



'Alright in their own place': Policing and the spatial regulation of Irish Travellers

Criminology & Criminal Justice

12(3) 307–327

© The Author(s) 2011

Reprints and permission:

sagepub.co.uk/journalsPermissions.nav

DOI: 10.1177/1748895811431849

crj.sagepub.com



Aogán Mulcahy

University College Dublin, Ireland

Abstract

Recent efforts to improve relations between ethnic minority communities and the police have generally revolved around a 'diversity' agenda, through strategies to enhance consultation, increase recruitment levels and so on. However, for communities characterized by nomadism, a different set of issues arises. For the police, nomadism undermines the information work which is at the heart of their governance mandate. This article considers relations between Irish Travellers and the police, and highlights police recourse to strategies of spatial regulation in dealing with Travellers. The scale of the evident mistrust and hostility is such that efforts to improve this relationship through the policing diversity agenda alone are likely to have little success unless they also address the acute marginalization of Travellers, and the provision of adequate accommodation in particular.

Keywords

diversity, ethnic minority communities, Irish Travellers, policing, spatial regulation

Introduction

Despite the common characterization of late-modern society in terms of mobility, fluidity and 'liquidity' (Bauman, 2000), this is applied in highly contrasting ways. On the one hand, it involves an appreciation and facilitation of the globalized economy and the mobility of capital and corporate executives, and the vast tourism industry. On the other, it involves deep concern over the 'problem' of mobility as represented and practised by illegal immigrants, global criminal networks and other 'disreputable' individuals and groups (Weber and Bowling, 2008).

Corresponding author:

Aogán Mulcahy, School of Sociology, University College Dublin, Belfield, Dublin 4, Ireland

Email: aogan.mulcahy@ucd.ie

Irish Travellers are in many ways held to epitomize the ‘problem’ of mobility, such is the affront they give to the territorial governance requirements of the police and other regulatory agencies. Yet despite their characterization as innately disreputable and criminogenic (Drummond, 2006), their experiences within the Irish criminal justice system have received relatively little attention. The available research highlights the negative and oppressive quality of most Travellers’ involvement with the criminal justice system (Bhreatnach, 2007; Fanning, 2009; Hourigan, 2011; Walsh, 2000). It is largely based, though, on charting cultural representations of Travellers, or focusing on high-profile or historical events. Detailed empirical accounts of the relationship between Travellers and the police and other criminal justice agencies are available, but – ironically – these relate to the experiences of Travellers in Britain rather than in Ireland (Coxhead, 2007; Pizani-Williams, 1998; Power, 2004, 2007; Richardson, 2007). Given the scale of the difficulties cumulatively highlighted in this research, it is clear that further sustained analysis of these issues is required.

Drawing on interviews with Travellers and members of An Garda Síochána (Ireland’s national police force),¹ this article examines the relationship between Travellers and the police in Ireland. First, I discuss the broad significance of spatial regulation within policing, particularly in terms of the emergence of the ‘policing diversity agenda’. I then consider the spatial exclusion of Travellers within Irish society, and their involvement with the criminal justice system historically. In the main body of the article I argue that a logic of spatial regulation has shaped – in negative and far-reaching ways – the police response to Travellers.

Policing, Diversity and Space

The weight of criminological research consistently demonstrates that ethnicity is an important factor in shaping people’s views on and experiences of the criminal justice system, and policing in particular (Bowling and Phillips, 2008; Rowe, 2004). Ethnic minority communities tend to be ‘over-policed’, through high levels of harassment, confrontational policing styles and overt misconduct of various forms (Chan, 1997; Keith, 1993). They also tend to be ‘under-protected’ insofar as their victimization is accorded a lesser significance by the police and other agencies (Bowling, 1999). The predictable outcome is that relations between the police and ethnic minority communities are often characterized by lack of confidence, suspicion and hostility.

Policy responses to address this situation – the specific contours of which, admittedly, vary greatly from society to society – have generally taken the form of what may be termed the ‘policing diversity agenda’ (An Garda Síochána, 2001, 2009; Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary, 2001). The measures that comprise this policy platform share a common focus on improving relations between the police and ethnic minority communities, and include efforts to increase recruitment, improve consultation mechanisms, and ensure that the victimization of ethnic minorities elicits an appropriately professional response (Rowe, 2004, 2007). Their focus largely has been on the culture and/or practice of policing, rather than on the wider social field within which the police operate (Chan, 1997). However, there is a danger that this agenda assumes a level of homogeneity that does not exist across ethnic minority communities, still less within

them (Rowe, 2004). It is clear, for instance, that 'respectability' is an important criterion for police officers when judging whether and how to deploy their powers (Kennelly, 2011; Weitzer and Tuch, 2005). As a consequence 'disreputable' white communities can enjoy relations with the police which are as bad or worse than relations between the police and ethnic minority communities (Webster, 2008: 293–295). The diversity agenda also largely relies on a geographical understanding of community (Rowe, 2004: 149–150) and so its adequacy is further problematic when it relates to groups for whom mobility is paramount (James, 2006, 2007).

Whether through the maintenance of order within state boundaries, or the explicitly local patrolling of particular neighbourhoods, policing is fundamentally about the regulation of behaviour within a specific spatial context (Herbert, 1997). As such, police suspicion is more likely to be aroused, and resources mobilized accordingly, when (typically marginal) people are judged to be 'out of place'. The spatial component of policing is itself related to the information work that is at its core (Ericson and Haggerty, 1997). Police officers assess ambiguous situations according to the logics of the organizational context and wider institutional and social field in which they work, and as these are mediated through the prism of police occupational cultures and the daily practice of policing (Bittner, 1970: 46). The situations to which the police respond invariably involve some degree of interpretive action on their part, and this has a fundamental spatial component. State authority and the police power that animates it depends on 'the capacity of the police to mark and enact meaningful boundaries, to restrict people's capacity to act by regulating their movements in space' (Herbert, 1997: 13).

While relations between nomads and 'the outside world' have always been complex and 'ambiguous' (Khazanov, 1994: 1), nomads typically were considered archaic remnants of the pre-modern age, culturally maladjusted to the norms of sedentary society and antagonistic to the territorial governance requirements of the nation state. As states sought to exert greater control over their territories through the enclosure of land and the expansion of the criminal justice system, nomads were deemed out of step with the mores and practices that would define modern society: sedentarism and predictability, wage-labour and private property, restraint and self-control, respectability and law-abidingness (McVeigh, 1997). Nomads were relegated to the margins, enabling society to be purified and morally cleansed by physically quarantining the source of pollution (Sibley, 1995).

As a consequence, nomads' engagement with the criminal justice system historically largely involved efforts to control their mobility, and ensure they remained in locations which would not cause concern for settled people (Mayall, 1988). Despite the expansion of legal protections and promotion of the doctrine of 'policing by consent', this relationship has remained largely unchanged to the present day. Although policies of inclusion and rehabilitation may be evident in particular contexts (Van Bochove and Burgers, 2010), most evidence suggests that nomadic groups disproportionately were subjected to a variety of enforcement strategies to discipline their disorderly lives and punish their encroachment onto the territory of respectable society. While research suggests that a range of criminal justice agencies operate in a discriminatory fashion towards Travellers (Mac Gabhann, 2011; Pizani-Williams, 1998), the depth of their marginal status was most apparent in their relations with the police.

