


Please cite the Published Version

Matthews, Jodie  (2021) Romani pride, Gorja shame: race and privilege in the archive. *Oral History*, 49 (2). pp. 57-68. ISSN 0143-0955

Publisher: Oral History Society

Version: Published Version

Downloaded from: <https://e-space.mmu.ac.uk/636998/>

Usage rights:  In Copyright

Additional Information: This article originally appeared in *Oral History*, copyright and published by the Oral History Society

Enquiries:

If you have questions about this document, contact openresearch@mmu.ac.uk. Please include the URL of the record in e-space. If you believe that your, or a third party's rights have been compromised through this document please see our Take Down policy (available from <https://www.mmu.ac.uk/library/using-the-library/policies-and-guidelines>)

Romani pride, *Gorja* shame: race and privilege in the archive

by Jodie Matthews

Abstract: There exists a dispersed digital archive of British (specifically here English and Welsh) Romani oral histories. Some recordings are held in museums and archives; others are available online. The purpose of such oral history projects is ostensibly to preserve and share a cultural heritage among Romanies/Gypsies, Roma and Travellers and to educate non-Romanies (or *Gorjas*) about these communities. The article affectively reframes the concept of white guilt as *Gorja* shame, and considers the role this plays in listening to Romani oral histories. In rethinking the power of Romani pride in the oral history archive, it displaces the long-held scholarly authority of the non-Romani with interest in Gypsy culture, using shame productively to become a different kind of listener.

Key words: Gypsy; whiteness; guilt; affect; ethnicity; community

She talks in a croaky low voice, the voice of 100,000 cigarettes and a million lifetimes. She regales us with tales of long ago, of stories almost forgotten.

Proud Gypsy Traveller¹

I have been trying to listen, to listen carefully and with respect. I may mishear, and will almost certainly misunderstand. What it is to listen as an outsider? Who am I when I am listening? Why does the listening come with shame, and what should one do with that?

The listening has been to online oral histories of English and Welsh Romani people, some of whom describe themselves as Gypsies or as Travellers (and ‘Traveller’ can also refer to someone who is not ethnically Romani, such as Irish Travellers and New Travellers). I am not Romani myself, so might be described as a *Gorja* by Romani people. This word is also spelt Gorjer, Gorgio or Gorjie, and takes different forms in other vernaculars, dialects and countries. At the beginning of a workshop convened in 2012, attendees made

their introductions and some chose to describe themselves as Gypsy, Roma and *Gorja*. One person described herself as ‘ethnically a Gypsy but culturally a *Gorja*’, reflecting an upbringing among non-Gypsy people.² To be *Gorja* is to be outside Romani culture. David Cressy, in his work, prefers ‘not to use the Romani word gorgio (or its variants gaujo, gadze, and so on) to describe non-Gypsies, a practice that risks a condescending affectation of solidarity’.³ Until the writing of this article I was of the same view, but in asking ‘who am I when I’m listening?’, this was the answer I found and felt in the recorded oral histories, an affect rather than an affectation. Like Elspeth Probyn, I am keen to consider ‘trans-ethnic relations in ways that neither deny accountability nor obscure difference through an overidentification’, and my use of *Gorja* is intended to highlight my difference from the oral history interviewees.⁴ I have used the word *Gorja* in italics throughout, to indicate clearly that this is not my word to do with as I please, but one included contingently here from another language and culture.

I talk in more detail about the history of Romani–*Gorja* encounters below; the focus of this article is the act of listening to and reflecting on the oral histories of Romani or Gypsy or Traveller people.

The Romani personal histories to which I have been paying attention were not collected by me. The verb ‘collect’ makes me bristle, all of a sudden, having spent decades reading (and writing) about members of the Gypsy Lore Society in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who would collect Romani stories as trophies, prideful and with little attention to their power and privilege.⁵ Nineteenth-century scholarly collection is, of course, profoundly connected to colonialism and race. Following Johannes Fabian’s meditation on anthropological recording, I am not the author nor collector of these texts.⁶ Some of the oral histories that are the subject of this article were recorded with a listener like me, a *Gorja*, in mind; many were not. That evocation of listening to family, placed as an epigram to the article, is not the kind of listening I can claim. In no sense are these ‘my’ stories. I did not visit special archives or gain permission to hear them, as they have been placed deliberately in the public domain, and for this reason often have less archival information attached to them, such as the identity of the interviewer or date and circumstances of the interview. Most of them are fairly recent history. The stories constitute, then, a dispersed digital archive, digital ‘contact zones’, though the projects that collected the oral histories are generally rooted in a particular place (Cambridge, Cardiff, the West Midlands).⁷ Fabian notes that the ‘virtual archive on the Internet changes the conditions and constraints of presenting knowledge’, and, of course, produces a different potential readership than ‘conventional’ anthropological or oral history publications. The text (the oral history, or Fabian’s recording) is ‘not a depository of facts but a mediator’.⁸ The listener matters in these stories that travel, and the oral history projects I cite do anticipate listeners who care. For instance, the organisation *Oblique Arts* undertook a project in 2018, with the Museum of Cambridge, titled ‘Oral Histories: Roma and Traveller Communities in Cambridgeshire’, with a special focus on Midsummer Fair in Cambridge. The project was funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund, and the aim was to collect, record and share the stories of people with ‘English Gypsy, Traveller and Roma Heritage’, sharing not just online but via physical exhibitions and events.⁹ The website notes that ‘the Travelling community’ in Cambridgeshire is the largest ethnic minority ‘and very much discriminated against’. The idea was to ‘allow Travellers to tell their stories to the wider community of Cambridge’. The oral histories are available on the organisation’s website, but might also be found on YouTube and in excerpt on Facebook; the project noted that the materials would be ‘accessible and interpreted by a wide audience, with a view to informing and educating as many people as possible’. Meanwhile, the Romani Cultural and Arts Company made twenty oral histories available directly on

YouTube or on their website as part of a 2013 project called ‘Tales from the Trailer: The Story of Gypsies and Travellers in Cardiff’, though the specific project website is now defunct. This project, too, was funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund and, according to a *Travellers Times* article about the website launch, the interviews were undertaken by a Romani interviewer, Patricia Knight.¹⁰ Other stories on the *Travellers Times* website from 2006 are designed to ‘help us to understand: how Travellers were viewed in the past; how these views have changed; traditional Traveller trades and artefacts; the part the Travellers played in agriculture and their relationship to nature and the landscape’.¹¹ This article is interested in understanding not just those features, but also the ‘us’ mentioned at the beginning of the quotation.

