For Phyllida Nina Coombes (*née* Radcliffe-Brown) and Cedric James Coombes

“*So for the mother’s sake the child was dear,*

*And dearer was the mother for the child.*”

Samuel Taylor Coleridge, “Sonnet to a Friend Who Asked How I Felt When the Nurse First Presented My Infant to Me”

“There acts are beautiful through love.”

Percy Bysshe Shelley, “Prometheus Unbound”, IV, 403

CHAPTER 1

EDITOR’S INTRODUCTION:

MAPPING INTERNATIONAL DIVERSITY IN RESEARCHING TRAVELLER AND NOMADIC EDUCATION

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Abstract

This chapter examines the ‘field’ of international Traveller and nomadic education research, and argues the need for this volume in significantly extending the boundaries of that ‘field’. The author argues that, like itinerant groups, a chief characteristic of Traveller
and nomadic education research is its mobility; it shifts and flows as it engages with broader developments in educational provision and research. The author posits that the approach adopted in this volume – the mapping and celebration of international diversity – is necessary to expand contemporary understandings of the multiple experiences of itinerancy, especially as they relate to education. This proposition constitutes the rationale for this collection of chapters about Traveller and nomadic education research about six kinds of itinerant people in Nigeria, India, Scotland, England, the Netherlands and Australia.

Introduction

“There you are!” cried the Toad, straddling and expanding himself. “There’s real life for you, embodied in that little cart. The open road, the dusty highway, the heath, the common, the hedgerows, the rolling downs! Camps, villages, towns, cities! Here today, up and off to somewhere else to-morrow! Travel, change, interest, excitement! The whole world before you, and a horizon that’s always changing!” (Grahame, 1961, p. 32)

Clearly this account of an itinerant lifestyle by the reprobate hero of the English children’s classic novel The wind in the willows is highly romanticised. It is also heavily at odds with the almost universally marginalised status of the world’s itinerant peoples. Of course, until the invention of agriculture that accompanied the neolithic revolution, all human beings were itinerant. Approximately six thousand years later, however, sedentarism is the ‘norm’ from which itinerancy is constructed as ‘deviant’. People who take their homes with them, instead of living in settled communities, are regarded as outcasts who have no commitment, and who therefore constitute a recurring threat, to the stability of those communities. This largely remains the case today: despite the increased virtual mobility of many people, we are still mostly sedentary in a residential sense.
From this negatively perceived social status accorded to mobile groups, it follows that educating the children belonging to such groups constitutes an enormous ‘challenge’ or ‘problem’. Mass educational provision is predicated on students living in a fixed location; for most students living in that location includes attending a school, while a minority receive distance education from a geographically dispersed centre. Mobile children do not fit this mould at all. Moreover, people who travel threaten – and are thus seen to constitute a threat – to elude the surveillance and control of state institutions concerned to ‘know all’ about their citizens: who, where, how many, how old, what names and so on. The incapacity to ‘capture’ itinerant people within the ‘fold’ of existing analytical frameworks makes many state officials and some researchers feel considerably uneasy.

The metaphor that I wish to take from the Toad’s romanticised account of itinerancy is that of constant mobility. For the Toad, this mobility is associated with “Travel, change, interest, excitement!” I seek in this chapter to link the mobility of itinerant groups to change in educational provision for them, and particularly to change in research into Traveller and nomadic education. I argue that a consciously mobile approach to this research – in the sense of being fluid and shifting – is necessary to foster the mapping and celebration of international diversity to which the contributors to this volume are committed. Such an approach is more likely to promote the positive images conveyed by the Toad than the negative stereotypes to which itinerant people are far more accustomed.

Constructing the ‘Field’ of Traveller and Nomadic Education Research

A major reason for devoting a special issue of the International Journal of Educational Research to Traveller and nomadic education research is to give some form and substance to a ‘field’ that exists only implicitly. By this I mean that, as I explain below, various centres of educational provision for itinerant people are scattered around the world:
in Nigeria, India, Western Europe, North America and Australia. These educational centres have developed largely in ignorance of one another’s existence, and they call their clients different names according to their location.

In these circumstances, two questions spring immediately to mind about devoting a special issue of a prestigious international journal to the education of these disparate groups:

• Are the contributors putting into one forum types of educational provision that are logically distinct and that should not be considered in concert?
• What are the potential benefits and risks associated with considering itinerant groups in a single forum for the first time?

