"I'm an imaginary figure": Unravelling the mobility and marginalisation of Scottish Gypsy Travellers

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ABSTRACT

Gypsy Travellers have a long history of marginalisation in Scotland, but their mobility remains an issue of particular contention. Drawing upon a series of interviews with Gypsy Travellers in the North-East of Scotland, this paper uncovers how power and politics permeate discourses on movement to legitimise the spatial ordering of this traditionally nomadic group. The paper begins by exploring the more hidden and subtle aspects of mobility, such as the emotional and imaginative ties to travel. It then shifts to document how Gypsy Travellers' geographies have been compromised by discriminatory policies and practices, which demonstrate a misunderstanding of the heterogeneity of their mobility. Consequently, increasingly punitive policies have pushed many Gypsy Travellers to abandon their travelling ways to move into "fixed" housing, while others have been forced into states of perpetual motion. The overall goal of the paper is to unravel the discursive constructions of movement in the context of institutionalised power and to document the spatial ordering of Gypsy Travellers' lives, whose marginality has been legitimised by laws, ideologically sustained and reproduced in policy documents.

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1. Introduction

Mobility has become a central theme in social studies in recent years (Crang, 2002; Featherstone et al., 2004; Papastergiadis, 2000; Pascoe, 2001; Thrift, 2004; Urry, 2000; Verstraete and Cresswell, 2002); yet, as some have noted, it is 'a resource to which not everyone has an equal relationship' (Skeggs, 2004, p. 49). This reality holds particular resonance for Scottish Gypsy Travellers,[1] whose mobile ways of life have long been regulated by discriminatory policies and practices. As others have demonstrated, nomadic ways of life are caught within power relationships, which make the mobility of some people dependent on the immobility of others (Massey, 1993; Urry, 2003). This paper follows recent research on mobility and marginalisation to unravel how discourses and policies lead to the exclusion of Gypsy Travellers in Scotland (Drakakis-Smith, 2007; Hetherington, 1994; Kofman, 2002).

The "mobility turn" in social sciences transcends disciplinary boundaries; it encourages a rethinking of the politics of travel and metaphors for movement (Hannam et al., 2006). Following Cresswell (1999), herein we adopt a broad definition of mobility as "socialized movement... as a human geographical activity imbued with meaning and power" (p. 176). We focus on the importance of different modes of thinking and on ideologies of fixity and flow to explain the marginalisation of itinerant groups. While unravelling ideas about movement, this paper also challenges essentialised assumptions concerning mobility. As Cresswell (2006) insists, the regulation of mobility in areas of law, planning and social policies attaches ideological meanings to movement, but often takes these meanings for granted and overlooks how mobile ways of life are interpreted within institutional frameworks. As recent studies have demonstrated, including publications in this journal (Adey, 2008; Cloke et al., 2003; Holloway, 2007), institutional policies configuring spatial order are often not particularly appreciative of the centrality of mobility in creating unequal power relations (Sheller and Urry, 2006; Urry, 2007).

This inability to fully acknowledge the crucial role of mobility in structuring society is especially evident in discourses regulating nomadism. In particular, different analyses of sedentarist policies have highlighted metaphors of mobility mainly to illustrate relations of domination and resistance between the state and itinerant people (Cowan and Lomax, 2003; Morris, 2001; Turner, 2000).

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[1] In this paper, we use the term 'Scottish Gypsy Travellers' to refer to traditionally nomadic or semi-nomadic groups in Scotland. Terminology used to describe this group is often controversial, with some preferring 'Travellers', 'Gypsies', 'Roma' or 'Gypsy Travellers'. We use the term 'Gypsy Travellers' because many of our key informants expressed a preference for this term. The term is also used and endorsed by the Scottish Gypsy Traveller Association (SGTA) and is widely used by people who are not members of the community but who work with them. We should note that this paper is chiefly concerned with Scottish Gypsy Travellers and not 'New Age' Travellers.

Although several studies have begun exploring the significance of mobilities in regulating the social life of nomads (Bancroft, 2005; Clark, 2006; Drummond, 2007; James and Richardson, 2006; McVeigh, 1997; Niner, 2004), its rootedness in power and its deep implications in politics have been explored less thoroughly. This paper addresses these issues by unravelling how power and politics inform discourses regulating movement and how these are used to legitimise inequality (Van Dijk, 1993). It draws its energy from recent research in cultural studies, geography, anthropology, Roma/Gypsy ethnographic and folklore studies in an effort to move through the discursive spaces of Scottish Gypsy Travellers' mobility.

We begin this paper by exploring the oft overlooked emotional and imaginative aspects of travel. In other words, we examine practices demonstrating Gypsy Travellers' reluctance to part with the "spirit of travel" through settled living, as well as understandings which approach travel as an opportunity to escape from mundane living and re-connect with both the itinerant community and important symbolic places.[2] We document how these lesser examined facets of movement play important roles in Gypsy Travellers' identities, lifestyles and social practices. Moreover, we uncover the ways in which signs, memories and narratives can be used to describe the movement that exists between places and cultural experiences. The paper then shifts to explore how Scottish Gypsy Travellers understand their shared history and what this means in terms of how cultural and moral meanings are allocated to mobility. We uncover the "hidden" politics of mobility, which challenge naturalised or misrepresented views, and that have often been accorded a less important role in explaining mechanisms of social and spatial difference. In doing so, we underscore the need to go beyond perpetuating misrepresentations concerning different kinds of mobilities and itinerant ways of life. We also stress the heterogeneity of Gypsy Traveller experiences and advise against the oversimplification of complex and sometimes messy forms of mobility.

Next, the paper focuses on the social exclusion and marginalisation of Gypsy Travellers. It reveals how they have been essentialised and exoticised – both by mainstream society and within academic literature. From here, we examine how exclusionary discourses inform Scottish legislation to marginalise Gypsy Travellers. We argue that current representations of mobility in policy discourses are too abstract as they do not take into account the ways in which mobilities change over time and space – which we hereafter refer to as the 'metamorphic mobilities' of Gypsy Travellers. The paper further explores how legislation has become increasingly punitive to effect a near criminalisation of traditional Gypsy Traveller lifestyles. With the imposition of council-wide moral codes, heavy surveillance and strict regulation, Scottish policies have pushed many Gypsy Travellers into fixed housing, while others have been forced into states of perpetual motion. In exploring the discursive constructions of movement in the context of institutionalised power, we document the ordering of itinerant lifestyles as they are legitimised by laws, ideologically sustained and reproduced in policy documents.[3]

While the goals of this paper are largely theoretical, we also draw upon 28 interviews with Scottish Gypsy Travellers, government representatives and non-governmental workers connected to issues concerning Scottish Gypsy Travellers. These interviews were conducted between 2006 and 2008 in North-East Scotland (Moray, Aberdeen City, Aberdeenshire, Angus and Perth and Kinross). Individual interviews (lasting approximately 1.5 h) provided the main method of data collection, but were complemented by four focus group discussions. Twenty-one Scottish Gypsy Travellers were interviewed (including five interviews with women, 12 with men and four mixed) in their own homes and trailers to ensure privacy. They were recruited using a direct approach (on average, four unsuccessful attempts were required for one interview) or through gatekeepers who were prominent members of the Travelling community. A topic guide for individual and group interviews was developed from an initial pilot study, conducted in Aberdeenshire in 2006, when communication with a small group of Scottish Travellers "on the move" was established. The researchers also participated in informal gatherings of Gypsy Travellers and in four formal public meetings involving Gypsy Travellers. We complement this data with secondary literature and rely upon discourse analysis to digest it, since the shaping of social practices is central to our goals.