The orientation of the article is affective, specifically focussed on the experience of shame as a member of a majority population listening to some of the experiences of a persecuted minority. Listening, as I have already indicated, is not just the physical act of allowing the words to enter my consciousness via my ears, but a reflection from a particular ethnic, political, personal and professional position. I interrogate the place and productiveness of shame following its experience; after all, this shame could simply be consigned as ‘white tears’, unhelpful in most cases and offensive in others. As Lauren Berlant (among others) notes, ‘compassionate liberalism is, at best, a kind of sandpaper on the surface of the racist monument whose structural and economic solidity endures’: nothing changes, though the white liberal feels engaged.¹² I draw on affect theory as it has been understood in the humanities, working most closely with Elspeth Probyn’s working through of shame. According to Eric Shouse, affect is a ‘moment of unformed and unstructured potential’.¹³ Similarly, in describing affect as something that ‘throws itself together in a moment as an event and a sensation; a something both animated and inhabitable’, Kathleen Stewart asserts that the significance of affects ‘lies in the intensities they build and in what thoughts and feelings they make possible’.¹⁴ Melissa Gregg and Gregory Seigworth’s introduction to their *Affect Theory Reader* suggests that ‘affect is found in those intensities that pass body to body’, including ‘human, nonhuman, part-body, and otherwise’. In this case, it is the intensity of one body speaking that passes to the distanced body of the listener via the archiving technology of the recording device and the global fronds of the internet. Affect is, they add, ‘the name we give to those forces [...] that can serve to drive us toward movement, toward thought and extension’, something synonymous to ‘forces of encounter’.¹⁵ In *Strange Encounters*, Sara Ahmed insists on the affective particularity of encounters with ‘the other’.¹⁶ In these instances of listening, the speaker and I are each other’s other, Romani and *Gorja*. In relation to anthropology, Fabian notes that ‘listening is rarely made the topic of theoretical reflections or stories of auditory experiences’, but that Regina Bendix authored an exception some two decades ago.¹⁷



Original artwork and image © Cas Holmes (2020). Napkins from her 'Shadows' series, portraits of the artist's family stitched onto her grandmother's napkins. The artist's grandmother was interviewed about her travelling Romani childhood as part of a Norfolk County Council project in 1994. More about the influence of Romani culture and histories on Cas Holmes's work can be found in her book *Embroidering the Everyday: Found, Stitch, Paint* (Batsford, 2021).

Bendix suggested that 'the ear is an enormously important place for selecting and mediating from [a global cacophony] who we are and who we want to be'. This article dwells in and on that very place.¹⁸

Following a contextual section on Romani history in Britain, the article sets out what I am calling 'Gorja shame', making an affective pivot from the much-discussed notion of 'white guilt'. The article then turns to some themes and particularities of the oral histories themselves, focussing not just on the incidents which provoke *Gorja* shame, but on descriptions of a meaningful pride in one's identity as Romani, Gypsy or Traveller expressed by the speakers. The excerpts are thus selected because of their affective resonance, but

this does not mean that shame is a necessary or automatic reaction for all *Gorja* listeners. Indeed, the same listener may experience a different affect on a different day when listening to the same recording. Finally, I conclude with some suggestions for something new: a *Gorja* identity centred on listening.

Romanies/Gorjas

Powerfully reversing the frequent citation of a 'Gypsy problem', Ethel Brooks, in her 'Europe is Ours' manifesto, states that 'Europe has a Gadje problem'. She asserts, 'we have been enslaved, transported, evicted, expelled; we are trafficked, forcibly sterilised, murdered'. Meanwhile 'you' [the *Gadje/Gorjas*, which

includes me] ‘have benefitted from our expertise [...], from our labour [...], from the violence – even as you may not have carried it out – and from the exoticisation of our culture’. This violence secures ‘your employment, your riches, your sense of superiority, your sense of your own cultural richness’. Romanies, says Brooks, ‘refuse this representation, [...] Gadge representations of, fantasies of, manipulations of Gypsy-ness’.¹⁹

Europe is Romani. Or, as Cressy puts it, ‘no part of Europe is without Gypsies’.²⁰ Early Romani groups originated in north-western India and moved into the Middle East and then further west into Europe in the medieval period, with groups splitting off from each other on this westward journey. Throughout Europe, these people were often referred to as ‘Egyptians’, probably meaning ‘Little Egypt’ in what is now Greece. It is from here that the term ‘Gypsy’ derives, despised as a term by some today, but used as a marker of identity by others (and with a fair amount of ambivalence in between). The first record of Romani people in England is often evidenced in the year 1514 (an inquest that mentions an Egyptian woman), though, as Becky Taylor notes, the English already had preconceptions about Romani people from earlier accounts written in other countries.²¹ Cressy posits the reign of Henry VII as the period of arrival.²² It is recorded (much later, by a nineteenth-century author) that in 1519 the Earl of Surrey entertained Romanies (‘Gypsions’) at Tendring Hall in Suffolk and gave them safe conduct. Other encounters can be traced in nineteenth-century readings of gentry account books, mentioning Gypsies performing music and dance.²³ Andrew Borde’s *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge* from 1547 is probably the first English attempt to record words from the Romani language, showing that the English were interested enough in Romanies to want to communicate some of their culture. This interest in Romani people became more systematic in Heinrich Grellmann’s late-eighteenth-century *Dissertation*, translated from German into English and apparently the first text to examine ‘Gypsies’ as a subject of study (though it drew heavily on or plagiarised earlier works by different authors).²⁴

The Leeds parish registers of 1572 record the baptism of ‘Elizabeth, child of Anthony Smawleye, the Egypcion’ and further archival references to Romani presence are found from the north to the south of England (as well as in Scotland and Wales) in the sixteenth century.²⁵ The Egyptians Act of 1554 referred to those who ‘have enterprised to come over againe into this Realme’, so we can assume that previous attempts to keep Romanies out of England were unsuccessful.²⁶ Previously, all ‘strangers’ had been commanded to leave the realm. The Act was xenophobic, introducing the death penalty for ‘Egyptians’ who refused to leave the country, but was not comprehensively implemented because of the number of Romani people who were able to state that they had been born in England. Gypsies had suffered violent persecution

throughout Europe and had hoped to escape it in England, but were greeted by a state that wanted to send them away, with severe punishment if they refused. An Act of 1563 made it a felony for anyone born in England to join the group calling themselves Egyptians, bringing English- and Welsh-born Romanies under anti-Gypsy legislation. This remained in force until 1783, though as Cressy records, it was ‘rarely rigorously enforced’.²⁷ Romanies were ‘familiar travellers’ across all of England by the seventeenth century. ‘By the Stuart era they were heavily anglicized, though not assimilated, integrated, or accepted’, and ‘malignant stereotypes continued to shape their image’.²⁸ Cressy points out that what is missing from centuries of English and Welsh Romani history are ‘the voices of Gypsies themselves’.²⁹ The projects on which this article draws enable ongoing narratives of Romanies in Britain with those voices at the centre.