With regard to the first question, I concur that there is something paradoxical about urging an anti-essentialist approach (Danaher, 1998c) to researching Traveller and nomadic education while contributing to a volume that focuses on what separates itinerant people from other educational clients. There is a continuing ambivalence in constructing as a single academic ‘field’ a set of widely divergent experiences and opportunities. My view is that we should acknowledge this ambivalence and use it to draw out many of the ambiguities and subtleties attending educational provision for mobile groups in the world today.

In relation to the second question, the greatest potential benefit of proceeding with this project is heightened understanding among Traveller and nomadic education practitioners and researchers of the international diversity of experience and opportunity of itinerant people in gaining educational access. Granted, increased understanding does not guarantee improvement, but it is surely preferable to continuing to act in ignorance of what others are doing. Equally, the greatest potential risk is probably to contribute to the ongoing marginalisation of itinerant people, ironically by essentialising those people’s difference while downplaying their deep and enduring links with the communities in which they are located (Danaher, 1998b).
Much of this ambivalence about and tension between potential benefit and risk is encapsulated in the issue of ‘naming’ itinerant people and their education. In Africa and India, itinerant groups such as pastoralists and fishermen are called ‘nomads’ and they receive ‘nomadic’ education. In Western Europe and Australia, itinerant groups such as Gypsies and bargee, circus and fairground or show people are called ‘Travellers’ and they receive ‘Traveller education’, the capitalisation denoting respect for the groups’ self-identification as a distinct cultural and in some ways ethnic community. In the United States, ‘migrant education’ is provided to the seasonal fruitpickers who cross the border from Mexico into the southern states.

This issue of ‘what’s in a name?’ is far more than agreeing on a small number of ‘labels’ to identify accurately and conveniently the clients of our educational provision and research. The process is imbricated with power: if I can name you, I am more likely to be able to speak on your behalf and thereby to hold power over you. We need to be careful, in other words, that we use the names that itinerant people use for themselves about themselves. Yet this is not always easy to do: sometimes there are genuine divergences of terminology among itinerant people, and usually they are less interested than educational providers and researchers in the complexities and nuances of working out collective nouns. Hence the rather unwieldy but well-intentioned construction ‘Traveller and nomadic education (research)’ that is used throughout this volume (the omission of ‘migrant’ from this term reflecting the absence from the volume of a discussion of North American migrant education).

This approach to terminology resonates with Kidde’s (1999) reference to “this minefield of appropriate terminology” (p. 17). Kidde’s own tactic for traversing “this minefield” was as follows: “So to reflect the diversity of groupings, the diversity of attitude and self identification, I have used a variety of different terms through the pages of this
book” (p. 20). The other contributors and I have followed Kiddle’s lead in this volume, so that itinerant groups are variously named ‘nomadic’, ‘Traveller’, ‘pastoralist’, ‘fairground’ and so on according to context. Our purpose in doing so also matches Kiddle’s: “Certainly every term is used with respect; respect for all cultural groups and respect for individuals within groups who choose to identify themselves in particular ways” (p. 20).

Surveying the ‘Field’ of Traveller and Nomadic Education Research

In 1972 the anthropologist Dyson-Hudson asserted, “Nomadic studies seem always to have had a curiously inchoate, non-cumulative character” (p. 2). Despite the significant developments in educational provision and research outlined below, in some ways little has changed since Dyson-Hudson’s comment. This situation partly reflects my comment above that this volume is concerned with constructing a ‘field’ of Traveller and nomadic education research that has until now existed implicitly rather than explicitly. Certainly a major issue of concern is the resilience of the ‘deficit model’ that constructs itinerancy as different, and deviant, from the ‘norm’ of settled residence, with the corollary assumption that the education of itinerant people is inherently a ‘problem’ needing ‘remediation’ or ‘solution’. Funding for educational provision and research is generally not forthcoming when the clients transgress deeply ingrained social mores – unless the minority in question has some kind of political clout, which has mostly been denied to itinerant groups.

