Article 12 in Scotland

Young Gypsy Travellers’ Lives:
On-Line Media Audit 2011 – 2014
Consolidated Report

January 2016

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Council of Europe Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities [1995]

Article 6 [1]: The Parties shall encourage a spirit of tolerance and intercultural dialogue and take effective measures to promote mutual respect and understanding and co-operation among all persons living on their territory, irrespective of those persons' ethnic, cultural, linguistic or religious identity, in particular in the fields of education, culture and the media.

National Union of Journalists: Code of Conduct

9] Produce[s] no material likely to lead to hatred or discrimination on the grounds of a person's age, gender, race, colour, creed, legal status, disability, marital status, or sexual orientation.

Independent Press Standards Organisation: Editors’ Code of Practice

1] Accuracy:

i] The press must take care not to publish inaccurate, misleading or distorted information, including pictures.

12] Discrimination:

i] The press must avoid prejudicial or pejorative reference to an individual's race, colour, religion, gender, sexual orientation or to any physical or mental illness or disability.

ii] Details of an individual's race, colour, religion, sexual orientation, physical or mental illness or disability must be avoided unless genuinely relevant to the story.


The Committee is […] concerned at the general climate of intolerance and negative public attitudes towards children, especially adolescents, which appears to exist in the State party, including in the media, and may be often the underlying cause of further infringements of their rights.
Where Gypsy/Travellers Live: Equal Opportunities Committee Enquiry, March 2013

19. The media, including ‘new media’ such as blogs and comments boards, were cited in submissions as encouraging bad relations, primarily through the almost exclusively negative reporting of Gypsy/Traveller issues. There is an encouragement towards a ‘not-in-my-backyard’ attitude, and few examples of reporting from the Gypsy/Traveller perspective. Sections of the print media target criticism towards the planning for and establishment of private and public sites and place a focus on the notional impact on house prices. Witnesses from support services called for more stringent action on defamatory and racist reporting. Nigel Firth (NHS Grampian) suggested that negative reporting often left a ‘legacy’ of negative attitudes.

20. The negative and unrepresentative television portrayal of Gypsy/Travellers, including the sexualisation of children in broadcast media and publicity for television shows, was described having put back progress on tackling racism by 10 years. It is clear that this approach would not be taken using any other ethnic community.

Young Gypsy Travellers’ Lives volunteer:

The media targets us, there is never anything positive said about Travellers and they always stereotype us. It makes people judge us.
Summary

*Article 12 in Scotland* is committed to addressing the unethical reporting exhibited by many publications concerning Gypsy/Travellers, not only in Scotland, but also UK wide and further afield. Misleading and unbalanced articles are a key driving force in the discrimination experienced by Gypsy/Travellers living in Scotland, and indeed the UK as a whole, today. Our concerns regarding media coverage have been echoed by the young Gypsy/Travellers who lead *Article 12 in Scotland’s Young Gypsy Travellers’ Lives* project; prejudice on the grounds of their ethnic identity is part of their, their families’ and their community’s everyday reality. *Article 12 in Scotland* finds this unacceptable.

Not only is this type of journalism immoral and unethical, it also directly violates journalistic codes of conduct; fuelling negative myths and stereotypes, demonising the Gypsy/Traveller community and further segregating them from their settled peers.

This comparative report details the findings of our 4 annual media audits [focused on the online media in Scotland], and has been instrumental in providing members of *Article 12 in Scotland’s Young Gypsy Travellers’ Lives* project Management Group with new skills [a key objective of the project being the ‘skilling-up’ and empowerment of young Gypsy/Travellers in order to enable them to have their own voices heard by governments, professionals and wider society in general]. Our previous annual audits may be found by following the links below:


*Article 12 in Scotland* believe that journalists and their editors have a duty and responsibility to ensure that they are not only engaging in ethical reporting, but also effectively monitoring any affiliated on-line forums for racially motivated, pejorative comments made by their readers.