Jumping forward two centuries, the first issue of the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* in 1888 aimed to record, collect and store examples of a language and culture that scholars assumed was degenerating and would soon vanish altogether.³⁰ This is a sentiment echoed by some individuals in the recent oral histories to which I have listened, usually by elders of the community. The difference is that nineteenth-century non-Romani scholars fetishised purity of language and bloodline, and considered that they knew far more about Gypsy life than the Romani people who lived it. Indeed, they sought out information about Romani life via interviews in tents and around campfires, then collaborated to construct and assert what they assumed was their superior and authoritative version of that life. The Gypsy Lore Society’s members venerated the work of George Borrow, whose *Lavengro* (1851) and *The Romany Rye* (1857) were extraordinarily popular and introduced many people to the term gorgio. To paint with a very broad brushstroke, art, literature and non-fiction of the Victorian and Edwardian periods saw Gypsies as dark, dangerous and different. These were the fantasies of Gypsy-ness, to quote Brooks once more. In his novel *Aylwin* (1899), for instance, Theodore Watts-Dunton painted a nostalgic and romanticised picture of Romani life. One character, Sinfie Lovell, suggests that Romani cultural and social survival depended on isolation from other communities: ‘the Romanies is gittin’ too fond by half o’ the Gorgios, and will be soon jist like mumpy Gorgios themselves, speckable and silly’.³¹ Conformity to the mainstream *Gorja* ways would be, this fictional character (and her Gypsy Lore Society author) asserts, the death knell of authentic Romani life.

Becky Taylor’s study of Travellers in twentieth-century Britain explains that Romani people were, by the Edwardian period, still engaged in ‘traditional’ ways of making a living, from fruit picking and horse trading to knife grinding and working at fairs (all mentioned in the oral histories collected by the projects mentioned above), as well as the usual occupations of the day, like working in mills and factories. Maintain-

ing a life on the road was challenging, 'seeking out marginal land in the context of limited choice, regular eviction and negotiation with farmers and other members of settled society'. Various pieces of legislation attempted to regulate Romani and Traveller travelling life.³²

The 1950s and 1960s saw a crisis in the availability of suitable stopping places for travelling Romani people. Government policy (and the scholarship and reports on which this policy was based) ignored the profound cultural reasons for travel, assuming that all of these people needed or wanted homes and assimilation. The 1960 Caravan Sites and Control of Development Act required sites to have planning permission and a licence, making it extremely difficult for people who had bought their own land to overwinter there, and for farmers to allow Romanies and Travellers to stay on their land. These difficulties are borne out in the oral histories. The 1968 Caravan Sites Act put the onus on local authorities to provide accommodation at 'sites' such as Shirenewton and Rover Way in Cardiff discussed by interviewees. In 1994, then Home Secretary Michael Howard introduced the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act which, despite opposition from local authorities, the Association of Chief Police Officers and other national bodies, passed into law to become what was termed 'the modern equivalent of an act of enclosure'.³³

In 2018, I co-curated an exhibition of Leeds University Library's Gypsy, Traveller and Roma collections. Gypsies and Travellers also involved in the curation felt that a hand-painted 'No Gypsies Served Here' sign should be on display because it clearly showed the prejudice Romani people faced in their daily lives. A sign like the one in the exhibition played an important role in the debate about the legal definitions of 'Gypsy' and 'Traveller'. In 1988, the Commission for Racial Equality took a London pub landlord to court for a sign saying 'No Travellers' (*CRE v Dutton*, 1988). Was this a deliberate attempt to discriminate on the basis of race or ethnicity under the 1976 Race Relations Act? To answer, the case had to determine whether Travellers were an ethnic group, and a separate one to Gypsies. The judge decided that Travellers were not the same as Gypsies, but also that Gypsies should not be understood as an ethnic group themselves. The case went to appeal, and this time it was decided that Gypsies are, legally, an ethnic group (and caselaw established Irish Travellers as a group to which race equality duty applies in 2000). The oral histories to which I have been listening do not focus on the abstractions of law, or definitions or the state; they focus on direct or community experience. They are, though, very clear that to be Romani/Gypsy/Traveller is one thing, and that to be *Gorja* is something else.

Shame

On reading Ethel Brooks's words, how can a *Gorja* not feel shame? She articulates the problems I level at myself. This shame is something like white guilt, but

not quite. Robin Diangelo has cogently outlined white fragility and its paralysing effect on white people's ability to talk about racism. As white people, we are taught to believe that 'our group memberships, such as race, class, or gender, are irrelevant to our opportunities', while 'suggesting that white people have racial prejudice is perceived as saying we are bad and should be ashamed', leading to defensiveness rather than reflection. Some of the patterns that are the 'foundation of white fragility' are a 'failure to understand that we bring our group's history with us, that history matters', 'unwillingness to listen', 'lack of authentic interest in the perspectives of people of color' and 'guilt that paralyzes or allows inaction'.³⁴ If nothing else, this article is an exercise in bringing my group's history (English *Gorja*) with Romani people to a willingness to listen with care to Romani oral histories, trying to do more than simply 'protect [my] moral reputation'.³⁵ Examining white settler shame in Canada, Sarah Kizuk frames it as 'the emotional response to seeing one's culpability and feeling it as reflective of who we are'.³⁶ The problem, she says, is that attempts to re-establish the self as worthy of pride also maintain colonial systems of oppression, fixing the image of the settler rather than repairing the damaged relationship with indigenous peoples. The reason I want to spend time in the affect of listening is because 'our numbness to the racial injustice that occurs daily is key to holding it in place'.³⁷ White fragility and white guilt have been critiqued for inducing numbness, while a focus on the nuanced affect of shame – in this case, specifically *Gorja* shame – enables a more engaged and potentially generative listening. This is, of course, politically risky: as Ahmed and Kizuk have pointed out, the centring of the white listener can 'erase the people telling the story'.³⁸

Elsbeth Probyn has explored what we can do with such affects. Shame 'is not usually thought of in a positive light', she notes, but it is 'intimately connected' to interest. Shame is particular: 'what shames me may not shame you. But whatever it is that shames you will be something important to you, an essential part of yourself'. Like white guilt, *Gorja* shame can be a dangerous state to inhabit because it lies on the 'border between moving forward into more interest or falling back into humiliation'.³⁹ As I listen to the effects of my group's history of encounters with Romani people, provoking memories of other in-person conversations, my ears may burn, my eyes might prick with tears, my cheeks might flush. I may sweat and feel physically uncomfortable; my throat might feel tight; I may feel heat at the base of my skull; my voice may be high or choked when I try to speak; my stomach might drop and other muscles might feel out of control. This is because 'our bodies can also tell us when we have stumbled into other people's history, culture, and beliefs of which we are ignorant'. Shame is 'our body's way of telling us that we are interested and that we will continue to be despite shame's painful interruption'. Shame induces reflection and 'illumi-

nates our intense attachment to the world, our desire to be connected with others'. Probyn suggests that guilt is 'more publicly acceptable than shame'. The latter is 'deeply related not only to how others think about us but also to how we think about ourselves'. The shame with which this article engages is related to how we think about ourselves via the voices of others. This kind of shame cannot be 'relieved by apology' and it is 'neither heroic nor scandalous'.⁴⁰ What are the words, anecdotes, experiences, *histories* that induce *Gorja* shame in this listener?