Fortunately for the education of itinerant people, this pathological construction of itinerancy is not universally shared. Just over a decade ago, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, occurred a series of events that in hindsight appeared too convergent to be coincidental but that actually took place largely without the people responsible being aware of one another. At this time, the European Commission set up the European Federation for the Education of the Children of the Occupational Travellers (EFECOT) in Brussels, under the leadership of Ludo
Knaepkens; EFECOT was established officially in 1988 and began operations in 1989. EFECOT and the Gypsy Research Centre (established in Paris in February 1979) lobbied hard for the educational advancement of their respective client groups, each producing an informative and well-researched regular publication series with EFECOT’s Newsline and the Gypsy Research Centre’s Interface. Also in 1989, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) conducted in Paris an international conference on Schooling Conditions of Children of Nomadic Populations (Tahir, 1997, p. i). On the other side of the world, 1989 was the year in which the Brisbane School of Distance Education began its innovative educational program for the children of Australian fairground families, involving teachers travelling to selected sites along the show circuits to work with the children and returning to Brisbane while the children completed their correspondence papers (Danaher, 1998a). One year later, in 1990, the National Commission for Nomadic Education was established in Kaduna, Nigeria, under the Executive Directorship of Chimah Ezeomah and more recently of Gidado Tahir. The Commission publishes a biannual magazine entitled Nomadic education news.

On the one hand, these largely simultaneous but coincidental events in so many different parts of the world suggest that powerful forces of social justice and educational equity were able to cross national boundaries and become implicated in pushing for heightened access for marginalised groups. On the other hand, the forms taken by these forces differed markedly from one country and group to another, reinforcing the importance of attending to and respecting international diversity as much as commonality. Furthermore, anyone tempted to construct these developments teleologically as heralding a ‘golden age’ of educational provision and research for itinerant people needs to consider that countervailing trends, particularly those associated with economic rationalism’s reach into educational
expenditure, have in many cases prevented the promise of these developments from being achieved.

A decade later a second set of developments occurred that was also internationally simultaneous and was again for the most part coincidental. This was the publication of books specifically about Traveller and nomadic education research. In 1997 Maírín Kenny’s (1997) study *The routes of resistance* gave an account of Irish Travellers in schools; in 1998 my colleagues and I (Danaher, 1998a) published *Beyond the ferris wheel* about the education of Queensland show or fairground children in Australia; in 1999 Cathy Kiddle (1999) published *Traveller children: A voice for themselves* about the education of English Gypsy and occupational travellers. In Nigeria, a series of monographs was published dealing with the education of nomadic pastoralists (Ezeomah, 1987; Tahir, 1991; Tahir & Muhammad, 1998) and migrant fishermen (Ezewu & Tahir, 1997). In Europe, several monographs have concentrated on the educational experiences of Gypsy Travellers (see for example Advisory Council for the Education of Romany and Other Travellers, 1993; Liégeois, 1987, 1998). In part, this volume is intended to take its place beside these publications in the growing academic literature on the education of itinerant people. Certainly it is hoped to avert the application of Dyson-Hudson’s (1972) description of “a curiously inchoate, non-cumulative character” (p. 2) to the ‘field’ of Traveller and nomadic education in the early 2000s.

This volume is one of the earliest, although it is not the first, attempts at international collaborations and comparisons in Traveller and nomadic education research. EFECOT’s annual congresses, and the numerous collaborative projects that it has commissioned and supported among European Community member states, have produced reports that cross European national boundaries. In 1997 Gidado Tahir’s (1997) edited book *Nomadic education in Africa: Issues and cases* featured contributions about Ethiopia, Kenya, Namibia, Nigeria, the Sudan, Tanzania and Zanzibar; despite this geographical diversity, the articles
were nationally focused rather than internationally comparative. The same was true one year later when the Nigerian National Commission for Nomadic Education published the *Journal of Nomadic Studies*, one of whose foci is education. Most of the inaugural issue’s articles related to Nigeria, with one each being devoted to Ethiopia and India. My Australian colleagues and I have also collaborated on international conference papers with researchers in England (Danaher, Pullin, & Wyer, 1997a, 1997b) and Nigeria (Danaher, Tahir, Danaher, & Umar, 1999).

This brief review suggests that the ‘field’ of Traveller and nomadic education research is as fluid and shifting as the mobile groups with whom the researchers are concerned. As the chapters in this volume amply demonstrate, the development of this ‘field’ involves making sense of and engaging with broader changes in government policy, socioeconomic developments and alterations to the local, national and international treatment of minority groups. I have emphasised the constructedness of this ‘field’, meaning that the contributors to this volume are complicit in creating a territory, rather than merely crossing a territory that is already ‘there’. Thus the authors’ subjectivities are crucial in understanding Traveller and nomadic education research, instead of that research being ‘objective’ and ‘pure’.

