on saanut hyväksytyn lausunnon Itä-Suomen yliopiston tutkimuseettisessä toimikunnassa.

Tutkimuksen tarkoitus on selvittää miten valtion eri asumiseen ja työntekoon liittyvät toimenpiteet vaikuttavat Helsingissä asuvien Suomen romanien hyvinvointiin. Olen kiinnostunut kuulemaan mitä sinulla on sanottavana asumiseen ja työntekoon liittyvistä asioista.

Tutkimuksesta ei ole suoranaista hyötyä sinulle itsellesi, mutta kertomasi asiat voivat auttaa löytämään ratkaisuja niihin ongelmiin, joita Suomen romanit kokevat asumisen ja työnteon alueilla.

Osallistuminen tähän tutkimukseen sisältää tutkijan kanssa keskustelua asumiseen ja työntekoon liittyvistä asioista ja niihin liittyvistä mielipiteistäsi ja tunteistasi.

Sinun yhteystietosi on saatu joko Romani Mission tai Romaniasiain Neuvottelukunnan henkilökunnan kautta, tai sinua on lähestytty henkilökohtaisesti julkisella paikalla.

Haastattelun kesto on 20 minuutista yhteen tuntiin, riippuen miten paljon sinulla on sanottavaa.

Kaikki sanomasi on luottamuksellista. Tutkijan ei edes tarvitse tietää oikeaa nimeäsi.

Haastattelut nauhoitetaan nauhurilla, jotta tutkija muistaisi oikein kaiken mitä sinä sanot. Kaikki ääninauhat pidetään lukitussa laatikossa, johon vain tutkijalla ja hänen ohjaajallaan on pääsy. Kaikki nauhat tuhotaan tutkimuksen valmistuttua.

Haastattelut puretaan kirjoitetuksi tekstiksi, joka myös säilytetään luottamuksellisesti. Haastatteluja käytetään vain tutkimustarkoituksiin, ja niitä lukevat vain tutkimukseen liittyvät, vaitiolovelvolliset henkilöt. Tutkimuksen tuloksissa esitetään lainauksia haastatteluista, mutta kaikin tavoin pyritään siihen, että yksittäisiä vastaajia ei voi raportista tunnistaa.

Haastattelu voidaan tehdä sinun valitsemassasi paikassa kuten kahvilassa, kirjastossa tai vaikka kotonasi.

Sinulle luvataan että:

*Sinun ei ole pakko ottaa osaa tähän tutkimukseen eikä sinun tarvitse kertoa mitään syytä jos muutat mieltäsi osallistumisesta.

*Voit keskeyttää haastattelun ilman erityisiä perusteluja milloin haluat. Kertynyt aineisto poistetaan halutessasi tutkimuksesta.

*Sinun ei tarvitse antaa tutkijalle oikeaa nimeäsi ja vaikka antaisitkin se tullaan muuttamaan, jotta et ole tunnistettavissa.

Jos haluat tietää lisää tästä tutkimuksesta, vastaan mielelläni kaikkiin kysymyksiin. Voit ottaa minuun yhteyttä: Jenni Berlin puh: 040 2408396 tai jberlin@uef.fi

APPENDIX 3A: PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM, LONDON

CONSENT FORM
GYPSIES AND TRAVELLERS WELL-BEING IN HOUSING AND EMPLOYMENT

I .... agree to be interviewed for the research on Gypsy and Traveller well-being in housing and employment.
I have read / been told about the Participant Information Sheet and I am willing to be interviewed.
I understand that I can stop the interview at any time without giving an explanation and without any penalty.

Please Tick Each Box

I have read (or had read to me) and understood the Information Sheet	☐
I have had the chance to ask questions about it	☐
I am free to change my mind and stop the interview at any time	☐
I agree to the research interviews being recorded	☐
I understand that the information collected will be confidential and stored in a safe place with only the researcher and her supervisor able to read or listen to it.	☐
After reading (or having read to me) the Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form I am willing to take part in this research	☐

Participant name ....