2. Scottish Gypsy Travellers

The total number of Gypsy Travellers in Scotland is unknown, but estimates suggest that it is no less than 20,000 (Clark and Greenfields, 2006; Research Consultancy Services, 2005). Absolute numbers are difficult to pinpoint with accuracy largely because Gypsy Travellers have only been recognised as an ethnic-racial group in law since October 2008 (Davidson, 2008), and they are not yet included in Scottish Census records (Watt, 2008). To date, there have been few studies which focus on the centrality of movement for Scottish Gypsy Travellers, particularly in terms of how dominant society "accommodates" their mobility (Bancroft, 2001; Clark and Greenfields, 2006; Fraser, 1995; Shubin, 2010a, although see the following studies for examples outside of Scotland: Kabachnik, 2007; Niner, 2004; Okely, 1983; Vanderbeck, 2005). In fact, research on Scottish Gypsy Travellers is sparse in general, perhaps owing to their limited numbers within this small nation (although see Clark, 2007).

Yet, this is a group that faces high levels of discrimination and exclusion in Scottish society and that lacks the substantive protection accorded to "ethnic groups" by the Race Relations Act 1976 (as amended 2000) (Clark, 2006). As stated by Turbett (2009), "Scottish Gypsy Travellers are so marginalised a community in Scotland that their lack of rights and basic human dignity is almost taken as read amongst the settled population" (Turbett, 2009, p. 1). On the one hand, the stereotyping and largely offensive coverage of Gypsy Travellers within the Scottish media constructs Travellers' mobility in terms of inferiority and otherness (CRE, 2005). On the other hand, state policies construct their mobility and ethnicity using assimilationist, sedentarist and often racist discourse (Clark, 2007). For this reason, research on this group is important, not only to better understand discourses pertaining to mobility but also to understand some of the broader factors leading to their marginalisation in Scotland.

Gypsy Travellers in Scotland are a highly heterogeneous group but do share some common characteristics. Cross disciplinary studies on traditional Gypsy Traveller culture stress independence, travel, preference for self-employment, occupational flexibility, and extended family networks as important cultural values (Clark, 2006; Liegeois, 1994; Mayall, 2004; Okely, 1983, 1997; Reid, 1997; Trumpener, 1992; Whyte, 2000). Yet, while mobility remains a

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[2] Urry, 2002 describes imaginative mobility as travel by means of imagination (anticipating the "atmosphere of place") and movement through images of people and places, which transcends geographical and often social distance.

[3] In this paper we deal with the discursive formulations of mobility in the legislative framework which applies to Scotland, including 1865 Trespass Scotland Act, 1960 Caravan Sites and Control of Development Act (part 1 applied to Scotland), 1977 Toleration Policy of the Advisory Committee on Scotland's Travelling People, 1984 Roads Scotland Act, 1986 Public Order Act, 1986 Caravan Sites and Control of Development Act (Sections 13 and 14), 1994 Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (Sections 61 and 62), 1990 Environmental Protection Act (2001 Amendment for Scotland), 2004 Anti-Social Behaviour Act. For more detailed explanation of difference between UK-wide and Scottish legislation applicable to Travellers see also Scottish Executive, 2004.

central tenet of Gypsy Traveller culture, institutional, political and social constraints have created a situation wherein many Gypsy Travellers are now "settled" and only travel for a few weeks of the year. The romanticised notion of a Gypsy Traveller freely roaming the countryside persists only in peoples' imaginations; the reality is that many now live in grim government encampments on the outskirts of urban areas (see Sibley, 1981). Many others have integrated into dominant settled society, particularly so their children can receive better educations (Vanderbeck, 2005). There is much diversity amongst Scottish Gypsy Travellers in terms of wealth (e.g., some are wealthy home owners, some live in middle class suburbia, while others are impoverished in council homes or encampments[4]) and travelling habits and styles (e.g., some travel year round while others do not travel at all). But a nomadic way of life or, at least, an aspiration to travel continues to be an important cultural value.

2.1. The idea of "travel"

The label "Traveller" stresses the importance of movement as a key part of Gypsy Travellers' cultural heritage, which separates them from settled populations or "country folk." Importantly, "travelling" in this case does not include only corporeal travel, but also other aspects of mobility. Nomadism signifies a way of thinking about the world as much as a way of living through it (Braid, 2002). The emotional, symbolic and imaginative elements of Gypsy Travellers' mobility are only recently being explored (Crawley, 2004; Jetten et al., 2002). While it is often accepted that expectations about travel and possibilities for reconnecting with the "spirit of travel" play a key role in the mobility of Scottish Gypsy Travellers (Clark and Greenfields, 2006; Clark, 2006), understandings of mobility in academic discourse tend to prioritise physical displacement and state-led settlement (Clark, 2007). In doing so, these discourses often overlook emotional affiliations, which can motivate Gypsy Travellers' movement, particularly towards important social functions, such as weddings, births, funerals, and religious festivals.

Even if acknowledged as a part of "nomadic subjectivities" (Radway, 1988), the emotional elements and symbols of mobility (e.g., caravans, traditional stopping places, signs at crossroads) are often discursively separated from understandings of travel accepted in academic literature (Morris, 2001; Sandland, 1996). Some academic discourses focus on localities as sources of meaning for mobile people while disregarding the emotional networks connecting Gypsy Travellers. They further overlook the power of images and narratives (i.e., travelling folklore) used to create links between family histories of Gypsy Travellers and their environment (Holgate, 1991; O'Nions, 1995; Porter and Taylor, 2007). The mobility of Gypsy Travellers involves the transmission of objects, expressions of support, the creation of landscapes of memories, as well as physical and emotional returns to particular places (Whyte, 2000). In this respect, Crawley (2004) writes about the need to account for key emotional fields (e.g., sense of loss, companionship, "homeliness"), which accompany the mobility of Gypsy Travellers.

The dominant discursive construction of "travel" in the literature often overlooks these emotional mobilities. For example, the "travel" metaphors employed in academic discourse tend to prioritise physical movement in search of employment while ignoring the more subtle aspects of travel (Drakakis-Smith, 2007). In England, Kabachnik (2007) stresses that while discursive constructions of nomadism in legal literature reflect its multifaceted character and regional variations, it still prioritises the economic component and enduring character of movement. Similarly, in Scotland existing understandings of mobility, which influence policy making, do not consider the complexity of nomadic practices (Clark, 2006).