The Purposes and Contents of This Volume:

**Extending the ‘Field’ of Traveller and Nomadic Education Research**

This special issue of the *International Journal of Educational Research* has the following two aims:

- to map the current state of research into international Traveller and nomadic education
to represent a broad diversity of research studies and empirical sites in international Traveller and nomadic education.

The statement of these aims reflects the contributors’ conviction that research in Traveller and nomadic education requires a commitment, not only to mapping and valuing international diversity, but also to researchers aligning themselves, in multiple ways and according to context and perspective, with action. The outcome of this approach is likely to be what Anyanwu (1998) called “transformative research”, which “is a systematic inquiry into the real conditions which create oppression or hinder self-determination. It produces reflective knowledge which helps people to identify their situation and in doing so, to change such situation for the better” (p. 45).

In line with these aims, the authors of the chapters that follow were asked to respond to the following three questions in relation to the particular group of itinerant people within the respective country with whom they have conducted research:

- Which distinctive national, state/provincial and/or local political, economic, social and educational contexts frame and constrain the provision of Traveller or nomadic education for the itinerant group with whom you have conducted research?
- What do your nominated concept and/or theoretical focus reveal about the current ‘state of play’ of Traveller or nomadic education provision for that itinerant group?
- What are the implications of your research for mapping and celebrating international diversity in Traveller and nomadic education research?

In answering these questions, the chapters in this volume traverse six countries – Nigeria, India, Scotland, England, the Netherlands and Australia – and canvass six types of itinerant people: nomadic pastoralists, migrant fishermen, fairground/showground people, Gypsy Travellers, barge people and circus people. This coverage does not claim to be comprehensive. For example, a discussion of North American migrant education has been
omitted for reasons of space, an absence that we hope to remedy in a future publication. We are also aware of other nomadic groups, such as the Gobi Desert inhabitants in Mongolia (Robinson, 1999), with specialised educational needs. Nevertheless we believe that the issues raised in the volume have a significance that extends far beyond the geographical boundaries covered herein.

In Chapter 2, Abdurrahman Umar and Gidado Tahir, respectively Director of Program Development and Extension and Executive Director at the Nigerian National Commission for Nomadic Education, draw on extensive fieldwork, participant observation, surveys and interviews to investigate the education of two groups of itinerant people in Nigeria: nomadic pastoralists and migrant fishermen. In Chapter 3, Caroline Dyer from the University of Manchester takes us to western India, close to the Pakistan border, where a colleague and she have conducted a literacy education program among the Rabarís of Kachchh. Dyer reflects on the outcomes of this action research project and relates (il)literacy for these nomadic pastoralists to broader markers of power and marginalisation from such power.

In Chapter 4, Elizabeth Jordan, Director of the Scottish Traveller Education Project at the University of Edinburgh, uses interview data with Scottish Showground families to argue that, despite the claims for its universal coverage, the comprehensive school system routinely fails to meet the educational needs of these and other interrupted learners. Cathy Kiddle, Coordinator of one of the oldest English Traveller Education Services in Devon, focuses in Chapter 5 on the crucially important relationship between parents of Fairground and Gypsy Travellers and their children’s teachers. We then cross the Channel to the Netherlands, as Ursula Scholten, Director of the National Foundation Education for Children of Bargee Families, uses Chapter 6 to relate educational provision for bargee toddlers to wider issues in early childhood education.
The final three chapters are set in Australia, whose itinerant groups are numerically small but travel vast distances. In Chapter 7, Mark St Leon, member of a very long established circus family, uses oral history techniques to analyse the formal and informal education of Australian circus people from 1847 to 1930. In Chapter 8, Beverley Moriarty, a member of the Traveller education research team at Central Queensland University, analyses Australian circuses in terms of cooperative communities. Finally, Patrick Alan Danaher and Geoffrey Radcliffe Danaher, also members of the Central Queensland University research team, use Chapter 9 to apply a Foucauldian perspective to analyse the ‘power/knowledge’ dimensions of Australian show people’s educational experiences and expectations.