Participant signature / mark .... Date ....

Witness' name / signature if participant makes a mark ....

Researchers name ....

Researchers signature .... Date ....

APPENDIX 3B: PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM, HELSINKI

SUOSTUMUSLOMAKE
SUOMEN ROMANIEN HYVINVOINTI ASUMISESSA JA TYÖMARKKINOILLA

Minä .... suostun haastateltavaksi Suomen romanien hyvinvointia selvittävään tutkimukseen.
Olen lukenut / minulle on kerrottu "Tiedoksi osallistujalle" –lomakkeen ja suostun haastateltavaksi. Ymmrärän että voin keskeyttää haastattelun koska vain kertomatta syytä tai saamatta rangaistusta.

Laita Rasti Ruutuihin:

Olen lukenut (tai minulle on luettu) ja ymmärtänyt "Tiedoksi osallistujalle" -lomakkeen	☐
Minulla on ollut mahdollisuus kysyä lomakkeesta	☐
Saan muuttaa mieleni ja keskeyttää haastattelun milloin vain	☐
Annan luvan haastattelun nauhoittamiseen	☐
Ymmärrän että kerätty tieto on luottamuksellista ja että sitä säilytetään turvallisessa paikassa jonne vain tutkijalla ja hänen ohjaajallaan on pääsy.	☐
Luettuani "Tiedoksi osallistujalle" –lomakkeen ja "Suostumus" –lomakkeen, suostun ottamaan osaa tähän tutkimukseen	☐

Osallistujan nimi (omin ehdoin) ....

Osallistujan allekirjoitus / merkki .... Päiväys ....

Tutkijan nimi ....

Tutkijan allekirjoitus .... Päiväys ....

APPENDIX 4A: TOPIC GUIDE, LONDON

QUESTIONAIRE (time / date / ref. number)
General chatting... Name (in own terms) Your age?
How would you define yourself, English Gypsy / Irish Traveller?

***** **HOUSING**
Your moving "history" (starting when you were a child)

How long have you lived in your current home? (Have you lived in a settled house before?) Is your house rented (social/private) or owned?
Who lives with you in your home? / Do you think is it crowded? Can you describe your home? (flat/house) (first floor?)
*how many rooms / kitchen facilities / toilet –shower / living room /garden / balcony What do you really like and/or dislike in your home? Why?
What would you change in your home if you had the chance to do that? (probes)
*family closer?
*outside areas to hang out/play?
*services

Do you spent a lot of time in your home?
If you have before lived on a site; has it been hard to transfer any of living practices into settled living in a house? (washing, cleaning)
What have your previous homes been like? (rooms, crowded, neighbours, services)

How important it is for you to live near to your family? (have you taken active steps, how?) (old stopping places where houses now are?) (swopping with friends..)
Why is it important to live with family?
Would you move into a "bad" neighbourhood to be near to your family?
Have you ever been in a settled person's house(home)? What did you thought of it? (probes)
Was it somehow different?

**** (MOVING)
Why did you move into a house?
How many times have you moved in the last 5 years? (from settled house to house)
(why haven't you moved)
What have been the reasons to move? Would you like to move more often or less?

**** (NEIGHBOURS)
What kind of neighbourhood you live in? (probes)

If you had the choice, what kind of neighbourhood would you live in? Why?
Do you know your neighbours? / What kind of relationship you have with them? How do you get along with other minorities? (examples)
If you have had problems with your neighbours, what are those usually about?
*using of common facilities / outside areas
*visitors (e.g. family staying)
Do you think you have been discriminated against while in housing?

****(INTO HOUSING)
How easy or hard it is to get a flat/house?
How have you been helped and advised by the housing services or local actors?
*Who has helped you to get into housing? Have you got enough help? What kind of help would you like?
*Do you think you have been discriminated against when applying for housing? (examples)

If you could choose to live in a dream home and in a dream neighbourhood, what would they be like?