However, the mobile practices of Scottish Gypsy Travellers highlight the complex range of feelings that emerge as a part or as a consequence of their movement. These mobilities can re-energise lives and provide opportunities for new emotions to emerge, which shape Travellers' relations with others (see also Shubin, 2010b). As stated by one Gypsy Traveller, "Travelling changes you…You do something when you are young and you go back and it's completely different….One minute you are a young boy in the river, the next minute you are a man back visiting again." (Mr. Wallace, council caravan site, Aberdeen, 31/03/2008)[5] Even the mobility of "settled" Scottish Gypsy Travellers could be described as metamorphic – both in terms of the embodied and physical changes associated with movement – since they no longer move in the same way as they did when they were on the road (Lomax et al., 2004). Changing economic opportunities may limit their movement to employment-based mobility, such as door-to-door sales and services. As stated by Mr. Marshall, "We are learning to be very flexible" (Mr. Marshall, unauthorised encampment, South Aberdeen, 31/03/2008).

Emotional dimensions of mobility are not peripheral, but central to Scottish Gypsy Travellers' lives as they shape their expectations and contribute to their understandings of family and friendship in spatialised terms. Contrary to its characterisation in academic discourse, this everyday understanding of "travel" reflects the commitment that most Travellers feel towards possible mobility and change. In this context, dreams about travel can be as important as a physical movement itself, which explains why some of the Travellers are reluctant to move into a house:

> "Mrs. Hearne: Our only option was that we would have to sell the caravan to do that and we weren't willing because we thought it promised us too much. Our idea was at least we have always got the caravan to up and go.
> Mr. Hearne: If we didn't like the house we could just go back in the caravan. Go on the road. It's maybe dreaming that you could leave." (Council caravan site, Montrose, Angus, 17/09/2007)

As Drakakis-Smith (2007) stresses, the importance of symbolic and imaginary movement has also been overlooked in much of the literature. Hawes and Perez (1995) note that changeable nomadic practices of this itinerant group challenge traditional definitions of mobility so that "people who live in caravans do not conform to generally accepted notions of what is meant by [nomadism]" (p. 7). As a result, fluid mobilities invert the innate meanings attached to "travel" so that "settled Travellers" are often more mobile than those camping by the road (Helleiner, 2000). The itinerant practices of Scottish Gypsy Travellers challenge academic accounts of unproblematic movement and highlight the significance of symbolic mobility as a part of the idea of "travel":

> My travelling days never found the way back onto the road, because I travelled a different one … However, as I said before, 'you can take the traveller out of the road but never take the road out of the traveller.' I believe my road is still there, finding new bends and campsites. Yes, of course they are all in my mind, but that's okay. As a storyteller and singer I share them with everyone (Smith, 2003, p. 223).

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[4] Council homes in the United Kingdom are a form of public housing. In the United States, a comparable form of housing would be the housing projects. Because of the 1977 Toleration Policy of the Advisory Committee on Scotland's Travelling People (discussed later in this paper), encampments are government-subsidised urban campsites provided for Gypsy Travellers. These are generally located in undesirable parts of the city, such as next to industrial sites or railroads.

[5] To protect the confidentiality of our research participants, all names used in this paper are pseudonyms.

Similarly, symbolic movement brings together geographic and imagined dimensions of "travel" for Scottish Gypsy Travellers. A Traveller historian refers to this travel as "a journey of the mind" or a "journey to a better land" of fairytales, which changes the very nature of physical movement (Robertson, 1988). Telling the tales and singing "moving" songs is not only related to physical travel, but also to being on the move. The idea of "travel" in this case also describes an act of coming together, an expression of expectations that can "move" a Traveller into places he/she didn't exactly "intend" to go:

"It's one of these songs, that people can join in. They make you move… They helped the journey [pause] go along … with a song. And each one contributed, to the welfare, and the happiness, of everybody who was on the trip (Elphinstone Institute, 2002, p. 3).

As Liegeois (1986) stresses, for Gypsy Travellers, mobility in itself is a fluid and transformative process which involves anticipating movement and adapting to changing living conditions with the possibility of travel in mind. These emotional, symbolic and imagined aspects that accompany the physical movement of Travellers are reflected in maintaining the travelling "atmosphere" and customs through religious meetings and festivals, which have taken the place of traditional Gypsy Traveller gatherings. These mobile religious events (e.g., annual Missions organised in different locations) provide opportunities for transformation through self-transcendance, meditation, spirituality and escape from the immediate environment of social marginalisation. They bring together physical and emotional dimensions of movement at a subconscious level, as a middle-aged Gypsy Traveller explains:

"When you come to the Mission, see the big tent, recognise people you know, hear the music playing … It suddenly jumps and you know… you suddenly realise it is a part of you, you want to get involved". (Mr. McMillan, council housing, Montrose, Angus, 16/02/2008)

2.2. Mobility and the narrative of collective history

Within the literature, Gypsy Travellers' mobility is discursively constructed as being "reliant on semi-mystic genealogy" (Okely, 1983) and supported by a collective cultural heritage. Stories about a travelling people who share an historic homeland and indigenous or Indian origins link Gypsy Travellers' traditions and worldviews to a mobile cultural space rather than to a fixed politically-defined space (Braid, 2002). First, the discursive construction of mobility as a key element of Scottish Gypsy Travellers' identity is based upon an understanding of movement as a virtue (Belton, 2005; Braid, 2002; McKinney, 2003). On the one hand, common histories emphasise the ability of Gypsy Travellers to exploit their geographical mobility in order to sustain their independence in often hostile environments (see Tale of the Fox and the Dog examined in Okely, 1983). On the other hand, collective histories provide opportunities through storytelling, singing "moving" songs and mobile performances (e.g., festivals, gatherings) to reaffirm the mobile identities of itinerant people. These histories are often "hidden" as they are mostly oral family histories, and they bring together material artefacts (e.g., pictures, caravans) and memories of travel collected on their journeys (Drakakis-Smith, 2007; on mobile memories and histories in a different context see also Tolia-Kelly, 2004). Collective histories are recreated by means of storytelling, singing and performances which reaffirm the mobile identities of itinerant people. In this context mobility is regarded as both the process that facilitates the creation of overlapping allegiances with friends and family and the process that defines the very existence of Gypsy Travellers:

"When Travellers speak of travelling, we mean something different from what country people usually understand by it. … Country people travel to get from A to B. But for Travellers, the physical fact of moving is just one aspect of a nomadic mind-set that permeates every aspect of our lives. Nomadism entails a way of looking at the world, a different way of perceiving things, a different attitude to accommodation, to work and to life in general". (McDonagh, 1994, p. 95)

Second, mobility is discursively constructed as a passage from the past (e.g., understandings of shared ancestry) to the future (e.g., dreams of reunion), which differentiates Gypsy Travellers from non-Travellers and explains their way of life (Blasco, 1999; Stewart, 1997). In this case, the movement of Scottish Gypsy Travellers is presented as something that is not quite finite but rather encompasses journeys along a continuum (Reith, 2007). For instance, existing understandings of mobility often subordinate movement as travel from A to B and lack information about what happens beyond the physical act of moving (but see Conradson and Latham, 2007). From this perspective, historic milestones are discursively constructed as "rest and be thankfuls", an understanding which connects places of "origin" with "destination" places (Elphinstone Institute, 2002). Movement in this context characterises belonging to a nomadic group and is understood as part of the culture and heritage into which mobile people are born (Reid, 1997). Discursive representations of mobility make use of group symbols (e.g., rituals and beliefs stressing the "innate" drive to travel) in order to highlight the difference between traditional and lifestyle-choice based nomadism (Powell, 2008). Discourse relating to mobility also defines group-specific rules, which regulate the cohesion of itinerant communities. As Okely (1997) stresses, Gypsy Travellers' solidarity is supported by collective memories and shared origins theories, which maintain the boundary between Gypsy Travellers and settled communities. This sentiment is captured in the following statement: "You can forget the Travelling life but it never forgets you. It's not something that you can just join; it's something you are born into." (Mr. Wallace, council caravan site, Aberdeen, 23/03/2007).