While some authors have considered police efforts to develop better means of consultation with Travellers (Morris, 2001; Taggart, 2003) and to address police hostility towards them (*The Job*, 2005), research suggests that police misconduct towards Travellers – involving derogatory language, harassment, provocation and other forms of questionable and/or illegal behaviour – is both commonplace and expected (Cemlyn et al., 2009; Pizani-Williams, 1998; Power, 2004, 2007; Richardson, 2007). Coxhead (2007) suggests that misconduct is so routine and widespread that the treatment of Travellers constitutes ‘the last bastion of racism’ within the criminal justice system. While research highlights extraordinary levels of disdain towards Travellers, much of the police preoccupation with them arises from their mobility and ongoing efforts to control it, typically involving formal law-enforcement strategies as well as informal and extralegal measures (Power, 2004). In the case of ‘new Travellers’ – those who adopt a travelling lifestyle but who are not necessarily Gypsies or Irish Travellers by origin – a similar stance is evident, one which relies heavily on surveillance and spatial regulation (James, 2006, 2007).

Irish Travellers and Spatial Exclusion

Travellers comprise an indigenous minority group within Irish society and are characterized by a tradition of nomadism – although for a majority of Travellers their nomadism is occasional, and for some, it is largely aspirational – and distinctive cultural practices (see generally, Bhreatnach, 2006; Gmelch, 1985; Helleiner, 2000). According to the 2006 census, they number 22,369 people or 0.53 per cent of the Irish Republic’s population, although the All Ireland Traveller Health Study Team (2010: 43) estimate a higher figure of 36,224 Travellers in the Republic. Under the Equal Status Act 2002, discrimination on the basis of membership of the Traveller community is prohibited, but Travellers are not formally recognized as a distinct ethnic group by the Irish state, even though they are designated as such in Britain and in Northern Ireland (McVeigh, 2007). The UN Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination has ‘expressed concern at the State’s “persistent refusal” to recognise Travellers as an ethnic minority despite its earlier recommendations, and pointed out that they satisfied the internationally recognised criteria for such a group’ (*Irish Times*, 2011).

Despite their status as an indigenous community, Travellers remained firmly ‘out of place’ in the nationalist political project that emerged following Irish independence in 1922 (Fanning, 2002; Mac Laughlin, 1999). These nationalist sensibilities extolled the virtues of stable, homogenous, rural communities, and particularly ‘the fantasy of settling as many people on the land’ as possible (Garvin, 2005: 62). A cultural preoccupation with ‘place’ and ‘land’ – particularly against the historical context of colonialism and the sheer scale of agrarianism in Ireland – was and continues to be a hugely prominent theme of public life, and is reflected in levels of home ownership in Ireland that are among the highest in the European Union. This emphasis on land ownership went hand in hand with a rigid social and moral conservatism that emphasized piety, restraint and order (Ferriter, 2009; Inglis, 1998). The nomadism of Travellers was sharply at odds with such a determined appreciation of settlement. The exuberant gathering of Travellers at fairs and other social gatherings – important occasions for family reunions, match making and commerce alike – further associated them with carnivalesque disorder and excess.

During the 1960s, successive governments pursued strategies of assimilation, and the Minister for Justice starkly claimed that: 'there can be no final solution to the problems created by itinerants until they are absorbed into the general community' (Commission on Itinerancy, 1963: 111). By the 1980s and 1990s, the State formally committed itself to providing 'halting sites' for Travellers who did not wish to settle permanently in one location. However, responsibility for this was devolved to local authorities who proved reluctant to provide properly serviced sites in the face of vehement opposition from local councillors and residents' groups (Norris and Winston, 2005). As a result, only a small fraction of the government targets for the provision of Traveller accommodation has been provided. A 2008 government review of Traveller accommodation found that 524 Traveller families were still living by the side of the road without access to running water, toilet facilities, refuse collection or other basic services; 324 families were in shared emergency accommodation; and a further 1,035 families were in halting sites (National Traveller Accommodation Consultative Committee, 2008). In terms of health, mortality, child mortality, life expectancy, unemployment, education and literacy, Travellers rank significantly worse than settled people, and by most indices of deprivation they are a 'uniquely disadvantaged group' (Rottman et al., 1986: 73). Life expectancy for Traveller men and women is, respectively, 15 and 11.5 years less than for the general population (All Ireland Traveller Health Study Team, 2010).

While this material disadvantage has been one key and ever-present feature of Traveller life, the deeply antagonistic relations between Travellers and the settled community is a further dimension of this (Fanning, 2002; Helleiner, 2000). The 1963 Commission on Itinerancy noted that among settled people Travellers evoked feelings of 'bitter hostility often accompanied by fear', and it observed that 'in nearly all areas, itinerants are despised as inferior beings and are regarded as the dregs of society' (1963: 102). In a 1972–1973 survey, Mac Gréil (1996: 71) found that in terms of social distance Travellers were ranked 52nd out of 59 response categories given. Later surveys revealed that, despite some changes in the level of social distance, Travellers' relative ranking remained towards the very bottom of the scale. Out of 46 response categories provided in the 1988–1989 and 2007–2008 surveys, Travellers were ranked 43rd in the former, and 44th in the latter (Mac Gréil, 2011: 65–66). Furthermore, in the 2007–2008 survey, 18.2 per cent of respondents 'would deny Travellers citizenship', an increase from 8.2 per cent of respondents in the 1988–1989 survey (Mac Gréil, 2011: 313–314).

One dimension to the process of marginalization is the enduring manner in which Travellers have been constructed and characterized in relation to crime, and the following section considers Travellers and their involvement with the criminal justice system in Ireland.

Travellers and the Criminal Justice System

Within the Irish context, only in recent years has the issue of policing and ethnicity begun to receive any attention at all. The scale of ethnic homogeneity in Ireland was such that the Irish census did not even include a general question on race/ethnicity until 2006 (it included a question on membership of the Traveller community in the 2002 census). From 1996 onwards, as the economy expanded dramatically, Ireland changed from being

a society of net-emigration to one of net-immigration. The proportion of non-Irish nationals within the population increased from 6 per cent in 2002 to 10 per cent by 2006. By the mid-2000s, Ireland 'had a higher rate of immigration than any other European country save Luxembourg' (Loyal, 2011: 3), and by 2008 '1 in every 6 workers in Ireland was a migrant' (Loyal, 2011: 1).

High levels of public support historically had shielded the police from sustained calls for reform (Mulcahy, 2008). However in light of these demographic changes, Ireland adopted its version of the policing diversity agenda (An Garda Síochána, 2001, 2009). In 2001, An Garda Síochána established the Garda Racial and Intercultural Unit and subsequently ethnic liaison officers were appointed nationwide. Within this unfolding diversity agenda, however, Travellers have played only a supporting role. In 2005, for instance, a major recruitment drive also took place, which involved much-publicized efforts to maximize the number of applications from ethnic minority communities. The requirement that applicants had to be proficient in the Irish language was dropped, height restrictions were lowered and a 'residency' category was introduced as an alternative to nationality. These latter measures, however, had no bearing whatsoever on the recruitment of Travellers, for whom language, height and residency criteria had never prevented them from joining the force as of right. The recruitment campaign yielded 588 applications from people of Chinese background, but only seven applications from Travellers (even though the 2006 census records 16,533 people of Chinese background, compared to 22,369 Travellers).