Mapping International Diversity in the ‘Field’ of Traveller and Nomadic Education Research

What precisely do we mean by aspiring to map and celebrate international diversity in Traveller and nomadic education research, and thereby to contribute to the mobile ‘field’ of such research? The view of diversity underpinning this volume resonates with the call by Ferguson and Meyer (1998) for a more systematically international dimension to dialogue among educational researchers:

As our world moves towards a global focus in many spheres of life, it seems ironic that educational research remains determinedly provincial. If there can be global economies, global industries, global politics, global environmentalism, and even global culture, surely it is time to enlarge our educational conversations. (p. 89)

However, the other contributors and I need to ensure that our “educational conversations” follow Dyson-Hudson’s (1972) dictum about international comparative studies: “comparison to be useful must be quite specific, quite detailed and very controlled”, and such comparison needs to avoid “the charge of merely re-shuffling pieces of information we already have, for aesthetic rather than illuminating purposes” (p. 23). We take note also of
Portin’s (1998) reminder that “One of the problems of international comparison is the rush to conclusions that are not based on careful comparative methodology” (pp. 296-297), and Portin’s timely citation of Phillips’s (1982) metaphorical musing:

We cannot wander at pleasure among the educational systems of the world, like a child strolling through a garden, and pick off a flower from one bush and some leaves from another, and then expect that if we stick what we have gathered into the soil at home, we shall have a living plant. A national system of education is a living thing, the outcome of forgotten struggles and ‘of battles long ago.’ Is [sic] has in it some of the secret workings of national life. (p. 297)

This is precisely why the chapters in this volume explicate the national parameters of the education systems, and focus on the research elements, informing our respective investigations.

We need also to take account of the understanding of meaning and power articulated by Kenway, Willis, Blackmore and Rennie (1998), which “calls attention to the particular rather than the general; to discontinuity and instability rather than continuity and stability; to plurality, diversity and difference rather than to similarity and commonality; and to the complexity rather than the essence of things” (p. xvii). In other words, rather than searching for a single ‘grand narrative’ that would privilege and hierarchise some experiences of Traveller and nomadic education over others, we seek in the chapters that follow to map, celebrate and value equally the multiple occurrences of education of itinerant people throughout the world.

Conclusion

I began this editor’s introduction by quoting the Toad’s rhapsodic account of the delights of an itinerant lifestyle. I have emphasised throughout the introduction a different
element of itinerancy – its mobility – to argue that the ‘field’ of Traveller and nomadic education research is in a continuing state of flux. The developments in provision and research in the education of itinerant people outlined in this chapter also demonstrate this fluidity, rather than a state of steady progress towards a perfect future.

In that context, we endorse the view of Kenway and her colleagues (1998): “We know that our preferences for action and our knowledge are situated, partial and interested. They arise from our own biographies, our different theoretical, institutional, geographic and time locations” (p. xii). An important consequence of that diversity is the open endedness of this kind of enquiry. The comment by an historian on a volume of essays on mining history applies equally to research into Traveller and nomadic education: “as in any field of historical research the definitive version, always sought, can never be achieved beyond the possibility of question; the debate is never finally closed” (Dalton, 1982, p. i).

We look forward, then, to stimulating discussion and debate and to helping voices to be heard and dialogues to take place both between and within itinerant groups and researchers into Traveller and nomadic education. We realise that this volume represents early utterances, not the final word, about this significant educational issue. We hope, however, that readers will take with them a more informed understanding of the education of itinerant people than the views held by Mr Toad or adherents to a ‘deficit’ model of itinerancy.
Acknowledgments

I am grateful to the contributors for making this volume possible, and to the ongoing assistance of the Chair and members of the journal’s Editorial Board. The European Federation for the Education of the Children of the Occupational Travellers kindly invited me to a congress in 1996 where I met three of the contributors. Consultations with contributors were significantly advanced during a period of study leave between February and July 1999 funded by the Faculty of Education and Creative Arts at Central Queensland University and made enjoyable by my many hosts. Financial assistance from the Research Centre for Open and Distance Learning at Central Queensland University has also been indispensable. My fellow Traveller education researchers at Central Queensland University have always been encouraging and supportive. Dr Geoffrey Danaher’s and Dr Beverley Moriarty’s comments on an earlier draft have enhanced this chapter. My interviews with Travellers and their teachers in several countries have deepened my gratitude to and admiration for them.
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