However, Okely (1997) warns us against uncritical interpretations of the relationship between mobility and the collective history of Gypsy Travellers. Discursive representations of mobility are made up of specifically constructed historic narratives, which do not reflect differentiated nomadic experiences and practices. We need to recognise the limits to metaphors of mobility concerning Scottish Gypsy Travellers, which can overlook personal stories and trajectories. Moreover, the histories and biographies of Scottish Gypsy Travellers suggest that many do not attach definite (positive or negative) meanings to mobility and, due to their range of experiences, do not produce homogenous narratives of travel. For some Gypsy Travellers, mobility does not represent a particular idea (a "virtue") which tries to imprint itself on their living, but rather it is a practised possibility for change. As one Gypsy Traveller describes, movement cannot be discursively captured as it opens up opportunities for escape from mundane urban living and from a world where it is difficult to fit in:

"My brother settled down in this place, Methil, over in Fife, right. There was a lot of drink, boys going about, starting mixing in with the wrong people and then …he started getting depressed in the house, so he started getting himself into bother. He just couldn't adapt to this lifestyle you know, he couldn't adapt to this. He lived with nothing to do, the same routine everyday, getting up, walking to the shop, getting the driving licence, and then he finally passed his test. "That's it",

he said, "I am out of here now". That was him back to the travelling way of doing it. He said: "That's enough, get out of here! Now I can live again". (Mr. Grey, unauthorised encampment, Montrose, Angus, 16/02/2007)

Similarly, the everyday experiences of travel expressed during our interviews suggest that Gypsy Travellers do not see their movement in terms of linear progression. Changing temporalities of Gypsy Travellers′ mobility challenge its discursive formulations as their travel comprises periods of stillness and movement, which do not have clear points of departure and arrival. Homogeneous narratives of mobility risk oversimplification of much more chaotic and 'messy' itinerant practices, which involve both unplanned, interrupted movements and different kinds of travel:

"Our neighbours are moving first thing tomorrow morning, so I can't stay here on my own. We did not plan it, but we expect to be always on some sort of journey, physical or spiritual... Well, we know the piece of ground where people stay in Montrose just now; we can go there. Or we might need to move for a while, but then stop." (Mr. Marshall, unauthorised encampment, South Aberdeen, 31/03/2008)

It is therefore important to be aware of messy and difficult-to-categorise histories, which describe what Krupat (1992) calls the "critical movement" of Gypsy Travellers: "movement not in the intent of going places; [but] ... a tentative feeling-around to encounters with Others" (p. 116).

2.3. Mobility, exclusion and exoticisation of the "other"

There is widespread public hostility towards Scottish Gypsy Travellers, largely because of their mobile ways of life (CRE, 2006). Many Scottish Gypsy Travellers share stories of liminality and in-betweenness, displacement, social exclusion and separation from emotionally-symbolic locations. The in-betweenness and "placelessness" of Scottish Gypsy Travellers is often assumed to be natural and related to their mobility. As Kabachnik (2007) stresses in England, while they are often prevented from settling down, Gypsy Travellers are expected to move and to be continuously "out of place". Similarly, Bancroft (2005) describes the position of Gypsy Travellers in Scotland as being "out of the way and out of mind" (p. 68). Thus while Gypsy Travellers' mobility is perceived as problematic, at times, their *immobility* is equally problematic (Hawes and Perez, 1995; McKay, 1996). As succinctly stated by one Scottish Gypsy Traveller, "You have to keep travelling until you disappear, you have to become self-effacing. You are never to be seen flitting from one place to the other. I'm an imaginary figure. Society doesn't want to acknowledge that you exist" (Mr. Young, council caravan site, Perthshire, 08/11/2007). These competing discourses suggest that the only way to "disappear" is to become fully assimilated into sedentary culture. In this context, Gypsy Travellers' mobility is discursively constructed as the reason for their limited attachment and rootedness in specific places. Sibley (2003) stresses that the liminality of Gypsy Travellers is often viewed through the prism of their assumed "indifference to place" and that negative images of movement are utilized in the narratives used to exclude these itinerant people.

The construction of Gypsy Travellers' identity happens as a reaction to the isolation of this marginalised group, which is often linked to practices of prejudice and discrimination on the basis of their mobility. However, narrow interpretations of mobility as solely physical movement ignore other practices that facilitate itinerant ways of life. This discursive construction of mobility also depicts forced displacement as the expected consequence of the "placelessness" of Gypsy Travellers (Evans, 2004). There are two main reasons for the discursive and practical exclusion of mobile populations. First, hostile reactions to Scottish Gypsy Travellers are underpinned by "sedentarist" thinking which assumes moral and logical primacy of fixity over mobility in space (Cresswell, 2006). The settled community

"...has often perceived the 'rootlessness' of the Traveller lifestyle as a 'threat' to its stability and values. Because of their ability to 'move on' Travellers have been perceived as being unaccountable or 'outside the law'" (Molloy, 1998, p. 10).

Cresswell (2001) stresses that sedentarianism and "anti-nomadism" are deeply rooted in Western thinking where movement has traditionally been considered as something other than the norm. McVeigh (1997) links these negative constructions of mobility to the fact that "their [nomads'] very existence threatens, undermines, 'invades' sedentary identity" and has the potential to transgress existing power structures. The ability to come and go as you please, or possibly disappear in the night, disrupts understandings of 'normal' behaviour. The mobility of Travellers is constructed as threatening because they challenge the power of dominant settled groups to regulate movement and to travel freely (Kendall, 1997). Several studies in Scotland confirm that the fear of mobile people is often linked to their position of marginality, which may challenge the identity of the settled community and demonstrate values and beliefs which may have been lost with 'sedentarisation' (Clark et al., 1995; Morran, 2001, 2002).