Systematic information about Travellers and their attitudes towards and involvement with the criminal justice system is minimal, but analysis of the available evidence nevertheless demonstrates that Travellers have persistently been linked in public discourse with crime (Drummond, 2006). Historically Travellers were associated with relatively petty crime, largely opportunistic in nature. In 1945, the Minister for Justice claimed that: 'Tinkers are a nuisance ... They give trouble in some areas but I do not think they are a very big problem yet. The police have instructions to pay special attention to them' (quoted in Kilcommins et al., 2004: 67). The 1963 Commission on Itinerancy reported that settled people associated Travellers with 'constant begging, petty pilfering, trespass and damage in rural areas, drunkenness, noisiness and brawling when they get together' (1963: 102).

Travellers were disproportionately subject to punitive sanctions. Ferriter (2005: 595) noted that 'in 1965 two farmer's sons were sentenced to two years in prison after being convicted of the manslaughter of a traveller, while in the same year a traveller was sentenced to seven years for assaulting someone in a street brawl'. The 1963 Commission on Itinerancy (1963: 157) noted that 357 Travellers were given prison sentences in 1962: this represented 22.7 per cent of all committals in that year (Kilcommins et al., 2004: 54). One study estimated that Travellers comprised between 4.6 and 8.7 per cent of all prisoners in custody in October/November 2008, overrepresentation by a factor of between nine and 16 (All Ireland Traveller Health Study Team, 2010: 153).

Such overrepresentation went hand in hand with ongoing claims that Travellers were deeply involved in crime, and throughout the 1990s in particular, there was a gradual shift in the characterization of Travellers from 'petty' to 'predatory' criminals (Dillon, 2006). Garda respondents in a human rights audit claimed that in one region 'about 80 %

of crime had some form of Traveller involvement' (without outlining the basis on this claim) (Ionann Management Consultants, 2004: 82). In one prominent incident, newspaper columnist Mary Ellen Synon referred to claims that police believed 'more than 90 [per cent] of the attacks on elderly people in rural areas are being carried out by travellers based mainly in three centres'. She continued by describing Traveller culture:

It is a life of appetite ungoverned by intellect. It is a life which marauds over private property and disregards public laws. It is a life of money without production, land without cost, damage without compensation, assault without arrest, theft without prosecution, and murder without remorse. It is a life worse than the life of beasts, for beasts at least are guided by wholesome instinct. (*Sunday Independent*, 1996)

The public hysteria surrounding Travellers increasingly has found expression in concerns about 'feud-fighting' (Dillon, 2006; Hourigan, 2011). Feuds among Travellers may arise and persist, partly at least, due to the sheer weight of tradition, and from the pressure to secure some form of resolution to ongoing disputes in the absence of widespread trust in the police (Okley, 2005). However, the extreme levels of violence evident in some feuds, the range of weapons used and the large numbers involved in various group confrontations, cumulatively have reinforced the view that Travellers are innately criminal and violent.² In one 2007 survey in Ireland, 54 per cent of respondents agreed with the statement that 'Travellers are more involved in crime than the settled community' (36 per cent disagreed; *Irish Political Studies*, 2007: 218). Despite the absence of empirical research on Travellers' relative rate of involvement in crime, their reputation for criminality has nevertheless become an international phenomenon (see Drummond, 2006; Kabachnik, 2009). For instance, the police in several US cities have issued warnings over the imminent arrival of Traveller 'scam artists' in the locality,³ and other allegations relate to involvement in cross-border and international crime (Dillon, 2006).

This historical legacy of hostility and antagonism is the backdrop against which relations between Travellers and the police must be understood. As one garda report stated: 'From a policing perspective much of the interaction between the Traveller community and the Police is in a negative context and this makes it difficult to develop any degree of trust between both groups' (An Garda Síochána, 2001: 8).

Methodology

The research presented in this article is derived from two related projects: one on the relationship between policing and social marginalization (see Mulcahy and O'Mahony, 2005), and one on the changing field of policing in Ireland. The data are based largely on extended interviews and focus groups with Travellers and police officers conducted in 2002–2003, with some follow-up interviews being conducted in late 2003 and early 2004. Access to Traveller interviewees was negotiated through Traveller advocacy groups. The use of this qualitative methodology is particularly useful when seeking to obtain the views of members of marginalized communities, as these groups typically are underrepresented in conventional surveys even though their attitudes and experiences may vary considerably from other more established communities (Jones and Newburn,

2001). This is especially significant in relation to issues of crime and policing, where the racist victimization of one individual may be viewed locally as the intimidation of an entire community (Bowling, 1999). However, drawing on the assistance of such organizations to help contact individuals and groups does run the potential risk of appearing to be affiliated with that organization's position. During the interviews, therefore, particular care was taken to stress that the research was entirely independent of that organization.

Overall, five individual interviews were conducted with Travellers (lasting between one and two hours in length), and five focus groups that included approximately 40 individuals (each lasting about one hour in length). This was supplemented by a number of informal interviews at the time as well as in subsequent years.

While some Travellers were very eager to participate in the research, others were much more reticent. One of the focus groups was, at times, a painfully silent affair in which efforts to open up discussion on policing issues met with only limited success. Further evidence of mistrust was evident on another occasion when, during an individual interview, the interviewer was asked if he was 'a guard'. Even after assurances were given that the interviewer was not in the police, that the research was not being conducted by or for the force and that confidentiality would be maintained, the interviewee concluded the interview by again asking whether the researcher was 'a guard'.

The views of police officers were obtained through interviews with serving and retired gardaí, with access facilitated by the Garda Press Office and the Garda Síochána Retired Members Association, respectively. In all, over 40 serving and retired gardaí were interviewed, ranging in rank from garda to senior officer level. Most of these interviews were recorded (again, with a guarantee of confidentiality), and typically lasted over an hour (with some lasting well over two hours).

Researchers have previously highlighted the manner in which the norms of police occupational culture – suspicion, occupational solidarity and conservatism – impact on the research process itself (Reiner and Newburn, 2008). In conducting the police interviews, I sought to remain attentive to this issue by building up a rapport with the interviewees as much as possible. While in most cases few difficulties arose, the tone in several police interviews did change markedly when I asked about relations with Travellers: one officer visibly tensed up when I raised the issue, while another officer who was non-committal on this matter during the interview became very animated about Travellers once the formal interview was concluded and the tape-recorder switched off. As he put it, 'a lot of guards *really* dislike Travellers, like, *really* dislike them' (straining with emphasis as he stated this). He then claimed that most guards 'can't stand' Travellers, that they are more hostile towards them more than any other group in society, and that even the thought of having to deal with Travellers gave most guards a stress-induced facial tic (mimicking this as he was describing it to me).