WORK
Are you working/training (outside home) at the moment? What? Where? Who are you working with? How do you get along with them?
(Do you like your job?) (How did you find your job?)

Do you know where people get help finding jobs? (if you have a family member...) Where can you get help in finding a job? (Jobcentres, LGTU, ITMB ..) are they any good/why?
*Have you taken part to any programs that are designed to help you to find work?

The main difficulties finding job? (probes)
*Have you ever had to/wanted to hide your ethnicity?

Do you think it is difficult for G/T to claim benefits when they need them? Why? (Jobseekers allowance, housing benefits)?

What would be your ideal job? Why?
* full-time / **part-time**
What do you think about the 9-5 working life?

AT THE END: What is a good life for you?

APPENDIX 4B: TOPIC GUIDE, HELSINKI

KYSYMYKSET (aika / päivämäärä / viitenumero)
Nimi (omin ehdoin) Ikäsi?
Miten kuvailisit omin sanoin itsesi: romani ja suomalainen? (molemmat vanhemmat?)

ASUMINEN
"Asumishistoria"
Miten pitkään olet asunut nykyisessä asunnossasi?
Onko asuntosi vuokrattu (yksityinen/kunnan) vai omistusasunto?
*onko yksityinen vai kunnan mielestasi parempi – miksi?

Ketä kanssasi asuu? / Asutko mielestäsi liian ahtaasti/väljästi? Voisitko kuvailla kotiasi?
*kuinka monta huonetta / kuinka suuri? *keittiötilat *vessa/suihku/sauna *olohuone *takapiha tms.

Mistä erityisesti pidät / et pidä kodissasi? Miksi?
Mitä muuttaisit kodissasi jos saisit siihen mahdollisuuden? *perhetta lisää? *ulkotiloja? *lähipalveluita?

Millaisia olivat edelliset kotisi? (verrattuna nykyiseen)

Vietätko paljon aikaa kotonasi?

Oletko käynyt muiden kuin romanien asunnoissa? Mitä mieltä olit siitä / niistä (probes)
*Oliko se / ne jotenkin erilaisia?

Kuinka tärkeää sinulle on asua perhettä lähellä? (oletko tehnyt mitään sen eteen, mitä?) (Vaihtanut tuttujen kanssa asuntoa yms.?)
Miksi sinulle on/ei ole tärkeää asua perhettä lähellä?

Muuttaisitko "huonommalle" alueelle jos saisit olla perhettäsi lähellä?

**** (MUUTTAMINEN)
Kuinka monta kertaa olet muuttanut viimeisen 5 vuoden aikana? (miksi et ole muuttanut?) Mikä / mitkä syyt ovat johtaneet muuttamiseen? (muuttolupa/väistämisvelvollisuus) Haluaisitko muuttaa useammin vai harvemmin?

**** (NAAPURUSTO)
Millaisella alueella asut? (probes)

Jos saisit valita, millaisella alueella haluaisit asua? Miksi?

Tunnetko naapurisi? / Millaiset välit sinulla on heihin?
Miten tulet toimeen eri vähemmistöihin kuuluvien ihmisten kanssa? (esimerkkejä)

Jos sinulla on ongelmia naapureittesi kanssa, millaisia ne yleensä ovat?
*yleisten tilojen käyttö / ulkotilojen käyttö
*vieraat (esim. Perheenjäsenet)
*Onko sinua mielestäsi syrjitty asunnossasi/asuinalueellasi?

****(ASUNNON HANKINTA)
Kuinka helppoa tai vaikeaa on saada/löytää asunto?
Miten sinua on autettu löytämään asunto? (asuinviranomaiset tai muut tahot?)
Koetko saanneesi tarpeeksi apua?
Millaista apua kaipaisit?
Onko sinua mielestäsi syrjitty kun olet hakenut asuntoa? (muuttolupa, luottohairiot, vuokrarastit) Millainen olisi unelmiesi asunto ja asuinympäristö jossa haluaisit asua (omakotitalo?)