As a result, Scottish Gypsy Travellers are discursively constructed as inferior, unwanted invaders, especially in the media (Clark and Campbell, 2000; Kabachnik, 2010). In Scotland, it is argued, "it is socially acceptable to be racist towards Gypsies and Travellers – numerous examples in media, policies and practices of public bodies demonstrate" (Cemlyn et al., 2009, p. 210). As Mayall (2004) states, the British media often depicts itinerant people as a problem akin to natural disasters. Similarly, as Turner (2002) stresses, political discourses in the British parliament make "Gypsies vilified... the same words keep re-occurring... filth, crime, excrement... there are few words of sympathy" (p. 26). Both imagined mobility (based on the expectations of potential damage to settled communities) and physical movement (often exaggerated due to increased publicity and visibility) are represented as suspect and invasive (Sibley, 1995). This imposed out-of-place status of Gypsy Travellers contributes to their dominant imagination as abstract "forever strangers" and nomadic "non-belongers" (Powell, 2008).

Second, the discursive and practical exclusion of Scottish Gypsy Travellers results from considering movement as an absolute in nomadic thinking (Cresswell, 2006). From this perspective, mobility is seen as positive force, "pure travel", which can subvert the trappings of power and domination. The emancipatory metaphor of nomadism, based on the works by Baudrillard (1989), Deleuze and Guattari (1987) and de Certeau (1984) and other social theorists, portrays mobility as "freedom" from spatial order, settlement and regulations of the state. Although Gypsy Travellers in Scotland are predominantly perceived negatively, there have been some representations of Gypsy Travellers as perpetual nomads and romantic wanderers (Rehfisch and Rehfisch, 1975; Reith, 2007; Sonneman, 1999). Mobility in this case is discursively linked to Gypsy Travellers' "unwillingness" to integrate into settled society because of their travelling habits and itinerant work schedules.

This imagination of mobility invokes two powerful discourses: the exoticisation of the past and the exoticisation of another culture. On the one hand, it situates Scottish Gypsy Travellers in the past and denies their connection to the present (Braid, 1997). Travellers' freedom and ability to move is linked to traditional work-practices which call for some measure of mobility (including scrap dealing, trading and hawking). This metaphor of mobility is aspatial and insensitive to time as it tends to construct Gypsy Travellers

as the static and unchanging "other". On the other hand, constructing Gypsy Travellers as people engaged in perpetual boundary-breaking journeys often leads to a misunderstanding of their "real-life" experiences. Imagining mobility as a counter practice leads to the creation of an essentialised construction of the heroic Gypsy Traveller, who resists the state and its normalising powers. Representations of Scottish Gypsy Travellers as "always travelling" portray them as placeless "others", who can be and should be excluded from the social scene.

To summarise, constructions of mobility employed in academic discourse tend to prioritise certain elements of movement. First, discursive constructions of the idea of "travel" highlight physical dislocation and displacement, but often miss out on the complex interrelationships between different meanings of travel. Such representations misconstrue the complex significance of imagined and emotional mobility to Gypsy Traveller life, as well as disregard their metamorphic movement and changing nomadic practices. Second, while narratives of travel help shape the cultural spaces of belonging, trivialised and uncritical interpretations of the collective history of Scottish Gypsy Travellers can lead to essentialised views of mobility. Third, mobility is discursively linked to the exclusion of Scottish Gypsy Travellers. Both sedentarist and nomadic thinking produce an image of nomads as "placeless" and "non-belonging", which contribute to their marginalisation. In this context, mobility is essentialised, while the actual practices of nomadic living are ignored.

In the following discussion, we explore how discourse translates into policy to maintain the marginalisation of Gypsy Travellers in Scottish society. We unravel different discursive strategies which subordinate mobile ways of life and legitimise Gypsy Travellers' limited access to social resources and exacerbate their inequality.

3. Discursive regulation of mobility

3.1. Producing "inferior" mobilities

Due to their traditionally nomadic lifestyles, Scottish Gypsy Travellers have long occupied the bottom rungs of Scottish hierarchies of power. Itinerancy in Scotland has been the object of legislative control for almost two centuries, with legislation affecting not only Gypsy Travellers' rights to move, but their broader social and economic conditions (Clark, 2006). Discursive strategies used in policy documents emphasise the homogeneity of different forms of mobility; stereotypes have been used to smooth over differences in Scottish Gypsy Travellers' lifestyles. Despite being almost 150 years old, the legislation most often used to regulate Gypsy Travellers' mobility is the 1865 Trespass Scotland Act. The 1865 Act emphasises 'inherent' differences between the settled majority and the so-called travelling class. It was put into effect shortly after the Highland Clearances and was specifically designed to keep Gypsy Travellers off their ancestral lands and traditional camping grounds (Christie, 2007).[6] Even though scholars suggest that the Trespass Act is highly outdated and perhaps in violation of human rights, it set the tone for the legislation that followed to move Gypsy Travellers on (Reid, 1995).

Subsequent policies for 'managing' mobility include the 1984 Roads Scotland Act and the 1986 Public Order Act. While the scope of these pieces of legislation is broad, parts serve to regulate Gypsy Travellers' mobility and limit their travelling ways. These acts demonstrate understandings of physical travel as chaotic and dis-

ordered and as something that must be brought under control. For instance, the 1984 Act forbids encampments anywhere on or near a road and forbids campfires within 30 m of a road, thus effectively granting Scottish authorities the right to displace Gypsy Travellers parked near any road in the country (Clark et al., 1995). In a similar vein, the 1986 Act (Section 14) prevents gatherings of more than twenty individuals, given the assumption that there may be disorder, damage, disruption or intimidation. This piece of legislation has been a blow to many in the Scottish Gypsy Traveller community, as large community gatherings have long been an important part of their culture (ACPOS, 2008). The 1986 Act not only imposed physical boundaries on travel, but also limited Gypsy Travellers' opportunities to maintain family networks through the criminalisation of group camping. By targeting individuals with caravans, the emotional and cultural aspects of mobile ways of life have been compromised (Lloyd and Morran, 1998). A working mother explains:

> "The authorities won't let you in with a van or a lorry on a caravan site. With a small caravan you can sneak in. Because they think in terms of caravans and they don't know who you are. However, when you go with a transit van with ladders on the roof, the dog hanging out of the window… a van with sign-writing and all your pictures on it, they know we are Travellers. They don't like big families coming together. They shift you, because they didn't really know Travellers' culture or spoke to them and got to know them as people." (Mrs. Marshall, unauthorised encampment, South Aberdeen, 31/03/2008)

Other legislation led to the imposition of not only physical, but also symbolic boundaries on movement. The Caravan Sites and Control of Development Act 1960 (Part 1 as applied to Scotland) defined mobility as a temporal activity of displacement (e.g., getting to destinations) and drew a distinction between mobile sites and mobile people travelling between those sites.[7] These symbolically isolated itinerant people, whose travelling lifestyles were not limited to re-positioning, and marginalised diverse practices of living and working "on the move" (Sibley, 1981). The "Toleration Policy" of the Advisory Committee on Scotland's Travelling People attached further negative moral and ideological codings to mobility (Bancroft, 2005). Since its introduction in 1977, the policy encouraged local authorities in Scotland to provide permanent sites for Travellers, but it led to them being constantly moved on and harassed. In this "toleration policy", the logic of sedentarist thinking influenced the discursive marginalisation of Gypsy Travellers' movement, which was defined in opposition to the fixity of settled groups. Specifically, this legislation used strategies of selective allocation of meanings to mobility: while the sites for mobile people could be considered permanent, the Travellers themselves could not (Bancroft et al., 1996). The site provision policy, reinforced in the Circular 13/1980 in 1980, referred to Scottish Gypsy Travellers as a "rotating population" assuming constant movement of Traveller families between permanent sites to free them for incoming families, despite the willingness of some to settle on their "home" site or to use it as a base (and retain the pitch) while continuing to travel (SSACSTP, 2000).