Comparative findings include:

- A disproportionately high level of reporting on the Gypsy/Traveller community;
- A ‘concentration’ of local reporting in the North East of Scotland, amongst 3 of the most widely read regional newspapers. This is indicative of the rising tensions between the settled and Travelling communities, the local media is instrumental in maintaining these tensions;
- There is a national tabloid ‘sensationalist’ interest in the Gypsy/Traveller community;
- The primary focus of articles centres on sites, the Gypsy/Traveller community and crime; many of these articles contain negative stereotyping;
• With the exception of year 2, when the *Scottish Government’s Equal Opportunities Committee* published their Enquiry ‘Where Gypsy/Travellers Live’, each year the articles audited have been of a largely negative tone;

• A fifth or under, of all publications audited appear to be using archive/stock photography when reporting on the Gypsy/Traveller community. This unethical practice is not only extremely concerning, serving only to demonise an already marginalised community, it also goes directly against the *Independent Press Standards Organisation’s Editors’ Code of Practice*;

• The media is still guilty of using ‘leading’ words when discussing the Gypsy/Traveller community; this can be likened to subliminal messaging. The most common ‘leading’ word is illegal, with eviction, invasion, fear and rubbish also heavily used;

• A small minority of all articles audited throughout the duration of this audit have capitalised ‘Gypsy’ and/or ‘Traveller’;

• Social, and other forms of digital media, are becoming ever more popular. They provide a breeding ground from which ‘keyboard warriors’ can incite racial hatred and stir up vigilante groups. Many of these sites – including social networking sites and the readers’ comments spaces for the on-line presence of news publications – are loosely [if at all] monitored, with most of the resistance to these being provided by right-thinking members of the public [from both the Travelling and settled communities]. Those in charge of these sites have an ethical obligation to ensure fair and healthy debate; frustratingly, this seems not to be the case.

In spite of having recognised ethnic minority status from the *Scottish Government*, the Scottish Gypsy/Traveller community continues to be marginalised from mainstream society. This is, in part, fuelled by the media – both news and social - coverage of their culture, and is unlikely to change until the media, in all forms, ceases publishing negative, misleading and unbalanced articles. Once again, the campaign continues.
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Introduction

*Article 12 in Scotland* is a non-governmental organisation that works, through the medium of peer education, to promote young people’s rights as set out in international human rights charters. Through our *Young Gypsy Travellers’ Lives* project, *Article 12 in Scotland* aims to significantly improve relations between the Gypsy/Traveller and settled communities, particularly, but not exclusively, between young people; thus building bridges, bonds and links between people and communities of different cultures, and enabling young Gypsy/Travellers to contribute as equal citizens to decision making processes and live their lives free from prejudice.

The *Young Gypsy Travellers’ Lives* project - which is led by a group of young Scottish Gypsy/Travellers, and staffed by members from both the Gypsy/Traveller and the settled community - is committed to addressing the discrimination and prejudice faced by Gypsy/Travellers living in Scotland today.

The negative, disrespectful, and, at times, overtly racist way in which certain representatives of the British media portray the Gypsy/Traveller community has long been one of *Article 12 in Scotland*’s key concerns: not only for the safety and well-being of the Gypsy/Traveller community, but also as a barrier to positive change and bridge building with members of the settled community. Our concerns have been echoed by members of *Article 12 in Scotland’s Young Gypsy Travellers’ Lives [YGTL]* project Management Group, who have identified negative media coverage as one of the main driving forces in the discrimination faced by their community.

Unbalanced reporting can and indeed does create prejudice; perpetuating dangerous and offensive myths and stereotypes and helping to foster racial hatred – further fuelling the division, fear and mistrust between the Gypsy/Traveller and settled communities. The *Equality and Human Rights Commission* rightly state that the negative portrayal of the Gypsy/Roma/Traveller community ‘serves to validate the idea that somehow Gypsy Travellers are fair game - that it is not racist to stereotype or discriminate against a Gypsy Traveller.’

Consequently, *Article 12 in Scotland* committed to an extensive on-line Scottish media audit; starting in September 2011 [as part of a 6 month pilot and training for the *YGTL* Management Group], and was on-going until the end of September 2014, allowing us to track changes in reporting.

NB: The *Scottish Government’s* official terminology ‘Gypsy/Traveller’ has been employed throughout this report. However, it is important to note that this term is not accepted by all families. Indeed, many Scottish Gypsy/Travellers prefer to self-define as ‘Traveller’.

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Rationale

*Article 12 in Scotland* believe that Scottish Gypsy/Travellers are an extremely vulnerable group in the hands of the media. Entering key words such as ‘Gypsy’ and ‘Traveller’ into the search facility of many on-line publications will usually reveal myriad negative articles and racist commentaries; ranging from ridiculing and ‘poking fun’, to inciting racial hatred and talk of evoking the ‘final solution’: ‘Send them to Hazelhead [a crematorium located in Aberdeen] where the final solution is obvious’. As evidenced by the above comment, tensions in Aberdeen City and Shire reached crisis point a long time ago; a lack of authorised sites and the blocking-off of traditional stopping places have heightened animosity between the transient and settled communities; a theme which is replicated throughout Scotland.