******* TYÖ
Oletko tällä hetkellä töissä / koulutuksessa / harjoittelussa? Missä? Ketä ovat työkaverisi? Miten tulet heidän kanssa toimeen?
Pidätkö työstäsi? Miten löysit työn?

Tiedätkö mistä kaikkialta saa apua työpaikan etsimiseen? (esim. jos perheenjäsen etsii töitä) Millaista palvelua olet saanut Työkkärissä, jos olet käyttänyt heidän palvelujaan?
Onko muita paikkoja kuin Työkkäri josta voi saada apua tyopaikan etsimiseen? Millaista palvelua olet saanut?
*Oletko osallistunut erityisiin ohjelmiin, joiden tarkoituksena on auttaa ihmisiä löytämään töitä?

Mitkä on mielestäsi suurimmat esteet romanille löytää / saada töitä? (probes)
Oletko koskaan salannut tai harkinnut salaavasi etnisyytesi?
Onko romanien mielestäsi vaikea saada tukia jos siihen on tarve? Miksi?

Millainen olisi unelmatyösi? Miksi?
* kokoaika / osa-aika
Mitä mieltä olet 8-4 työkulttuurista?

LOPUKSI
Miten määrittelisit hyvän elämän? / Mikä on sinulle hyvä elämä?

APPENDIX 5 "DEFINING A GOOD LIFE" -TABLE

Asking to define a 'good life' as the last question in the topic guide, (after discussing housing, employment and family related issues), may distort the answers towards these specific themes. On the other hand these subjects cover quite well the basic elements of people's lives, and for that reason asking respondents to define a 'good life' gave some idea of what the respondents' valued the most in their lives. This question can be seen as engaging with the subjective well-being of Finnish Roma and Gypsies and Travellers in England, and in doing so, revealing something about the level of assimilation of these communities.
"Defining a good life", answers given by different Finnish Roma groups (see Chapter 3: 3.4.2 for the definition of groups)

	YAF	OAF	YAM	OAM	YBF	OBF	YBM	OBM	TOTAL
Religion		4		2					6
'Normal life'	1		1		1		2		5
Home	3	2	1		2	1		1	10
Family, friends	2	6	1	4	2	2		1	18
Work	4	4	3	1	1				14
Money*	1	3	1	2	2	2		1	11
Health	1	2	1	2		1			8
Hobbies	1		1					1	3
Safety					1			1	1
Neighbours						1			1
Partner			1	1					2

"Defining a good life", answers given by different Gypsy and Traveller groups.

	YGF	OGF	YGM	OGM	YTF	OTF	YTM	OTM	TOTAL
Religion	1				1	1			3
Home		1			3	1		2	7
Family, friends	2	1		1	6	5	2	1	18
Children					3	3			6
Living near to/around** community	2				9	5	1		17
Work	1	1		1	1				4
Money*					1	1	2		4
Health				1	1	2	2		6
Neighbours					1	1		2	4
Partner		1			1	2			2
Living on a site	1				2				5
Freedom without being judged	1	2			1	1	1	1	7

*Money mentioned separately from work, e.g. winning in lottery.
**Answers 'family and friends' and 'around community' are often overlapping categories so that when a respondent mentioned living around family as important, both of the boxes were ticked whereas if respondent mentioned family and friends but stated that living around them were not that important only 'family and friends' box was ticked.

Jenni Berlin

Assimilated Individuals and Segregated Communities

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Roma, Gypsies and Travellers experience racism and discrimination in every society they inhabit. In fact, racism against these communities has been called as the last tolerated racism in Europe. While EU countries have had to commit in integrating their Roma and Traveller populations, in practise little has changed. This book studies the reasons behind this situation by analysing Roma, Gypsy and Traveller populations' history, experienced well-being, and therefore level of assimilation/segregation in two different EU countries.

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