This sedentarist thinking constructed the image of mobility in opposition to fixity, as something which could be "tolerated" or removed. As a result, the very geography of movement has been affected by variable responses of local authorities, landowners and

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[6] The Highland Clearances involved mass evictions of poor land tenants (crofters) in the Highlands of Scotland during the 18th and 19th centuries. These clearances led to vast depopulation of northern Scotland and high rates of migration abroad.

[7] Although some parts of the 1960 Act did not extend to Scotland, its core formulations regarding provision of suspension and eviction orders (Part 1.ss3–5) and barring of Gypsy Travellers from conventional caravan sites (Part 1.ss 13) applied to Scotland. Importantly, the Act has discursively isolated all groups of Travellers in the attempt to provide "help and encouragement to find a settled way of life" (Belton, 2005, p. 111).

police to these unauthorised encampments with Gypsy Travellers looking for traditional stopping places or transit sites previously "accepted" by the authorities. Some Scottish Gypsy Travellers have successfully campaigned to change this perception, as a local government officer admits:

"Our authorised site is based up at Doubledykes on the outskirts of Perth... It's a very settled community at Doubledykes; a lot of the Travellers have been there since 1982, and before that, before the site was actually established. And there is very little travelling actually takes place, probably just during the summer months for holidays. So they wanted to have their lifestyle recognised without prejudice and stereotypes. They campaigned religiously with the Scottish Executive... and we were successful in obtaining funding from the Scottish Executive to provide chalets on these pitches." (Mrs. Gemmell, Perth and Kinross Council, 06/02/08)

The 1994 Criminal Justice and Public Order Act has further complicated Gypsy Travellers' mobility and effectively criminalised the nomadic way of life of Scottish Gypsy Travellers (Smart et al., 2003). This legislation prohibits six or more vehicles (with a vehicle being defined as a car or a caravan) camped on a piece of land; failure to leave the property gives police authorities the right to seize and impound offending vehicles. If a landowner feels "threatened" by Gypsy Travellers, a likely occurrence given high levels of prejudice in Scotland, this is further grounds for eviction. Offenders are forbidden from returning to the same piece of land for three months thereafter, or else face fines or imprisonment. A father of three testifies to this:

"We are put here, or shunted there, or put here. You can stay in six caravans for maybe five to six weeks; they will give you a toilet but no more than six trailers. Any more than six trailers!... The reason that you can stay in here it's a dump. It is a dump, [but we will stay] until somebody local complains. The police were in the other night and already asked how long we were planning to stay here. I am not really going to be long here but this has been a stopping ground for Travellers as far as I know for the number of years!" (Mr. Marshall, unauthorised encampment, South Aberdeen, 31/03/2008)

As such, Gypsy Travellers have been symbolically excluded from "local" communities and treated in opposition to settled groups, the rights of whom superseded those of itinerant populations.

3.2. Ordering mobility

Different discursive strategies have been employed in policy documents, which have maintained continuity in representations of mobility. First, definitions of mobility were used to stress specific characteristics of movement deemed "acceptable." Sections 13 and 14 of the 1986 Caravan Sites and Control Development Act (as applied to Scotland) provided a definition of "a caravan" that was used in subsequent legislation. This legislation confined the space in which Scottish Gypsy Travellers lived and limited their practices of mobility to a singular stereotypical representation of regulated travel, which could be "mapped" and regulated by the sedentary norms of the housing market. A young Travelling woman explains:

"Caravan comes under the same category as your house; if your house is clean, you pay your bills, you get council support. It's actually cheaper for a Traveller to have a house than to have a caravan at the Clinterty [caravan site] because the flat we live in is only like £54 a week and its £72 out at Clinterty." (Mrs. Smart, council housing, Aberdeen, 16/11/2007)

While perhaps not the explicit intention of these acts, the outcome has been that the culture and lifestyles of Gypsy Travellers have been compromised. The rhetoric of sedentarist thinking is reproduced in housing policies which require mobile individuals to obtain permission to leave their sites and to pay rent during absences (Angus Council, 2008). The majority of tenure agreements on authorised caravan sites interpret mobility as physical movement that has to comply with temporal regulations in the form of daily curfews and limited annual absences (Aberdeenshire Council, 2006, 2007; Niner, 2004; Perth and Kinross Council, 2005a,b). A father of two testifies:

"The councils just don't understand what Travelling people need. They have just put that new barrier at the entrance [to the caravan site]; the site warden comes on at nine in the morning, he opens the gate and about five he locks the gate. And my work is in Aberdeen mostly: I am away from seven in the morning, sometimes earlier. I wouldn't get my work done! If I don't get my work done how am I supposed to pay them my rent and the council tax, which I pay every week? And so I said it's no good to me, I said I either need a key or someone to be there a bit earlier and they just said: "Well, we can't do anything about it, you are going to have to park your van outside the gate". That's not really safe, because I have got tools in it and stuff which I can lose if it got broken into and they just couldn't understand that". (Mr. Hearne, council caravan site, Montrose, Angus, 17/09/2007)

Apart from discursive reformulation of travel, legislation has provided grounds for the spatial ordering of mobile people, which has resulted in their inability to obtain planning permissions for private caravan sites and the insufficient provision of suitable rented caravan sites (Cemlyn et al., 2009). Emphasis on order has long been embedded in the disciplinary discourses of physical mobility, which have required compliance with culturally alien housing options, leading to isolation from extended family and, often, racism from neighbours (Cemlyn and Clark, 2007). As noted by one Gypsy Traveller,

"That's why you will get people turn around and saying I wondered what happened to all these tinkers, all these Gypsies who used to travel about. They don't realise that they have all been put into conveyor belts and housed, integrated and normalised to bring about the cultural destruction of Gypsy Traveller life". (Mr. Young, council caravan site, Perthshire, 8/11/2007)

Second, the post-war Scottish legislation affecting Gypsy Travellers has led to discursive rejection of problems experienced by itinerant groups. The policies related to Scottish Gypsy Travellers, specifically the 1984 Act, were often poorly implemented, with local authorities failing to provide sufficient sites. As a result, due to much misinformation surrounding Gypsy Travellers' circumstances, they were allocated a marginal space (both physically and culturally) in Scottish society. As Bancroft (2005) argues, Gypsy Traveller sites in Scotland are located where no settled housing can be built. An interview with an elected official in Aberdeen confirms this:

"A dreadful admission, I have never been to Clinterty. But from everything that I have heard about Clinterty ...(a) it's in the wrong place, and (b) I think it was put there to be out of the way ... Okay, now we have got a space within the city boundary for Gypsy Travellers then, therefore, we can shove them all there and forget about them." (Mrs. Murray, Aberdeen city council, 11/01/2008)

This elected official continued by stressing that this "marginality" is important in the allocation of sites for Gypsy Travellers:

"My hope is that we can find places for these sites and its going to take time because if the sites are properly managed, and they are not going to become a mess and an eyesore, and there are not going to be all the kind of problems that we have seen then I think people will just kind of forget about them and let the Gypsy Travellers get on with their own lives". (Mrs. Murray, Aberdeen city council, 11/01/2008)

This lack of knowledge about the location of mobile groups has often made itinerant populations "invisible" to the state and has consequently aggravated many of the health and educational problems endured by Scottish Gypsy Travellers (Gundry, 2001). Moreover, many Gypsy Travellers have dropped out of social policy networks where their problematic experiences have been continuously overlooked. For example, the various Social Security Acts have collectively discriminated against mobile people involved in temporary work and disqualified itinerant individuals from social welfare by requiring a "fixed abode" status (Belton, 2005).