*Article 12 in Scotland* has been monitoring certain publications in the North East of Scotland since 2009 [it is noteworthy to mention here that many articles have now been removed and the on-line reader comments/full articles section disabled for those who do not have a paying subscription]. A seemingly innocent article in the *Press and Journal*, a daily publication in Scotland [read by 161,000 readers every day, 6 days a week in 6 different geographic regions, giving it the highest circulation of any regional newspaper in Scotland], entitled *There are all sorts of ways to give people a bad name* is just one example of the media campaign against Gypsy/Roma/Travellers here in Scotland. This article draws you in with a commentary concerning a respectful silence at a Scottish football game, but half-way through turns into an anti-Roma rant – and is just as shocking today, as it appeared 5 years ago; the commentary includes:

‘You can’t walk 10 yards without tripping over some old girl in a shawl or having your ears assailed by some swarthy bloke playing the Romanian national anthem on his accordion. [...] Within minutes, they had hobbled and wheeled themselves off in every direction in search of kind-hearted Dubliners. [...] The worry is that, with the dire collapse of the Irish economy, these gangs will set their sights on Scotland. Thanks to the diversity training that the Scottish constabulary have been undergoing of late, in which they have been taught to treat these travellers with the utmost respect, the beggars could clean up over here with impunity. [...] If anyone dares to criticise them, they will probably find themselves up on a charge of inciting racial hatred. [...] Perhaps I should start packing a bag for an extended stay at Her Majesty’s pleasure [sic].’

More information concerning the *Press and Journal*’s coverage of, and interest in, the Gypsy/Traveller community may be found in Appendix 3 of this report. In reaction to the growing concerns of *Article 12 in Scotland*, and various other local and national organisations, surrounding the press coverage of the Gypsy/Traveller community from the *Press and Journal*, *Article 12 in Scotland* commissioned an independent researcher, Lizzie Alderdice, to analyse the *Press and Journal*’s press coverage of the Gypsy/Traveller community

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2 Reader’s comment, *Press and Journal* on-line [July 2010]: article and comment since removed.


4 *Press and Journal*, 7th January 2011, no author: *There are all sorts of ways to give people a bad name*. Online at http://www.pressandjournal.co.uk/Article.aspx/2079711?UserKey
community over four random years; giving us an insight into the historical reporting style of this publication.

*Article 12 in Scotland* believes that this type of misleading journalism is unethical and dangerous. *Article 12 in Scotland* does not accept that representatives of the Scottish media would report on any other ethnic minority in the same way in which many publications currently report on, and demonise, Gypsy/Travellers. We believe that the media plays a fundamental role in keeping anti-Gypsy/Traveller sentiment alive; it was for this reason that we committed not only to such a lengthy audit, but also to eradicating this unacceptable form of ethnic discrimination.
Methodology

This report outlines the comparative findings of our 4 annual audits [on-line Scottish local, national, daily and weekly publications]. We focused solely on on-line media as, despite being one of the most important and influential means of [instant] information sharing around today - particularly with a readers’ comment facility available for most larger on-line publications, this is an area that [in terms of impact on the Gypsy/Traveller community] has not been analysed in the past.

*Article 12 in Scotland*’s fundamental goal for the YGTL project is to empower and ‘skill-up’ young Gypsy/Travellers in order that they may speak for themselves – and their community – to bring about real and lasting positive change and to enjoy the fundamental human rights that members of the settled community take as given. The key to this goal is participation; with this in mind, all members of the YGTL project team were invited to take part in the auditing process which formed the research for the previous 4 reports, allowing them to become involved in the regular checking and analysing of relevant articles published in their local press. The publications audited were chosen to reflect not only every jurisdiction in Scotland, but also to cover various types and sizes of publications: daily and weekly, local and national. Internet searches were also undertaken and, out of interest, ‘Google Alerts’ for keywords were set up [generating thousands of on-line hits globally every week for racist terms such as ‘pikey’, ‘gypo’, ‘tink’ and so on].