Travellers as a 'Problem' Population

Police attitudes towards Travellers are neither monolithic nor uniformly negative. Gardaí typically distinguish – often drawing on their own positive/negative experiences – between Travellers they view as 'decent people' and those who are criminally active or otherwise 'disreputable'. As one officer stated:

I've dealt with Travellers both at the end of a baton and sitting down having a cup of tea with them. You get very, very bad Travellers and you get very, very good Travellers ... and the vast majority are grand, no problems with them at all.

Other officers also noted the need to distinguish between 'decent' Travellers and others, again highlighting their positive relationships with some Travellers.

one has to be very clear about this – they're not all as bad as one another. There's a certain element that are real criminals to the point of dangerous ... and I have known some very nice ones, very decent people, like _____, we'd speak and that kind of thing. She's a very nice woman. She has four very nice girls. In fact, I'm working with one of them now at the moment ... a lovely girl ...

Similarly, several Traveller interviewees mentioned instances of what they viewed as 'positive policing', including the actions of specific officers, as well as the activities of some units such as the Garda Racial and Intercultural Unit (since renamed the Garda Racial, Intercultural and Diversity Office). One Travellers' rights organization noted 'very commendable examples of good practice' (Pavee Point, 2000: 3) where gardaí had sought to prevent the media sensationalizing criminal incidents involving Travellers. However, the manner in which these individuals and units were singled out for praise frequently highlighted the broader failings associated with the police organization as a whole. For example, one interviewee suggested that without an introduction from a 'sympathetic' guard, he would have been treated 'completely the opposite':

he actually talked to me, I found, like a human being, not as a Traveller. He just talked to me, like he was talking to a person in the settled community, he treated me just as good as anybody else.

Another Traveller interviewee highlighted the distinction between individuals and the organization: 'there are sympathetic individual guards but there is no sense of a good service'. However, the difficulties of availing of a service that is accessed through approachable and helpful individual guards are clear, particularly 'where people would feel that they know nobody'.

Among the Traveller interviewees, there was a shared view that hostility towards Travellers was widespread within the police organization. Interviewees spoke of gardaí calling them 'knackers', its rhyming alternative 'cream cracker', or other derogatory terms. One garda officer noted that official discouragement of the term 'knackers' had led some officers to substitute it with 'stills', on the basis that Travellers are *still* 'knackers'.

A Garda Human Rights Audit found that relations with Travellers were worse than with any other social group asked about. Only 15 per cent of officers believed that relations between the force and Travellers were 'good', while 35 per cent claimed they were 'poor'. A higher proportion of officers claimed that their personal relations with Travellers were better than this, but even here officers still ranked their relations with Travellers worse than with any other group, including 'refugees and asylum-seekers' and 'black and other ethnic minority communities' (Ionann Management Consultants, 2004: 84).

Public satisfaction with the police in Ireland is typically considered high by international standards. While surveys during the 2000s recorded a slight decline in satisfaction levels, the most recent survey in 2008 recorded an overall satisfaction rate of 81 per cent (Browne, 2008). A 2007 report from the Garda Research Unit (Walker, 2007) found that, notwithstanding the methodological difficulties in obtaining the sample, relations between the police and different ethnic minority communities were largely positive, with satisfaction ratings that (surprisingly) exceeded the 81 per cent reported in the 2007 national survey. For example, 90 per cent of 'Black African' and 93 per cent of 'Chinese' respondents expressed satisfaction with the police (Walker, 2007: Tables 5 and 6). However, the findings in relation to Travellers were stark. Overall, a total of 52 per cent of Traveller respondents stated they were satisfied/very satisfied with the police, and 48 per cent were dissatisfied/very dissatisfied. By a considerable margin this was the lowest level of satisfaction, and the highest level of dissatisfaction, reported by any ethnic minority group, or in any of the national surveys. Such levels of dissatisfaction are likely related to the experience of policing reported in that survey. It found that 43 per cent of Travellers stated that a garda had behaved towards them in an unacceptable way, compared to 6 per cent for 'migrants' and 12 per cent for 'refugees' (Walker, 2007: Table 38), and 7.5 per cent of respondents in the general survey conducted in the same year (Browne, 2008: Table 49).

Policing Strategies of Spatial Regulation

Governance is predicated on information and the surveillance that accompanies and generates it. In terms of policing, Travellers remain elusive to many of the information demands that mobilize police activities and measure organizational behaviour (Ericson and Haggerty, 1997). The surveillance function inherent in monitoring a population – and in more prosaic terms, the need to check names, addresses and other spatially relevant information – is directly undermined by nomadism and its ethos of unpredictable transience over predictable sedentarism. As one officer put it: 'You'd need a special unit really to deal with them. You would, really, to keep track of them. Because you see they're moving all the time. How do you police someone with no address? "The Field, Tallaght"?'⁴

Police hostility towards Travellers reflects the dominant social imagery of Travellers as being grossly irresponsible, and innately criminal and violent. For many police officers, their mobility reflects an inherent untrustworthiness, to the extent that obtaining accurate information from them is viewed as near-impossible: 'They're compulsive liars ... to the point of not even telling you their name.' The frustration evident in police depictions of Travellers frequently focuses on issues of disrepute – of dishonesty, criminality and disdain towards authority generally. As one officer put it, 'probably any police force in the world will tell you they're the most frustrating people to deal with ... truth just goes out of the door ... they don't trust anybody in officialdom' (see also Coxhead, 2007). As a consequence, even gardaí who appear highly sensitive and responsive to the needs of Travellers view them as 'very difficult to police, absolutely'. They are, in policing terms, 'out of place', and as one Traveller interviewee put it, this involves policing strategies of 'control, containment and harassment'. Another echoed

this, characterizing the police's approach to Travellers as 'a tendency either to go towards heavy-handed policing, or a kind of hands-off approach'. The following sections elaborate these broad points by highlighting police recourse to and reliance on strategies of spatial regulation in dealing with Irish Travellers.

Containment and displacement

The police are in a unique position to facilitate or impede public access to particular locations (Beckett and Herbert, 2009). In that regard, they assume a fundamental role in the everyday lives and the broader cultural identity of Travellers. The experience of eviction from their campsites or unauthorized locations is embedded in Traveller culture (Helleiner, 2000; Power, 2004) and police involvement in this process is a source of enormous grievance. One woman recalled that when she moved to Dublin as a child, within six weeks her family were moved on:

the guards came out and they were saying 'come on, come on, you have to move on, you have to move on'. And I just remember even at 14 years of age thinking that it was very odd that these guards were coming and that they were treating us like shit.

Another recalled how evictions were 'fairly frequently violent as well, and emotionally, I suppose, in terms of your whole life being destroyed in one piece, and no care has been taken for it'. Irrespective of how calm or violent an eviction was, the police were profoundly implicated in its practice:

it's always in relation to discrimination or racism, in most cases, that Travellers have contact with the guards. There are some instances of feud-fighting and that kind of stuff where the guards come in and intervene, but the majority of the time it is because people are being removed because they're Travellers on a premises, or being evicted from a site. And the guards come and do it.