Listening to Romani oral histories

The excerpts I have quoted here are selected because they had the most resonance for me as a *Gorja* listener, and this selection would not be the same for everyone. To start, Christine Fisher, 'born to music' at the Mountsorrel fairground in Cambridgeshire, remembered one of her teachers as part of the Oblique Arts collection:

she'd just pick on me for nothing; absolutely nothing. But obviously she ... it was racism. [...] I didn't tell anybody. I should have done, it was awful.⁴¹

The secrecy of this experience, the child hiding racist abuse from her family and friends, makes me sad and ashamed, but it also makes me lean in and become attuned to the language she uses as an adult thinking back to her education. There is no point in my saying 'sorry'. For whom would I be apologising: the teacher I never met, my ethnic group? The shame cannot be relieved by apology. I can listen to the history but I cannot change it. The affective weight of the recording is increased with images of Fisher at school age. She continues,

I really didn't know what had hit me, going to school. It was cruel. The children were cruel, a couple of teachers were cruel.

Cruelty, shame. Fisher's voice, the one she uses now to record what was once secret, was also the source of bullying:

I didn't speak the same as them. I mean, we spoke Romani. That was our language. I mean I didn't go out, I knew not to speak it elsewhere, but I'd still got an accent. I was different so they'd pick on me.

Ultimately, this experience of 'education' was entirely counterproductive:

I didn't learn anything because I was petrified, constantly frightened. Constantly bullied, picked on. Awful. And I was glad when I didn't have to go again and we were travelling again.

Travelling is the diametric opposite to Fisher's experience at school:

It was freedom. It was: yeah. It was happiness. Sheer happiness. [...] Because it was our life.

I have fallen forward into deeper interest, and it makes me hang on to the '*our* life' of that sentence. The school system was exclusive and cruel for Christine, but it was fine for me because I am a *Gorja*; in a white supremacist society, I was rewarded and included for being white. Travelling is hers, though, and it is not mine. It is *her* freedom and community, and I am attuned to hear it, because of the shame I feel about her education.

As part of the 'Tales from the Trailer: The Story of Gypsies and Travellers in Cardiff' project undertaken by the Romani Cultural and Arts Company, Sophie Price told her story in 2013. She begins, 'I've lived on Rover Way all me life and I don't intend on leaving it'. Like Christine Fisher, she 'got bullied a lot in school':

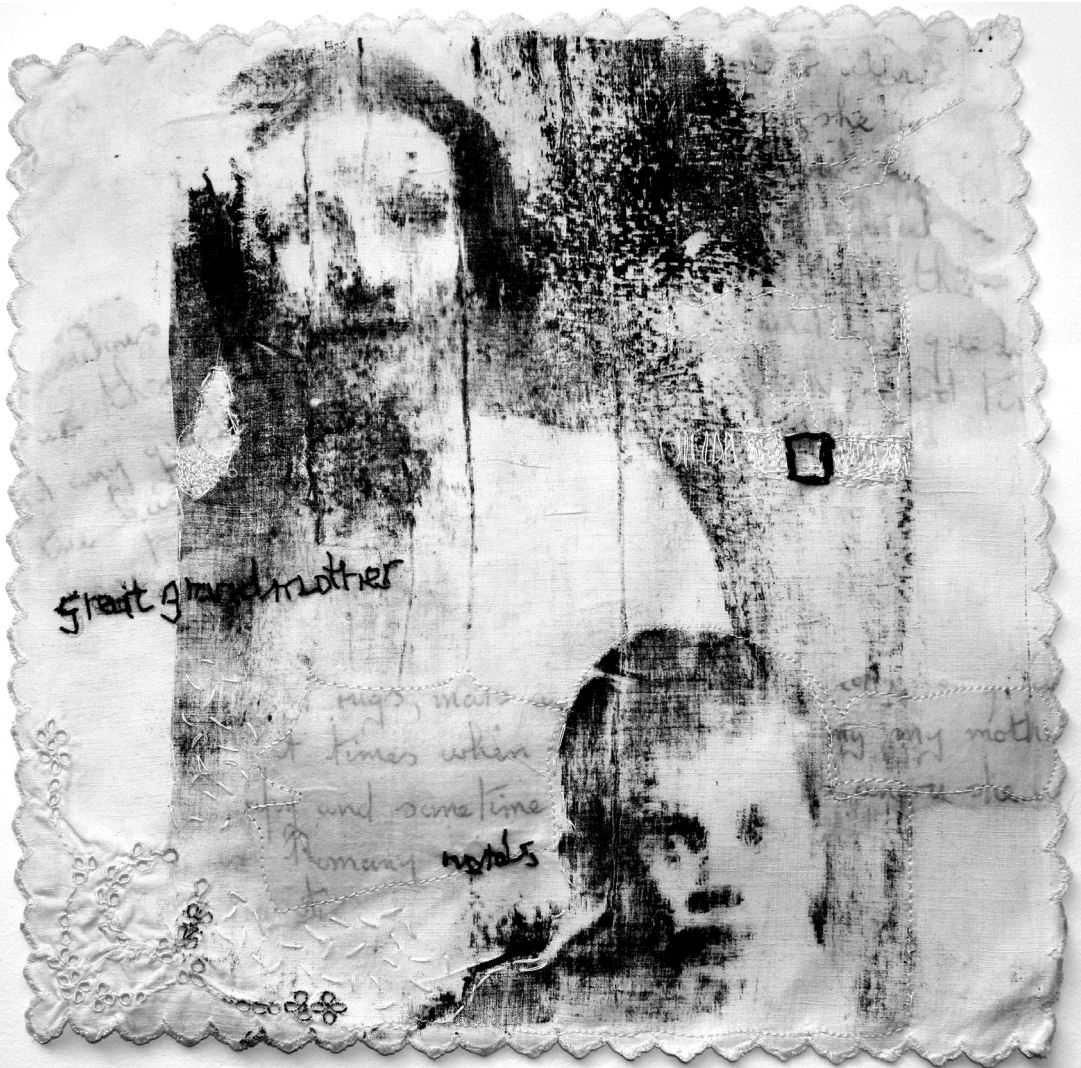
I did like school, I wanted to learn, but the teachers wouldn't help you. [...] I'd be put in the back of the class or in the corner away from everyone else 'cos I wasn't good enough to sit with them. They'd just call you 'smelly Gypsy' and put you in the back.⁴²

Shame burns here: I heard this insult thrown around many times at school. Another burning: indignation for the girl who wanted to learn but was put in the corner, who maintained her motivation to learn despite these obstacles. Price left formal education before the start of secondary school and worked with her father. Again, I'm leaning in to hear her resolve and pride in the life that followed school. She describes going to a fair as part of her father's business selling horses: 'you see all the people you haven't seen for ages and ages, and they all loves ya, all wants to know ya, 'cos you're Sophie'. It is the cadence that I listened to again and again here, because she says her own name so softly and gently, in a way that speaks of the love of her community towards her, in direct counterpoint to her treatment at school: loved for who she is/taunted for who they think she is. There is great pride, too, in the community of the Rover Way site: 'we all look out for each other on here, and nobody wants for anything. If one person goes short, someone else will help them out'.