To summarise, romanticised cultural constructions of mobility reproduce idyllic imaginations about itinerant lifestyles; at the same time, they exert an obfuscatory influence over the recognition of Gypsy Travellers' poverty and social exclusion. By this logic, Gypsy Travellers' can often be thought of as deprived in relation to the facilities available on camping sites and resources available to them, but they are denied the right to be viewed as poor because of the perceived aesthetic benefits inherent in their "romantic" travelling lifestyles.

3.3. Transforming mobilities

Policy discourses employ transformative strategies to re-define mobility, which reflect changing political realities. While early policies disrupted Scottish Gypsy Travellers, subsequent legislation has become increasingly punitive, which has exacerbated Gypsy Travellers' social and spatial exclusion. To begin with, changing moral interpretations of movement led to the near criminalisation of mobile groups and discursive reformulations of mobility (Bancroft, 2000). Increasing anxiety about 'New Age' Travellers in the 1980s resulted in moral panics in relation to mobility, which were reflected in subsequent legislation. The images of the "placeless" stranger and the Gypsy Traveller in policy discourse produced a deeper conceptualisation of mobility as a threat, which needed to be controlled. However, the 1986 Act contributed to the further criminalisation of itinerant lifestyles and forced sedentarisation. The Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 (Sections 61 and 62) provided specific associations between Gypsy Travellers and deviance and effectively made nomadism illegal (Kabachnik, 2007). Although these statutes deal with "trespassers" and do not specifically mention "Gypsy Travellers", their practical application has been tested in the Scottish courts as they were widely used to "move on" Scottish Gypsy Travellers (Scottish Executive, 2004). In this legislation, mobility was discursively constructed as a "problem", which could be tolerated only if Gypsy Travellers complied with regulations by compromising cultural norms (e.g., small groups of vehicles, staying for short period of time) and adopted dominant sedentary ethics (defined as being perceived as "non-threatening" to land owners).

The Anti-Social Behaviour Act (ASBOs) 2004 goes further in regulating Gypsy Travellers' behaviour by targeting key activities associated with camping. Local Councils in Scotland have developed paternalistic 'Codes for Gypsy Travellers,' which attempt to fortify discursive associations between the uprootedness and threat inherent in mobility. Scottish Gypsy Travellers are prescribed to "space themselves out; park away from other groups" (Angus Council, 2008) and to behave as "good neighbours" by "not caus[ing] noise, nuisance, pollution or damage to the site"

(Perth and Kinross Council, 2005a). In essence, these regulations re-define mobility as a concept framed by the rigid notions of "place" and "community" (being "good neighbours" implies fixity, stability and physical proximity). However, the mobility of Gypsy Travellers puts into question the very sedentary thinking and "territorial" concepts of spatial organisation of service provision and the structuring of state space (Brenner, 2004).

Second, discursive strategies transformed the meaning of mobility as travel for an economic purpose. In England, Kabachnik demonstrates the gradual exclusion of this economic component from dominant definitions of nomadism in legal discourse (Kabachnik, 2007). Similarly, in Scottish policy discourse the meanings of mobility have been transformed under the influence of changing moral norms and attitudes to mobile employment. A range of employment-related legislation, including the UK-wide Environmental Protection Act 1990 and its 2001 Amendment for Scotland, incorporated morality codes and legitimised the exclusion of itinerant people involved in temporary, mobile and trade-related employment (CRE, 2005). These documents expressly prohibit the occupation of scrap-metal collection (Schedule 1) and strike at the heart of many of Gypsy Travellers' employment traditions. To date, at least one Scottish council has banned door-to-door soliciting and provided moral interpretations of mobile ways of life and door-to-door trade as "threatening".[8] This legislation curtailed itinerant ways of life and was detrimental to many Gypsy Travellers who often rely on door-to-door solicitation as a key means of finding work. Furthermore, this discursive redefinition of the economic elements of mobility has resulted in changing perceptions of Gypsy Travellers as mobile people with fixed addresses. A joiner explains:

"I think it's getting harder for Travelling people to move around. I think it's hard for them just to be in one place, working for a week or two, and then up and going, and then going somewhere else. There are people that do that and they work that way but they get criticised if things go wrong. Settled people don't trust those who do the job and disappear, even if it is done well. . . .I feel like I am better settled, I advertise my work and I just feel that I am more established in my work. I have not changed my telephone or address in the last three years." (Mr. Hearne, council caravan site, Montrose, Angus, 17/09/2007)

Because of this limited appreciation of different aspects of mobility, Scottish Gypsy Travellers are often seen as not "active citizens", who do not provide an adequate economic and social contribution to society (Kearns, 1995). They are often accused of breaking moral codes by indulging in theft, benefits fraud and petty crimes. On the grounds of this perception, Gypsy Travellers in Scotland are denied the right to belong to the dominant moral landscape and considered as "non-deserving" in terms of access to economic benefits and social resources (see Cemlyn et al., 2009 for examples of discrimination of Scottish Travellers).

Third, discursive strategies used in the policy documents re-defined temporalities of mobility. Post-war policies regulating the provision of accommodation for itinerant people were developed on the assumption that Gypsy Travellers wanted to settle down, so their mobility was defined as a "temporary" thing. The 1960 Act emphasised short-term mobility and provided opportunities for local councils to prevent Travellers from using sites in long-term transit. In this context the term "transit" also defined the peripheral position of mobility in policy discourse, where temporary sites for Scottish Gypsy Travellers often lacked basic facilities and their needs were neglected. Subsequent legislation has further regulated mobility and increased the frequency of travel, because

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[8] Doorstoppers initiative by Tayside Police and the Angus Council, 2007.

Gypsy Travellers were forced to move on (Communities Scotland, 2006). While recent government policies attempt to attend to different mobile practices (rather than simply disregarding mobility), changing definitions of travel do not always differentiate between Travellers seeking sites and those passing through (ACC, 2007).