The traditional police approach when dealing with Travellers was containment, ensuring that Travellers did not encroach on the territory of local residents, or otherwise come to the attention of the police: 'You didn't bother with them unless somebody complained.' Another garda described how: 'when Travellers would come into an area, the local residents would ring up and the guards would go down and ask where are you going to be staying tomorrow night?' In general, then, Travellers posed a problem for the police when they strayed from their established – albeit temporary or marginal – areas. As one officer put it: 'Travellers are alright in their own place, easily dealt with.' Much of the policing of Travellers involved being moved on from various encampments. Police tactics to ensure this involved both informal requests to move on – albeit ones that would have been backed up by sterner measures if the request was refused. Prosecutions were brought not in the hope of securing a conviction, but rather to harass Travellers and ultimately to ensure they complied with police demands:⁵

I mean, they bend, literally fracture and bend every rule you can make...and you're just an inconvenience to them really. But they move on then when the heat comes on. And that's really

the way they were dealt with. If you wanted to move them on, you just kept prosecuting them and you knew you were going nowhere with the prosecutions, and they knew it was going nowhere either, but at least they moved on then, and they became someone else's problem.

Enforcement and control

It is clear that Travellers are judged not only through a spatial lens, but also through a moral one that routinely characterizes them as disorderly, deceitful and prone to criminal behaviour (Walsh, 2000). Indeed, many Travellers believe that the police view any contact with them as an opportunity to trawl for evidence of illegal behaviour. Within Traveller communities for whom vehicles are essential, a police preoccupation with vehicle tax and insurance has a clear symbolic and material significance, and it was depicted as one of the routine forms of harassment which defined their relations with the police. Travellers also complain that if the police do respond to an incident, they often use their presence at a Traveller encampment as an excuse to conduct a general police investigation of the area: 'the guard comes around, and rather than dealing with what they've come out for, they would go round and ... check all the cars to make sure they're taxed properly and insured'.

Other concerns involve what can only be described as allegations of clear misconduct on the part of police officers, including allegations of being 'beaten physically' while in police custody. One interviewee described a case that involved:

kicking the chair, knocking cigarettes out of their hands, that sort of thing. But also the verbal, you know, putting everybody down, so Travellers are all thieves, they all beat their wives, they all do this, that and the other – extremely heavy sort of stuff.

One case involved allegations of misconduct towards a young boy detained by the police: 'when people said they would like to make a complaint or were interested in how they would make a complaint or something like that, they were told they could be detained even longer'. Other incidents included a young woman who said that the police stopped her from begging in the city centre by driving her to an industrial part of the city she had never been to before, and leaving her there with the warning that she was not to return to the city centre.

Travellers also expressed concern about the 'disproportionate' police response to incidents involving a dispute between Travellers and settled people. One Traveller claimed that 'little incidents blow into something out of control ... because the police take the side of the settled person on each occasion'. Another's statement that 'Twenty gardaí turn up to deal with a small argument between a landowner and a Traveller family' is typical of Travellers' views on this issue. All in all, and with some clear exceptions, the police are viewed as strongly biased against Travellers in any dispute they may have with settled people: 'when it's Travellers and settled people, nine times out of 10 it's the Travellers who get the blame. And nine times out of 10 it's the Travellers who are asked to move on or to go away.'

A further point concerning Traveller vulnerability to police malpractice is that while Travellers' mobility may, from a police perspective, make them elusive and difficult to monitor effectively, halting sites and Traveller encampments are nevertheless highly visible and easily accessed by the police. The police may tend to avoid such areas

unless there is some clear necessity to enter them (discussed further later), but Travellers view police behaviour on encampments as less attentive to due-process than would be expected in other locations. For instance, one complaint involved a police car driven at speed through a site despite the presence of young children in the immediate vicinity. Another interviewee alleged that the legal requirements for conducting searches often were ignored when Travellers were involved (see also the Morris Tribunal investigation into similar allegations of police misconduct in Donegal; Conway, 2010: 63–66).

Among gardaí, this is a clear acknowledgement that relations between Travellers and the police were usually uneasy and occasionally hostile. Gardaí also acknowledge that police behaviour towards Travellers was, in some instances at least, inappropriate if not explicitly illegal. As one retired officer recalled:

I'm not saying the guards are angels too. Certainly there was jurisdiction applied, I'm sure, in incidents where it wasn't warranted ... they would have been moved on ... [They got] short shrift maybe in the way that they were dealt with.

Police attitudes are also mediated by what they view as Travellers' disdain for the police – 'They've got cheeky out of hand, and they put it up to you' – as well as a belief that Travellers are more likely than others to resort to violence: 'Travellers won't hold back. When they get physical you have to defend yourself because the uniform means nothing to them. You're just a target.' Additionally, one officer described how Travellers 'kick up blue murder' when police attempt to arrest them when in an effort to inhibit the police's willingness to enforce the law: 'They work on this embarrassment ... The whole thing is orchestrated from start to finish, that you'll avoid them rather than having to have the hassle of dealing with them.'

Victimization and the demand for a police response

While Travellers routinely view themselves as excessively subject to the enforcement activities of the police, and often in a manner which is informal and oppressive, a further recurrent criticism relates to under-protection from the police when Travellers are the victims of crime. The most basic complaint made by Travellers is that the police do not respond to their requests for help, whether in relation to reporting criminal matters or other issues, or even when they do respond, they fail to intervene appropriately. One interviewee described a police response to a fight among Travellers: 'As long as you keep it inside the gate of that site, we don't give a shite what you do. Kill one another if you want, we'll come in and pick up the bodies.' Another interviewee described an incident between Travellers in which one Traveller received a serious head injury. When the police arrived, 'they wouldn't move from their vans', whether to check on the condition of the injured party or to arrest the individual responsible. This interviewee characterized the police view as:

it was just between Travellers, they're going to be alright, they're used to that. But you know, like, there's children on the site, women, and everything. Like anything could happen, like. If you haven't got the gardaí for support, who have you got? Like, who can you turn to?

This question of 'who to turn to' is a complex and significant one. Travellers' experiences of contacting the police often prove unsatisfactory and yet Travellers also describe the need for appropriate and effective policing (Ellis, 2005; Pavee Point, 2002, 2007) and victimization levels for Travellers appear to be considerably higher than for other ethnic minority groups and for the settled population (Browne, 2008). Interviewees repeatedly noted that the police response often oscillated between a failure to attend at all, or else to attend in disproportionately large numbers: 'Like they'd been called out probably to the site and they haven't come out, and then if they did there was always too many of them.' The practice of turning up in such large numbers reinforces Travellers' perceptions that the police view them as 'trouble' and seek to control these 'symbolic locations' (Keith, 1993) from the outset.

Travellers seeking to resolve crime-related problems find themselves caught in a bind. They view the police as being fixated on easily prosecuted offences (such as 'the tax and insurance thing') while ignoring many other issues of concern. One Traveller advocate characterized this attitude as 'let them deal with it themselves'. Another interviewee mentioned a case in which 'there was violence, severe violence, involved, and the Travellers were told definitely to take the law into their own hands, by the guards'.

The belief that the police will fail to intervene or, if they do, may do so ineffectively, leads to an acute sense of vulnerability. Community and kinship bonds among Travellers can serve as an important resource in resolving disputes. However, the dense network of bonds between Traveller families can also ensure that when disputes do arise they magnify in scale and intensity, generating feuds that are violent and enduring. As one Traveller stated:

What that can lead to is a kind of vacuum, you know, where anything goes and there is ... impunity – you can do what you like and know that you'll get away with it. So what that means for people is fear, really, living in fear. And not feeling that you have any back-up or support.