The location of the site is dangerous, however, being right next to a busy road:

the council have been told about it loads of times by different people. We've had councillors out to come and have their photo taken with the children and after they has their photo took, they're gone, because they only wants their photo opportunity to get in the newspaper, to bother with the Gypsies, say they're going with the minority, but nothing ever gets done.

My shame here is the shame of a *Gorja* who has listened, and talked, and written, but nothing ever actually gets done. I have written thousands of words in the name of countering anti-Gypsyism and disman-



Original artwork and image © Cas Holmes (2020).

ting stereotypes, but nothing seems to change. This is, to draw on Lisa Slater's work about 'Good White People', an ugly, ambivalent feeling, a 'realisation of powerlessness and uselessness'.⁴³

My response to Christine Fisher's and Sophie Price's histories is to a kind of recounting that includes me in its audience. I want, briefly, to draw attention to Hendry McAlister's stories in the Romani Cultural and Arts collection because of their difference from many Romani oral histories in this sort of project. He talks, like others in the community, about the way things have changed and in a sense declined, how people have gone *gorjified*: 'it's the way of the people'. Rather than full explanations of terms and practices, though, anticipating a broad listenership, McAlister's recollections feel like they are for the Romani community, not for a listener like me. They are stories for those who understand how to balance a kettle prop, who know about

Gypsy cob horses, about what it is to fight.⁴⁴ McAlister publicly defended his community's rights to privacy in 2011 in the notoriously anti-Gypsy and Traveller publication, the *Daily Mail*.⁴⁵ McAlister's words, in oral history and the press, powerfully keep his community from prying eyes, making the listener pause and wonder why they listen, whether it is politically acceptable to listen or to take anything from the story.

McAlister refers to boxing in his oral history, and it is a common thread through many of the oral histories. In another recording, Amy James talks about her brothers' boxing prowess, the write-ups they received in newspapers, and how they turned professional: 'they done good for themselves'. Her pride is a shared one: 'I was really, really proud of me brothers then [...] everybody was proud of them, and everybody knowed them over it'. When James turns to talk about romantic relationships, she speaks about issues which find

recognition among members of her community, but that are explained for those without. For instance:

If I look at a boy or start chatting to a boy, me name'll be took away. And that'd be my culture and everything all just gone, you know? No-one'd bother with me.⁴⁶

She refers to *Gorjas* as 'the other kind, the opposite of us', but in the context of being respectful to people outside the community: 'In the Gypsy way, if you ain't got respect then you ain't got nothing'. Unlike McAlister she explains, as if for an outsider, the difference between what people see on the television programme *Big Fat Gypsy Weddings* – largely a hyped-up version of Irish Traveller culture – and Gypsy culture: 'The Travellers are ... they're different altogether than us; we got different ways'. Both James's explanations and McAlister's lack of them ensure I inhabit a *Gorja* listening position. This makes me reconsider the listening itself. Am I listening *in*? Overhearing? Standing with my face pressed to the site gates? This brings me back to Probyn's assertion that our bodies can tell us when we have stumbled into other people's history, culture and beliefs of which we are ignorant. When I pay attention to shame – paying attention as a deliberately different strategy to the 'collection' of earlier scholars – I pay attention to the type of listener I am to these oral histories. As an interviewee, Laurel Price makes the differences between Romani and *Gorja* even more explicit than James. She distinguishes between her culture's hygiene practices and those of the *Gorjas*, such as washing tea towels along with dirty clothes, or washing crockery in the sink where other cleaning takes place. This is factual information that I recognise, but it does not mean I know or could navigate the cultural rules. I am very much a *Gorja* as I think about how I clean clothes and kitchens. Price's interview is especially interesting because she engages the interviewer. 'You're a *Gorja* aren't you? No?' At this (silent in the recording) answer she starts talking about 'they'. 'We're different altogether, my chil', she affirms.⁴⁷

Julie (pronounced 'Julia') Janes begins her interview with a familiar litany of names, a roll call of the Janes family, including nieces and nephews: 'we're all Welsh'. Janes lived on Rover Way Road, where some traditional practices could still be maintained when she was younger: 'My mother used to cook outside; not only my mother, everybody else used to cook outside'. She has since moved into a house, and compares this experience with the sense of community on the site:

I've been in this street here, this council estate here, for twenty year. There's not one person have respected me since the day I've been here. That's why I don't bother to go out.⁴⁸

This social isolation is compounded by a feeling of neglect from the authorities. Bodies like the local

council and the police 'don't treat us right.' Some interviewees in this project look for signs of positive change in anti-Gypsyism and racist attitudes, but Janes is much more pessimistic: 'I've seen no change. Not in the culture'. She gives an example experienced by her eldest grand-daughter:

She said 'Granny'.

'What?'

'[inaudible] called me "Gyppo".'

Well I said, 'baby, you are one; be proud of it'.

She said, 'well why did they do that?'

And I said, 'they're no different, my baby, but they don't like us,' I said. [...]

She said, 'I told 'em I'm proud to be who I am and I'm not ashamed of it'.

Theresa Smith, though a different generation, had a similar experience:

They'd call you a fleabag, a Gypsy – they'd know that you was a Gypsy. I don't know how but they would know. You'd get mistreated.⁴⁹

She maintained an open mind in the face of this: 'As we grew up we learned that there was good and bad in *Gorjas* – some good people and some bad people'. As far as Janes is concerned, 'the only culture nobody's helped is the Travellers' culture'. She describes an incident when she and her family tried to stay at a holiday park for a week like any other caravan owner, with the pitch booked by her daughter-in-law:

Soon as we drove in through the gate, [...] 'oh', she said, 'no, I don't want no Gypsies on this park, it's not for Gypsies', she said, 'it's a holiday park'.

Well, I said 'I've come on holiday'.

'Get off now', she said. And I've paid to go on there and I was put off. I was going on holiday. That was my holiday.

That Romani people should be denied equality of education, community among others on an estate, a life free from racist abuse and even a week's holiday is shaming. In spite of this, Janes has hope for the future: 'I wants my children to grow up mixed with everybody'.

Doreen Probert's experience of school is much like those already described. After attending 'a Gypsy school on the Speedway' she went to Ninian Park School:

Didn't wanna go. Too many Gorjies. We were called a lot of names. [...] We never learnt nothing, because we were put in a corner.⁵⁰

Life outside school is recollected much more positively, especially on Leckwith Common, including fetching water, eating rabbit and hedgehog, and making 'Gypsy cakes' outside:

Flour, currants, egg, water and sugar. That would be all mixed together and put in the pan. Black pan.

Probert mourns the loss of the Romani language and Gypsy culture:

In a couple of years down the line there'll be nothing of the Gypsy life for them children. [...] They've got to go to fairs and to shows and see their own people.