Policy definitions of mobility considered in this section raise important issues about the interpretation of movement within existing structures of power. Discursive strategies of production, perpetuation and transformation of meanings attached to mobilities in policy discourse are at play in the reproduction of physical, moral and symbolic boundaries imposed on movement. Although perhaps inadvertent, policy documents reduce multiple mobilities to simply geographical movement (re-positioning), which are disconnected from the lived (emotional, cultural, symbolic) spaces of Travellers. As a result, mobility in legislation is discursively constructed as an abstract rather than a relational concept so that the social relations and the social needs of itinerant people are culturally rejected. Formalised definitions of travel and the imposition of spatial boundaries lead to a situation wherein changeable and non-compliant mobile practices are overlooked ("absent") to the detriment of the travelling population.

The perpetuation of inaccurate mobility stereotypes in policy making, which rely on stressing the homogeneity of Scottish Gypsy Travellers, tends to categorise ambulant ways of life in terms of boundedness and permanence. However, the channelling of mobility in fixed and recognisable forms misses out on hybridity and the dynamism of itinerant lifestyles. Resulting transcultural and ahistoric images of travel serve to justify the symbolic isolation of Gypsy Travellers and the lack of service provision for itinerant people.

Scottish Gypsy Travellers have been increasingly marginalised in policy discourse, while the movement of nomadic groups has been discursively re-defined in relation to narratives of fixity. The inability of mobile groups to share dominant symbols of "place" and "community" has led to the cultural and moral exclusion of Scottish Gypsy Travellers (perceived as "non-deserving" people) and the gradual criminalisation of itinerant lifestyles.

4. Conclusions

This paper has attempted to unpack the relationship between mobility and the marginalisation of Scottish Gypsy Travellers. Specifically, we focused on the construction of mobile identities as the discursive "other" in studies of nomadism and in policies regulating movement. This article has demonstrated that the mobility of Gypsy Travellers is both excluded from and misunderstood in dominant discourses on movement and that this marginalisation embraces a set of power relations, including political and moral issues over representation and belonging. From our discussion, it is apparent that "accepted" representations of mobility either as a temporary "re-positioning" or permanent but abstract (invisible) movement reflect the dominant power relations and norms of settled Scottish society. Over the years, more overt representations of the mobility of itinerant groups as negative and inappropriate (as a "threat" to be eliminated) have been substituted by less pronounced expectations about their movement, which may be just as oppressive (as non-engaging and "invisible"). As Cresswell (2006) stresses, these representations reflect the fact that mobilities are differentiated and the placement of mobile groups in particular ways in relation to movement relies upon existing power relations. The marginality of Scottish Gypsy Travellers is the outcome of existing structures of power, which are reflected in dominant discourses of movement.

There are three important effects of these relations between power and marginality on the mobility of Scottish Gypsy Travel-

lers. First, dominant representations of Scottish Gypsy Travellers' mobility do not take into account differences within this group and consider their marginality as something fixed and permanent. Different discursive strategies constructing representations of mobility emphasise the homogeneity of this itinerant group thus privileging specific forms of "marginalised" mobility to the detriment of other individuals and groups. Attempts to produce linear and logical narratives of movement, which are linked to taken-for-granted metaphors of collective history or specific readings of the "idea of travel", risk oversimplification of fluid and messy mobile practices. Gypsy Travellers' metamorphic mobile practices challenge academic and policy approaches, which reinforce generalised representations of travelling lifestyles. As a result, many "Gypsies/Travellers continue to live their lives 'inside out'" (Drakakis-Smith, 2007, p. 472) with their experiences and practices hidden within dominant images of mobility. It is therefore important to continue giving voice to itinerant people themselves by attending to their constructions of mobility and to disaggregate seemingly static and unchangeable constructions of movement in policy discourse. Understandings of mobility as a differentiated process provide space for the inclusion of "other" groups of Travellers that were previously assimilated, denied or simply unknown.

Second, dominant representations of mobility have tended to define it as an abstract concept, which needs to be "controlled", overcome or negotiated. The narratives of mobility, which identified Scottish Gypsy Travellers as placeless "others" and nomadic "non-belongers", focused on the discrete outcomes of physical travel (or problems with them not moving) rather than on the nuances and complexities of movement. These representations reflect what Massumi (2002) calls "punctual" understandings of movement, which ignore the very process of travel and what happens on the move. The actual practices and spaces of mobility are overlooked and become subject to regulatory control through regionalised policy structures (organised within specific geographic boundaries). From this perspective, Scottish Gypsy Travellers become the subaltern "other", signifying the opposite of Euro-American modernity and positioned on the peripheries of metropolitan locales (Ahmed et al., 2003). Unsurprisingly, the inclusion of Scottish Gypsies Travellers in some policy mechanisms does not entail acceptance of their norms and behaviours, which are crucial for maintaining their mobile identities and lifestyles.

Third, non-relational representations of Gypsy Travellers' mobility in academic and policy discourse adopt a binary approach to movement, primarily in terms of fixity and flow. As Hannam et al. (2006) state, "social science research has been relatively "a-mobile" until recently" and its use of metaphors of geographical fixity (sedentarist thinking) or absolute movement (nomadic thinking) has led to the misrepresentation of nomadic groups. The mobile ways of life of Scottish Gypsy Travellers are considered either from the standpoint of absolute mobility or immobility thus stressing their non-belonging within the settled majority and legitimating their peripheral positions in Scottish society.

The inclusion of Scottish Gypsy Travellers requires developing pro-mobility representations, where the centrality of movement is reasserted (see Shubin, 2010a for specific examples). These representations include attempts to understand mobility as a space of alterity that recognises Gypsy Travellers as effective speakers and actors, particularly amongst policy makers. For instance, Scottish Gypsy Travellers have shared their knowledge of mobility as a way to innovatively engage with the environment (e.g., ranger services and outreach programs led by Gypsy Travellers) and provide outdoor educational courses, which are supported by the Aberdeen City Council (ACC, 2005). Similarly, mobility can also be seen as a way to express generational traditions (moving songs, mobile festivals) and promote the culture of North-East Scotland (Russell, 2005). The mobility of Gypsy Travellers has also been used as an

inspiration to develop "interrupted" learning in further education colleges, tailored around people involved in migration (spatial movement) and those who have experienced changes in their life-courses (temporal mobility) (STEP, 2003). The mobile practices and traditions of Scottish Gypsy Travellers need to be rediscovered and appreciated not as sentimental relics, but as key elements in new systems of mobility linking together physical, emotional and imaginative forms of travel (Sheller and Urry, 2006). Mobile thinking provides opportunities for acknowledging the fullness, strangeness and creativity of mobile ways of life and rejecting exclusively linear and fixed orderings of mobility of itinerant groups in policy making.

In this paper we hope to have explained some of the issues that are involved in interpreting movement in academic and policy literature pertaining to Scottish Gypsy Travellers. Admittedly, the reconstruction of changing mobility discourses requires further elaboration. Nevertheless, we hope that our analysis of these discourses may provide some insights for understanding the variety of mobility practices and policy concepts formulated in the Scottish context, as well as to serve as an interpretative framework for understanding the processes constructing "hidden" politics of mobility.

Acknowledgements

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