Despite the historical tradition of feuding, the extreme violence and social disruption associated with some feuds generates enormous concern among Traveller communities. As one Traveller interviewee put it, 'many Travellers want the guards to intervene because the feuds get out of hand'. Another interviewee highlighted as an example of positive policing the manner in which gardaí had mediated between two feuding families in the west of Ireland: 'Travellers would see that as a positive interaction with the guards, and it was seen as very significant.' However, this sensitive and successful intervention was again seen as the exception that proved the rule:

It's becoming more acceptable that people would go for the guards, but I mean, traditionally Travellers would have dealt with it themselves. Hence the amount of feud-fighting that you have among Travellers, and a bit of it is that things have gone more violent within the Traveller community anyway. But the other bit of it is that the guards themselves don't respond to the situation when they're called to it. And as a result, then it escalates and if people don't see them getting any kind of recourse through legal mechanisms, with the police coming down and charging somebody or doing something, well then they'll deal with it themselves.

The necessity for an appropriate garda response was described on several occasions in terms of the growing impact that illegal drugs was having within the Traveller community as well as concerns about escalating levels of violence (see also Ellis, 2005; Pavee Point, 2002, 2007). Moreover, research suggests that other issues, such as domestic violence, also warrant a sustained policy response. For instance, Watson and Parsons (2005: 100) found that Travellers comprised a remarkable 48.5 per cent of admissions to domestic violence refuges in 2003, amounting to overrepresentation by a factor of almost 100.

Debate on Travellers and criminality has been dominated by allegations of Travellers engaging in widespread and sustained crime sprees against settled people (Dillon, 2006). Even when discussion turns to the high levels of violence evident in some Traveller feuds, the concern is generally on whether this will 'spill over' into 'respectable' settled society. The victimization of Travellers by other Travellers elicits little sympathy and mobilizes few policy responses. The 'fear' that many commentators suggest exists in relation to Travellers and crime appears *not* to include the fears that Travellers themselves may have of being victimized, whether by other Travellers or settled people. For example, when presented with research findings which highlighted fear of crime among Travellers, one garda officer exclaimed that he had never previously considered that Travellers might feel vulnerable in that way. In another instance, a Traveller woman noted that one officer explained the failure to respond to an incident on a Traveller site by claiming that the police were actually afraid to enter the site. If police officers were scared, she wondered, 'how do you think we feel?' (see also, Ellis, 2005).

Conclusion

This article argues that a logic of spatial regulation shapes the manner in which Travellers are policed in decisive ways. This operates against a backdrop of moral disdain towards Travellers which persistently constructs them as a criminogenic community, and which gives rise to the over-policing and under-protection that characterizes their involvement with the criminal justice system. It confirms international research findings that the policing of Travellers is mobilized by a concern with territorial governance, both in terms of addressing the mobility of Travellers, as well as in containing their behaviour within specified Traveller zones – the view that Travellers are 'alright in their own place', as one garda tellingly put it. The article highlights potential limitations of the policing diversity agenda, and in that respect it argues for a more differentiated approach to the delivery of policing services to marginalized communities.

Clearly, given the limited number of interviews with Travellers in particular, appropriate care must be taken in interpreting the findings, and it is clear that further research on the issues highlighted in this article is warranted. Given the limited but compelling evidence available highlighting Travellers' deeply contentious engagement with the criminal justice system, a victimization survey focusing on Travellers could help highlight the scale and dynamics of the issues involved (see Browne, 2008). Nevertheless, in respect of relations between policing and Travellers in Ireland, several issues warrant further discussion here.

First, the scale of the challenge to improve relations between police and Travellers is daunting. Despite some positive examples, the legacy of mutual mistrust outlined in this article continues to confound efforts to provide an effective policing service to Travellers, and even with the advent of the diversity agenda, the policing of Travellers remains deeply troubling. Police legitimacy in Ireland historically was based on an ethos of 'informalism' whereby the police claimed to be an innate part of the community (Mulcahy, 2008). While this may have gratified those who claimed strong affiliations with the police, it ensured that marginal groups who fell outside the imagined community at the heart of Irish cultural nationalism – Travellers chief among them – were subject to troubling policing practices, with a consequent impact on their confidence in and support for the police (Conway, 2010; Mulcahy and O'Mahony, 2005). A Garda Research Unit survey found that just over half of Travellers expressed satisfaction with the police, but that is poor consolation for the fact that their relationship with the police appears to be considerably worse than that of other ethnic minority communities in Ireland (Walker, 2007).

Second, this article has focused on the Irish context specifically, but the issues considered here resonate with debates elsewhere. Researchers have highlighted the emergence of 'itinerant crime groups' in continental Europe (Van Daele and Vander Beken, 2010), while in Britain 'New Age' Travellers and Travellers of Irish descent have been the focus of considerable political and public debate (James, 2006, 2007), and Irish Travellers in particular have become a modern-day folk devil across British society (Richardson, 2007). A range of policy responses has emerged, including legislation (for example, the Housing Act 2004) and government department circulars (Office of Deputy Prime Minister, 2006) which seek to regulate the provision of accommodation and other matters. However, as high-profile events such as the evictions of Travellers from Dale Farm in Essex demonstrate, the difficulties of securing planning permission for Traveller encampments are formidable, and the eviction process itself remains hugely controversial with the potential to lead to major conflict with the police and other agencies, as well as to highlight ongoing difficulties in the relationships between Travellers and settled people.

Third, the spatial regulation of Travellers itself reflects the origins of professional policing, and wider practices of surveillance and social control in modern society. From the outset, the establishment of a professional police force was oriented towards the pacification of burgeoning urban centres and the unruly masses drawn to them. By seeking 'to outlaw the social promiscuity of the urban crowd' (Cohen, 1981: 103–104), the police would impose a new order that would facilitate the development of industrial capitalism and the social transformations accompanying it. Yet in many ways, despite a broadening of the concept of citizenship, this early pattern of policing has remained central to contemporary forms of social control. The literature on crime prevention repeatedly highlights the uneven geographic distribution of crime, victimization and engagement (and entanglement) with the criminal justice system. 'Hot spots', 'problem places' and visions of 'community' continue to animate understandings of and responses to crime (Braga and Weisburd, 2010; Crawford, 1997; Hughes, 2007). Moreover, those whose behaviour is deemed antagonistic to our understanding of space – for example, by undermining the ethos of 'consumer friendly' shopping and leisure areas, or by posing some potential threat to public order due to their ascribed status as 'monstrous

Others' (Young, 1999) – can effectively be subjected to a modern-day version of banishment through a combination of criminal and civil measures (exclusion orders, anti-social behaviour orders, simply being moved on by the police and so on). Yet, as Beckett and Herbert (2009: 157) argue, the resolution that such measures purport to yield is temporary and, ultimately, 'an illusion'. As they argue: 'The Banished are likely to return. After all, where else are they to go?'