Alongside pride in the distinctiveness of Romani/Gypsy culture is the fear of the younger generation becoming, in Hendry McAlister's term, *gorjified*. Tony Price, another interviewee, notes that 'there's a lot married out, and they're stuck between two cultures'. The Gypsies, he says, 'have got to stand for what they want'.⁵¹

In a series of recordings for the charity Friends, Families and Travellers, interviewees had similar concerns for the future of the language and culture. Marya suggested that

(I)t's down to parents, it's your responsibility, to teach your child your language [...]. You speak to them in Romanes, otherwise it'll die out.⁵²

George commented on the absence of cultural monuments compared to statues and buildings to the memory of *Gorja* achievements: 'What the Gypsies got? They got nothing! Only what they carry inside them, and what they got in their heads!' This point about the lack of cultural monuments is one I will remember, an important assertion about British public cultural life. Well-known author and broadcaster Damian LeBas made his implied audience clear in saying, 'I'm going to speak a bit of Romani now, but I'm not going to translate it because people listening will know what it means if they speak it'. For me, as a *Gorja* listener, this was an important moment of exclusive linguistic pride.

For those familiar with Romani culture in the UK, hearing Isaac Blake's oral history is something like hearing a celebrity tell his story. Blake is Director of the Romani Cultural and Arts Company and a prominent voice for his community. He begins his interview, 'As you know I'm a Romani Gypsy'.⁵³ Later, he asserts, 'I'm really proud to be a Gypsy, a Gypsy man'. The shame I have felt hearing about racism and exclusion has refined my attention to claims of pride in response, and such assertions thus provoke an empathic swelling of feeling in me, the listener; not identification nor sympathy, but a pleasure in hearing these words spoken. They shine out of the oral histories recorded for diverse listeners. Blake's father was also named Isaac Blake, but his Gypsy name was 'Mushi'. Isaac Blake junior was thus Mushi-boy. Isaac senior was 'a real worker. And he took pride in training people, young boys and young girls in the Gypsy community to make their own living'. He taught Isaac

junior the Romani language, 'but also how to be responsible for ourselves, and sensible to yourself and respectful about yourself and your body, and about how you should treat elders'.

Again, these assertions of pride and self-respect sing out to a listener who has been shamed by the detail of anti-Gypsyism. This pride was hard-won, though. Blake himself kept quiet about his identity when he went to college and university and initially in his professional life:

I had witnessed how other Gypsies got treated at work or when they went into shops, when I was quite young. [...] I wanted just to be a regular person and have the same opportunities as anyone else. [...] I wasn't Isaac Blake, a Gypsy boy, or Isaac Blake, a non-Gypsy, I was just a regular person.

Blake also speaks with pride about the positive impact of the various projects the Company has run: 'children now in school are self-identifying as Gypsy and Traveller community, where they haven't done before'. Blake's ownership of and pride in his identity among *Gorjas* is being positively communicated to a younger audience.

The oral histories hosted on the *Travellers Times* website as the 'Travellers Remember' project (2018), focussed on the West Midlands, includes Romani oral histories, those of Irish Travellers and New Travellers.⁵⁴ The stories are accompanied by family photographs, with the textures of aged photographs retained in their digital form. Most of these stories are focussed on capturing old ways of living and working that have faded away. They are carefully curated, with evocative titles. In 'The Eldest's Tale', Diane Locke tells of hawking when she was a child:

We picked wildflowers: daffodils, primroses, snowdrops and things like that, and we'd bunch them up and keep them overnight and then go on a bus the next day and stand on the streets and sell them, to get money.⁵⁵

In 'Working for bread', Joe dispels some of the nostalgia about the old ways: how hard the spring and summer agricultural work was, and how low the pay was compared to scrap metal collecting in Gloucester in the winter. However, 'now, after you look back on it, it was like a holiday, because everybody, relations and Travellers from all over the country, you'd pull onto the field with them'.⁵⁶

Similarly, Michael Freeman remembers the benefits of the hard labour during the hop harvest: 'The good thing about hops was Travellers from all over the country used to go to all different hop farms, gather together, laugh and joke, go to the trumpet club in the evenings, have a good old time singing and tap-dancing, this, that and the other'.⁵⁷ With mechanisation, though, 'it's all died out'. For Jane, it was pea-picking time that brought both work and commu-

nity: 'the best times of your life'.⁵⁸ These stories have particular resonance for me, having heard tales from older friends and relatives about pea and hop harvests. Sometimes these stories would involve details of working alongside Romani people, but the *Gorja* pickers I knew did not feel the same ties to this annual labour, the same opportunity to meet with a community.⁵⁹ These stories draw me in because of their relevance to those I have heard before, but as a listener I back away again, the shame once more that comes with stumbling into other people's history and culture. Someone like me will never feel quite like Sylvie does about the changing of the seasons and what that means for travel, because Sylvie has lived and breathed it in a way that is particular to her culture and community:

You know like when it's coming on summer time, and you've had winter, and it's coming in to summer time, to spring and that, you like wants to go then, you just feels bored and you wants to go, you know to travel and that.⁶⁰

A non-Romani might similarly feel the coming of spring with affective joy, but when she says 'you know', those without her life experiences do not, cannot. When May Price says, 'the wagons is the old-fashioned caravans, if you don't get my meaning', the non-Romani listener might know what she means but is distanced from her as she feels the need to explain her memory for such a listener.⁶¹

I have listened and felt shame as individuals describe the name-calling, the barring from learning, the effect my group has on Romani language and culture over time. But that shame has also drawn me closer to the stories, made my interest in Gypsy pride and memory more profound. I can never share that pride or those memories as a *Gorja* listener, but I can hear them. Where do I go next with that shame and the interest it registers?⁶²

Conclusion

The list of *Gorja* shame affects cited earlier includes what happens to the voice. It goes high and choked as the throat constricts. That such moments of discomfort can be isolated (for a non-Romani) to specific sites of listening, in contrast to the perpetual discomfort of racism, is a clear demonstration of white privilege at work. But this impact on the voice is something to which we might pay close attention. It is time to listen, not speak, and my body tells me this is so. Shame, says Probyn,

is a powerful instance of embodiment, but it is also called into being by, and then inflects, historical and political circumstance. [...] At the personal and individual level, it may be the wellspring for all sorts of actions.⁶³