Finally, following on from the above, diversity measures that seek to respond to the needs of Travellers without recognizing and addressing the spatial context of their marginalization are likely to have, at best, only a limited impact. Tellingly, the key driver behind the emergence of Ireland's policing diversity agenda (An Garda Síochána, 2009) was the migration of 'new' minority ethnic communities that accompanied the huge expansion of the Celtic tiger economy. It bore no relation whatsoever to a sudden change in policy and practice towards Travellers specifically. Poor relations between Travellers and the police preceded the introduction of these measures, and it is likely that they will outlast them also, unless appropriate measures are introduced that specifically address the marginalization of Travellers. The fact that police action against Travellers was (and continues to be) largely mobilized by requests from the settled population highlights their secondary status. It also suggests that improving relations between Travellers and the police extends far beyond organizational measures such as training and liaison (Power, 2007), and instead largely rests on changes in the broader social field within which the police operate (Chan, 1997; Coxhead, 2007). Police efforts to mediate in feuds, and to provide an enhanced response to domestic violence are two key areas that potentially could improve relations with Travellers, but effecting significant long-term improvements to this relationship is unlikely in the absence of wider measures to address Travellers' marginalization, and in particular finding a resolution to the ongoing crisis of Traveller accommodation. This requires a policy response that involves not just the police, but also the co-operation and political will of local authorities and other relevant agencies (see, for example, Cemlyn et al., 2009: ch. 2), qualities sorely lacking from this process thus far. The failure to resolve the accommodation crisis facing Travellers underpins their marginal status in Irish society, and is a key dimension to the problematic relationship between Travellers and the police.

Acknowledgements

I gratefully acknowledge funding from the Combat Poverty Agency and the Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences, which supported the research on which this article is based. I also wish to thank Eoin O'Mahony who provided valuable research assistance, the Garda and Traveller organizations that facilitated this research, and the interviewees who generously participated in this project. Tom Inglis and the journal reviewers provided very helpful comments that improved the paper, and my thanks to them for their insight and support.

Notes

1. An Garda Síochána is Irish for 'guardians of the peace'. Police officers are referred to as 'garda' in the singular, 'gardaí' in the plural, and colloquially as 'guards'.
2. See, for example: 'Killing sparks traveller feud fear', *Irish Independent*, 11 May 1999; 'Gardai struggling to contain Traveller feud', *Irish Independent*, 18 October 2009; 'Travellers vow

- to end feuding after judge lets 65 walk free', *Irish Times*, 21 February 2010; and 'Horse fair violence linked to feud', *Irish Times*, 8 March 2011.
3. See, for example, the Kentucky State Police's warning that: 'Irish Travelers [*sic*] have been observed in the Bowling Green area. These Home Improvement "SCAM ARTISTS" are reportedly soliciting citizens in all surrounding counties' (3 March 2010). Available at: http://www.kentuckystatepolice.org/posts/press/2010/post3_pr03_18_10.htm.
 4. Tallaght is a large urban area on the south-western edge of Dublin city.
 5. By contrast, Bhreatnach (2007: 62) argued that guards historically were less likely to bring prosecutions against Travellers as, if they moved on, a conviction was unlikely and this lowered the police clearance rate. For discussion of police measures to move on Travellers in Britain, see James (2006, 2007) and Power (2004).

References

- All Ireland Traveller Health Study Team (2010) *All Ireland Traveller Health Study: Our Geels*. Dublin: University College Dublin.
- An Garda Síochána (2001) *Intercultural Ireland: Identifying the Challenges for the Police Service*. Dublin: An Garda Síochána.
- An Garda Síochána (2009) *Diversity Strategy and Implementation Plan 2009–2012*. Dublin: An Garda Síochána.
- Bauman Z (2000) *Liquid Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Beckett K and Herbert S (2009) *Banished: The New Social Control in Urban America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bhreatnach A (2006) *Becoming Conspicuous: Irish Travellers, Society and the State 1922–70*. Dublin: University College Dublin Press.
- Bhreatnach A (2007) Policing the community: Homicide and violence in Traveller and settled society. *Irish Economic and Social History* 34: 47–64.
- Bittner E (1970) *The Functions of the Police in Modern Society*. Washington: National Institute of Mental Health.
- Bowling B (1999) *Violent Racism: Victimisation, Policing and Social Context*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bowling B and Phillips C (2008) Policing ethnic minority communities. In: Newburn T (ed.) *The Handbook of Policing*. Cullompton, Devon: Willan, pp. 611–641.
- Braga A and Weisburd D (2010) *Policing Problem Places*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Browne C (2008) *Garda Public Attitudes Survey 2008*. Research Report No. 1/08. Dublin: An Garda Síochána.
- Cemlyn S, Greenfields M, Burnett S, Matthews Z and Whitwell C (2009) *Inequalities Experienced by Gypsy and Traveller Communities: A Review*. Manchester: Equality and Human Rights Commission.
- Chan J (1997) *Changing Police Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cohen P (1981) Policing the working class city. In: Fitzgerald M, McLellan G and Pawson J (eds) *Crime and Society*. London: Routledge, pp. 95–108.
- Commission on Itinerancy (1963) *Report of the Commission on Itinerancy*. Dublin: Stationery Office.
- Conway V (2010) *The Blue Wall of Silence: The Morris Tribunal and Police Accountability in Ireland*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press.
- Coxhead J (2007) *The Last Bastion of Racism? Gypsies, Travellers and Policing*. Stoke on Trent: Trentham Books.
- Crawford A (1997) *The Local Governance of Crime*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Dillon E (2006) *The Outsiders: Exposing the Secretive World of Ireland's Travellers*. Merlin: Dublin.
- Drummond A (2006) Cultural denigration: Media representation of Irish Travellers as criminal. In: Hayes M and Acton T (eds) *Counterhegemony and the Postcolonial 'Other'*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press, pp. 75–85.
- Ellis C (2005) *Supporting Community-Oriented Policing in the Traveller Community*. Unpublished Masters Dissertation, Royal Roads University, Canada.
- Ericson R and Haggerty K (1997) *Policing the Risk Society*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Fanning B (2002) *Racism and Social Change in the Republic of Ireland*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Fanning B (2009) Anti-Traveller racism in Ireland: Violence and incitement to hatred. In: Prum M, Deschamps B and Barbier M (eds) *Racial, Ethnic and Homophobic Violence*. Abingdon: Routledge-Cavendish, pp. 107–122.
- Ferriter D (2005) *The Transformation of Ireland 1900–2000*. London: Profile.
- Ferriter D (2009) *Occasions of Sin: Sex and Society in Modern Ireland*. London: Profile.
- Garvin T (2005) *Preventing the Future: Why was Ireland So Poor for So Long?* Dublin: Gill and Macmillan.
- Gmelch G (1985) *The Irish Tinkers*. Illinois: Waveland.
- Helleiner J (2000) *Irish Travellers*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Herbert S (1997) *Policing Space*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (2001) *Winning the Race: Embracing Diversity*. London: HMSO.
- Hourigan N (2011) The sociology of feuding: Limerick gangland and Travellers' feuds compared. In: Hourigan N (ed.) *Understanding Limerick*. Cork: Cork University Press, in press.
- Hughes G (2007) *The Politics of Crime and Community*. Basingstoke: Palgrave/Macmillan.
- Inglis T (1998) *Moral Monopoly: The Rise and Fall of the Catholic Church in Modern Ireland*. Dublin: University College Dublin Press.
- Ionann Management Consultants (2004) *An Garda Síochána: Human Rights Audit*. Dublin: Ionann Management Consultants.
- Irish Political Studies* (2007) Republic of Ireland. *Irish Political Studies* 22(2): 139–225.
- Irish Times* (2011) UN group seeks ethnic status for Travellers. *Irish Times*, 12 March. Available at: <http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/ireland/2011/03/12/1224291982282.html>
- James Z (2006) Policing space: Managing new age travellers in England. *British Journal of Criminology* 46(3): 470–485.
- James Z (2007) Policing marginal places: Controlling Gypsies and Travellers. *Criminology and Criminal Justice* 7(4): 367–389.
- Jones T and Newburn T (2001) *Widening Access: Improving Police Relations with Hard to Reach Groups*. London: HMSO.
- Kabachnik P (2009) The culture of crime: Examining representations of Irish Travellers in *Traveller* and *The Riches*. *Romani Studies* 19: 49–63.
- Keith M (1993) *Race, Riots and Policing*. London: University College London Press.
- Kennelly J (2011) Policing young people as citizens-in-waiting: Legitimacy, spatiality and governance. *British Journal of Criminology* 51(2): 336–354.
- Khazanov A (1994) *Nomads and the Outside World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kilcommins S, O'Donnell I, O'Sullivan E and Vaughan B (2004) *Crime, Punishment and the Search for Order in Ireland*. Dublin: Institute for Public Administration.
- Loyal S (2011) *Understanding Immigration in Ireland*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Mac Gabhann C (2011) *Voices Unheard: A Study of Irish Travellers in Prison*. London: Irish Chaplaincy in Britain.