In itself, Kizuk indicates, shame is 'an insufficient condition for responsible action'.⁶⁴ What actions,

then, and how? They must be personal and individual, as the language used throughout this article has made clear. This is because movement away from the individual to the group can make shame a rallying call, at which point 'the potential for reflection diminishes'.⁶⁵ This conclusion, then, is a personal reflection on the individual experience of listening to Romani oral histories and not a rallying call. Julie Janes's granddaughter said, 'I'm proud to be who I am and I'm not ashamed of it'. I feel shame in the face of what she was called, but how does the listener of that oral history do something about it? How do I connect, like this young woman did, to an identity in this listening moment? My answer is one at which I hinted in the introduction: to listen *as a Gorja* and hear my group and its history described whenever the term is used, to 'learn to live with' the anxiety this might induce.⁶⁶ I have previously heard and used the term as 'the other of the Romani', which is a very academic avoidance of discomfort. If I take the shame felt listening to the oral histories and use it to fashion a *Gorja* identity, to claim that identity, then my investment in the politics of *Gorja*-Romani encounters alters. Sophie Price in Cardiff was impatient with the virtue signalling of those who had their pictures taken to show that they 'bother with the Gypsies, say they're going with the minority' but then do not manage to change anything. Rather than fall back on the inaction and distancing of white guilt, inhabiting *Gorja* shame and using that interest and that connection opens up the possibility of *being a Gorja*. My research has long been interested in the histories of those connections – the antagonistic and the open; the statutes and working alongside each other; the racism and the love affairs – but to return to those histories self-consciously as a *Gorja* (rather than simply 'an academic') is to be implicated in those histories in different ways. Judith Okely, whose embedded anthropological research in the 1970s on 'Traveller-Gypsies' ('a highly dynamic, amazing, resourceful, brilliant culture') has been as controversial as it has been informative and inspirational, suggested more recently that in academic research 'the prioritising of distancing, parading as [a] scientific universal lives on'.⁶⁷ In place of this distanced universalism, this article suggests a specific affective interest, in this case, *Gorja* listening that eschews 'manipulations of Gypsy-ness'. This means hearing oneself in the word and attempting to understand the self as an other's other in order to recognise how concerns, memories and autobiographical accounts are framed for, or exclude, an other and her expectations. It means not claiming authority and knowledge (one of my most shameful moments was when a newspaper described me as a 'Gypsy expert' because of my academic credentials). To be a *Gorja* is to inhabit otherness and cede authority and centre ground. The power of the dispersed digital Romani oral history archive lies not in any *Gorja* interpretation of it, but in the Romani pride it articulates on Romani terms.

NOTES

1. A Hand that Could Tell a Thousand Tales [web page]. Accessed online at www.proudgypsytraveller.co.uk/2016/02/12/a-hand-that-could-tell-a-thousand-tales, 3 December 2020.
2. AHRC-funded workshop as part of the project 'Gypsies, Roma, and Irish Travellers: Histories, Perceptions, and Representations, A Review', held at the University of Huddersfield, 3 September 2012.
3. David Cressy, *Gypsies: An English History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018, p xi.
4. Elspeth Probyn, *Blush: Faces of Shame*, Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2005, p 124.
5. See, for instance, Jodie Matthews, *The Gypsy Woman: Representations in Literature and Visual Culture*, London: IB Tauris, 2018; 'Visibly authentic: images of Romani people from 19th-century culture to the digital age', in Helen Graham and Jo Vergunst (eds), *Heritage as Community Research: Legacies of Co-Production*, Bristol: Policy Press, 2019, pp 65-84; Ken Lee and Jodie Matthews, 'Romani rebel writing: George "Lazy" Smith's entrepreneurial auto-exoticism', in Lauren O'Hagan (ed), *Rebellious Writing: Marginalised Edwardians and the Contestation of Power*, Bern: Peter Lang, 2020, pp 377-412. From the vast literature on colonial collection see, for instance, Nicholas Thomas, Julie Adams, Billie Lythberg, Maia Nuku and Amiria Salmond (eds), *Artefacts of Encounter: Cook's Voyages, Colonial Collecting and Museum Histories*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016; Claire Wintle, *Colonial Collecting and Display: Encounters with Material Culture from the Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, Oxford and New York: Berghahn Books, 2013; Marieke Hendriksen, *Elegant Anatomy: The Eighteenth-Century Leiden Anatomical Collections*, Leiden: Brill, 2014.
6. Johannes Fabian, *Ethnography as Commentary: Writing from the Virtual Archive*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008, p 40.
7. Probyn, 2005, p 112.
8. Fabian, 2008, pp vii, 7, 121-22.
9. Gypsies, Travellers and Roma [web page]. Accessed online at <https://oblique-arts.com/projects/gtr/>, 1 December 2020. This project was undertaken in 2018; no interviewer names are made public in the online archive.
10. 'Tales from the Trailer', *Travellers Times*, 23 August 2013. Accessed online at www.travellerstimes.org.uk/news/2013/08/tales-trailer. As this information is not recorded with each individual interview, Patricia Knight is assumed but not cited as the interviewer in each story referenced.
11. Travellers Remember [web page]. Accessed online at www.travellers-times.org.uk/heritage/travellers-remember-collection-23-digital-stories-told-travellers, 28 November 2020.
12. Lauren Berlant, *The Female Complaint: The Unfinished Business of Sentimentality in American Culture*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008.
13. Eric Shouse, 'Feeling, Emotion, Affect', *M/C Journal*, vol 8, no 6, 2005, <https://doi.org/10.5204/mcj.2443>.
14. Kathleen Stewart, *Ordinary Affects*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007, p 3.
15. Melissa Gregg and Gregory J Seigworth, 'An inventory of shimmers', in Melissa Gregg and Gregory J Seigworth (eds), *The Affect Theory Reader*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, pp 1-25.
16. Sara Ahmed, *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Postcoloniality*, London: Taylor and Francis, 2013, pp 145-47.
17. Fabian, 2008, p 44.
18. Regina Bendix, 'The pleasures of the ear: toward an ethnography of listening', *Cultural Analysis*, vol 1, 2000, pp 33-50.
19. Ethel Brooks, Europe is Ours: A Manifesto [web page]. Accessed online at www.romaniarts.co.uk/europe-is-ours-a-manifesto-by-dr-ethel-brooks/#:~:text=Europe%20is%20ours.,We%20claim%20Europe, 2 November 2020. First published for the European Roma Rights Centre (10 October 2017) at www.errc.org/blog/europe-is-ours-a-manifesto/.
20. Cressy, 2018, p 1.
21. Becky Taylor, *Another Darkness, Another Dawn: A History of Gypsies, Roma and Travellers*, London: Reaktion, 2014, p 39.
22. Cressy, 2018, p 62.
23. David Cressy, 'Trouble with Gypsies in Early Modern England', *The Historical Journal*, vol 59, no 1, 2016, pp 45-70, p 49.
24. See Wim Willems (translated by Don Bloch), *In Search of the True Gypsy: From Enlightenment to Final Solution*, London: Frank Cass, 1997, and David Mayall, *Gypsy Identities: 1500-2000: From Egyptians and Moon-Men to the Ethnic Romany*, London and New York: Routledge, 2004.
25. Delaine Le Bas, Feet on the Ground [web page]. Accessed online at <https://feetonthegroundart.wordpress.com/2016/11/24/atchin-tansstopping-places/>, 5 April 2019.
26. Mayall, 2004, p 56.
27. Cressy, 2018, p 75.
28. Cressy, 2018, p 92.
29. Cressy, 2018, p 271.
30. David MacRitchie and Francis Hindes Groome, editors' introduction to the first issue of the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, vol 1, no 1, 1888, p 2.
31. Theodore Watts-Dunton, *Aylwin*, London: Humphrey Milford/Oxford University Press, 1927, p 144.
32. Becky Taylor, *A Minority and the State: Travellers in Britain in the Twentieth Century*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008, pp 34, 36, 11. See Lee and Matthews, 2020, for an exploration of how traditional Romani entertainments were remade in the context of industrial modernity.
33. Katharine Quarmby, *No Place to Call Home: Inside the Real Lives of Gypsies and Travellers*, London: Oneworld, 2013, pp 70-71.
34. Robin Diangelo, *White Fragility: Why it's so Hard for White People to Talk about Racism*, London: Penguin, 2018, pp 10, 20, 68-69.
35. Diangelo, 2018, p 109.
36. Sarah Kizuk, 'Settler shame: a critique of the role of shame in settler-indigenous relationships in Canada', *Hypatia*, vol 35, no 1, 2020, pp 161-77, p 162.
37. Diangelo, 2018, p 138.
38. Kizuk, 2020, p 167, and Sara Ahmed, 'The nonperformativity of antiracism', *Meridians: Feminisms, Race, Transnationalism*, vol 7, no 1, 2006, pp 104-26.
39. Probyn, 2005, pp ix, x, xii.
40. Probyn, 2005, pp xvi, 63, 14, 45, 71.
41. Interview with Christine Fisher, Gypsies, Travellers and Roma [web page]. Accessed online at <https://oblique-arts.com/projects/gtr/>, 10 October 2020.
42. Interview with Sophie Price by Romani Culture and Arts Company. Accessed online at www.romaniarts.co.uk/portfolio-item/sophie-price/, 15 April 2021.
43. Lisa Slater, 'Good white people: settler colonial anxiety and the

endurance of racism', *Emotions: History, Culture, Society*, vol 3, no 2, 2019, pp 266-81, p 272.

44. Interview with Hendry McAlister (also spelled Mc Allister in the video), Romani Culture and Arts Company [web page]. Accessed online at www.romaniarts.co.uk/portfolio-item/hendry-mcalister/, 9 April 2021.

45. Jaya Narain, 'Gipsies turn into Nimbys: coastal path round Wales will invade OUR privacy, say travellers', *Daily Mail*, 26 November 2011. Accessed online at www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2053236/Gypsies-block-UKs-longest-coastal-path-claiming-ramblers-invasion-privacy.html. The headline is clearly attempting to point to the irony of 'Gipsies', usually the targets of Nimbyism (an acronym for Not In My Back Yard, designating protectionist attitudes towards local land and property development) when they attempt to find stopping places, protecting their own dwellings. That it is in any way surprising to readers of the paper that Romani people might want to protect where they live shows how othered the community is.

46. Interview with Amy James by Romani Culture and Arts Company. Accessed online at www.romaniarts.co.uk/portfolio-item/amy-james/, 15 April 2021.

47. Interview with Laurel Price by Romani Culture and Arts Company. Accessed online at www.romaniarts.co.uk/portfolio-item/laurel-price/, 15 April 2021.

48. Interview with Julie Janes by Romani Culture and Arts Company. Accessed online at www.romaniarts.co.uk/portfolio-item/julie-janes/, 15 April 2021.

49. Interview with Theresa Smith, by Romani Culture and Arts Company. Accessed online at www.romaniarts.co.uk/portfolio-item/theresa-smith/, 15 April 2021.

50. Interview with Doreen Probert by Romani Culture and Arts Company. Accessed online at www.romaniarts.co.uk/portfolio-item/doreen-probert/, 12 April 2021.

51. Interview with Tony Price by Romani Culture and Arts Company. Accessed online at www.romaniarts.co.uk/portfolio-item/tony-price/, 12 April 2021.

52. All audio clips quoted in this paragraph at Friends, Families and Travellers: Language [web page]. Accessed online at www.gypsy-traveller.org/heritage/language/, 2 December 2020. No information about interviewer or date of recording is present.

53. Interview with Isaac Blake by Romani Culture and Arts Company. Accessed online at www.romaniarts.co.uk/portfolio-item/isaac-blake/, 27 April 2021.

54. All the recordings in this paragraph can be found at Travellers Remember [web page]. Accessed online at www.travellerstimes.org.uk/heritage/travellers-remember-collection-23-digital-stories-told-travellers, 14 November 2020. Some include details of the interviewer, but not all.

55. Interview with Diane Locke from a 2006 series of digital stories 'Travellers Remember', produced by Rural Media. Accessed online at www.travellerstimes.org.uk/heritage/travellers-remember-collection-23-digital-stories-told-travellers, 14 November 2020.

56. Storyteller Joe, Digital Storymaker Nettie Edwards, from a 2006 series of digital stories 'Travellers Remember', produced by Rural Media. Accessed online at www.travellerstimes.org.uk/heritage/travellers-remember-collection-23-digital-stories-told-travellers, 14 November 2020. This reference retains the roles ascribed in the film's credits rather than asserting 'interviewer' and 'interviewee'.

57. Storyteller Michael Freeman, Digital

Storymaker Jamie Freeman, from a 2006 series of digital stories 'Travellers Remember', produced by Rural Media.

Accessed online at www.travellers-times.org.uk/heritage/travellers-remember-collection-23-digital-stories-told-travellers, 14 November 2020.

58. Storyteller Jane, Digital Storymakers Nettie Edwards, Johnnie and Ben, from a 2006 series of digital stories 'Travellers Remember', produced by Rural Media. Accessed online at www.travellers-times.org.uk/heritage/travellers-remember-collection-23-digital-stories-told-travellers, 14 November 2020.

59. This is not to say that non-Romani pickers lacked a community of labour. For instance, see Hilary Heffernan, *Voices of Kent Hop Pickers*, Stroud: Tempus, 2010.

60. Storyteller Sylvie, Digital Storymaker Nettie Edwards from a 2006 series produced by Rural Media.

61. May Price 'with help from Shannon Price and Laurel Boswell' from a 2006 series produced by Rural Media.

62. Probyn, 2005, p 72.

63. Probyn, 2005, p 79.

64. Kizuk, 2020, p 168.

65. Probyn, 2005, p 101.

66. Slater, 2019, p 276.

67. Okely in Paul Thompson, 'Interview with Judith Okely', in *Pioneers of Social Research, 1996-2018*, fourth edition. Accessed online at <https://discover.ukdataservice.ac.uk/QualiBank/Document/?cid=q-b1caaebd-3ebc-45a9-a391-2fbd7d14a4d7>; Judith Okely, 'Dialogues with anthropologists: where interviews become relevant', in Katherine Smith, James Staples and Nigel Rapport (eds), *Extraordinary Encounters: Authenticity and the Interview*, New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2015, pp 128-56.

Address for correspondence:
j.matthews@hud.ac.uk