- MacGréil M (1996) *Prejudice and Tolerance in Ireland Revisited*. Maynooth: St Patrick's College.
- MacGréil M (2011) *Pluralism and Diversity in Ireland*. Dublin: Columba Press.
- Mac Laughlin J (1999) Nation-building, social closure and anti-Traveller racism in Ireland. *Sociology* 33(1): 129–151.
- Mayall D (1988) *Gypsy-Travellers in Nineteenth-Century Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McVeigh R (1997) Theorising sedentarism: The roots of anti-nomadism. In: Acton T (ed.) *Gypsy Politics and Traveller Identity*. Hertfordshire: University of Hertfordshire Press, pp. 7–25.
- McVeigh R (2007) 'Ethnicity denial' and racism: The case of the Government of Ireland against Irish Travellers. *Translocations* 2(1): 90–133.
- Morris R (2001) Gypsies and Travellers: New policies, new approaches. *Police Research and Management* 5(1): 41–49.
- Mulcahy A (2008) Policing, 'community' and social change in Ireland. In: Shapland J (ed.) *Justice, Community and Civil Society*. Cullompton, Devon: Willan, pp. 190–208.
- Mulcahy, A. and O'Mahony E (2005) *Policing and Social Marginalisation in Ireland*. Dublin: Combat Poverty Agency.
- National Traveller Accommodation Consultative Committee (2008) *Annual Report 2008*. Dublin: Stationery Office.
- Norris M and Winston N (2005) Housing and accommodation of Irish Travellers: From assimilationism to multiculturalism and back again. *Social Policy and Administration* 39(7): 802–821.
- Office of Deputy Prime Minister (2006) *Circular 01/06 (ODPM): Planning for Gypsy and Traveller Caravan Sites*. London: HMSO.
- Okley J (2005) Gypsy justice versus Gorgio law: Interrelations of difference. *Sociological Review* 53(4): 691–709.
- Pavee Point (2000) *Intercultural Ireland: Identifying the Challenges for the Police Service*. Dublin: Pavee Point.
- Pavee Point (2002) *Submission on the Draft Regional Drugs Task Forces Operational Guidelines to the National Drugs Strategy Team*. Dublin: Pavee Point.
- Pavee Point (2007) *The National Model of Community Policing*. Dublin: Pavee Point
- Pizani-Williams L (1998) *Gypsies and Travellers in the Criminal Justice System (Cropwood Criminology Papers No. 23)*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge.
- Power C (2004) *Room to Roam: England's Irish Travellers*. London: Action Group for Irish Youth.
- Power C (2007) Pavees and muscers: Police diversity training, Irish Travellers, and the limits of British pluralism. In: Hayes M and Acton T (eds) *Travellers, Gypsies, Roma*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp. 76–103.
- Reiner R and Newburn T (2008) Police research. In: King R and Wincup E (eds) *Doing Justice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 343–374.
- Richardson J (2007) Policing Gypsies and Travellers. In: Hayes M and Acton T (eds) *Travellers, Gypsies, Roma*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp. 104–115.
- Rottman D, Tussing A and Wiley M (1986) *Population Structure and Living Circumstances of Irish Travellers (Research Series, No.131)*. Dublin: Economic and Social Research Institute.
- Rowe M (2004) *Policing, Race and Racism*. Cullompton, Devon: Willan.
- Rowe M (ed.) (2007) *Policing Beyond Macpherson*. Cullompton, Devon: Willan.
- Sibley D (1995) *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West*. London: Routledge.
- Sunday Independent* (1996) Time to get tough on tinker terror 'culture'. *Sunday Independent*, 28 January.
- Taggart I (2003) *Gypsy Travellers: A Policing Strategy – Why Don't You Just Move Them On?* London: HMSO.

- The Job* (2005) Is your mind open? Encouraging a new approach to the community. *The Job* 38(952), 29 April. Available at: http://www.met.police.uk/job/job952/live_files/8.htm.
- Van Bochove M and Burgers J (2010) Disciplining the drifter: The domestication of Travellers in the Netherlands. *British Journal of Criminology* 50(2): 206–221.
- Van Daele S and Vander Beken T (2010) Exploring itinerant crime groups. *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research* 16(1): 1–13.
- Walker M (2007) *Traveller/Ethnic Minority Communities' Attitudes to the Garda Síochána 2007 (Research Report No. 9/07)*. Dublin: An Garda Síochána.
- Walsh D (2000) Policing pluralism. In: MacLachlan M and O'Connell M (eds) *Cultivating Pluralism*. Dublin: Oak Tree Press, pp. 152–174.
- Watson D and Parsons S (2005) *Domestic Violence against Women and Men in Ireland*. Dublin: National Crime Council/Economic and Social Research Institute.
- Weber L and Bowling B (2008) Valiant beggars and global vagabonds: Select, eject, immobilise. *Theoretical Criminology* 12(3): 355–375.
- Webster C (2008) Marginalized white ethnicity, race and crime. *Theoretical Criminology* 12(3): 293–312.
- Weitzer R and Tuch S (2005) *Race and Policing in America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Young J (1999) *The Exclusive Society*. London: SAGE.

Biography

Aogán Mulcahy teaches in the School of Sociology at University College Dublin. His main interests are in the areas of police legitimacy and reform, and culture and social control. He is author of *Policing Northern Ireland* (Willan Publishing, 2006) and co-author (with Ian Loader) of *Policing and the Condition of England* (Clarendon Press, 2003).