In order to ensure a sense of continuity, *Article 12 in Scotland* created an ‘audit form’. This form was broken up into various sections and gave a sense of structure to the audit. Nonetheless, due to the fast-paced nature of the internet, the pre-requisite for expensive on-line subscriptions, differing news stories between on-line and print editions, a lack of an interactive on-line presence for certain publications and the inability to read the full story on-line [various publications have ‘pay-walls’], *Article 12 in Scotland* does not claim to have captured every article within our specific remit.
Findings

[A visual representation of our findings may be viewed in Appendix 1 of this report.]

NB: Due to rounding up/down, and the overlapping of certain categories, some percentages may not add up to 100.

Article 12 in Scotland found:

Volume:

- During our first, pilot, audit [September 2011 – March 2012], Article 12 in Scotland found 72 articles over the 6 month period, however, it is important to note that during this time, articles were audited during the Autumn and Winter months [a time when, typically, there are significantly less Gypsy/Travellers ‘on the road’; this results in less roadside/unauthorised encampments which, in turn, naturally, equates to less negative media coverage]. By year 2 [12 month audit: April 2012 – March 2013], the number of articles had jumped to 193, increasing again to 195 throughout year 3 [12 month audit: April 2013 – March 2014]. During our final audit in Year 4 [April 2014 – September 2014, a 6 month audit do to project timelines], we found a total of 81 articles – a slight decrease on average, but still equating to around 3 articles per week. This decrease is a positive move in the right direction, however, Article 12 in Scotland feels that this number is disproportionate to the population size of Gypsy/Travellers living in Scotland, and highlights the significant ‘interest’ the media has in reporting on the Gypsy/Traveller community. We also feel it is worth noting that many smaller, regional papers have become assimilated into larger, tabloid, news groups – meaning even less variation in reporting on the Gypsy/Traveller community.

- Throughout the 4 years, there have been articles published by a wide variety of newspapers located in different geographical regions in Scotland. Nonetheless, media sources in the North East of Scotland – where, typically, there have been longstanding tensions between the Travelling and settled communities, due in large to the lack of appropriate sites and stopping places – have consistently published the highest volume of relevant articles. During year 1, The Press and Journal, combined with its sister paper the Evening Express published a total of 26% of articles; year 2: The Courier with 11%; year 3: The Courier with 19% and finally, once again, The Courier with 31% of all published articled during year 4. It is also important to highlight that, during Year 2, the combined number of articles from The Press and Journal and Evening Express accounted for a fifth of all audits; during year 3 this remained static at a fifth and rose to a third during year 4. Considering that these publications are all regional papers, with a high readership in the North East of Scotland, Article 12 in Scotland finds these statistics worrying and indicative of a campaign of negativity towards the Gypsy/Traveller community living in the North East of Scotland.

- Article 12 in Scotland has also found a significant number of articles being published by large national newspapers – often returning the second or third highest volume of articles. Many of these have been sensationalist in tone, and are indicative of the high levels of interest that tabloid newspapers have with regards to Gypsy/Travellers.
Themes:

NB: Many articles contained 2 or more common themes.

- Throughout the course of our audit, each year the subject matter of the majority of articles has been focused on Gypsy/Traveller sites [roadside/unauthorised encampments, official sites, plans for new official sites and so on]: 72% in year 1; 59% in year 2; 62% in year 3 and 78% during year 4.
- Gypsy/Travellers themselves were also a common focus, with 35% of articles in year 1, 51% in year 2, 38% in year 3 and 49% in year 4 all discussing the Gypsy/Traveller community.
- Crime and negative stereotyping also feature heavily: during year 1, 25% of articles discussed crime and 8% were classed as perpetuating negative stereotypes; in year 2, 14% focused on crime with 20% guilty of negative stereotyping; year 3 saw 12% of articles discussing crime and 24% containing negative stereotyping; finally in year 4, 14% focused on crime, with 23% classed as negative stereotyping.
- To put this in perspective, during year 2, Article 12 in Scotland’s audit found that only 0.5% of articles published reported from the perspective of a member of the Gypsy/Traveller community; 0.5% concerned education and 0.5% discussed the success of a member of the Travelling community. In year 3, once again, only 0.5% of articles were published from the perspective of a member of the community; 0.5% concerned education; 0.5% focused on the Gypsy/Traveller community’s history and 0.5% spoke of the health issues affecting Gypsy/Travellers. It is clear, then, that the majority of articles concerning the Gypsy/Traveller community are focusing on issues perceived negatively by the publishers’ readers from the settled community, and are a key factor in the current, escalating tensions between the two communities.

Tone:

NB: Many articles contained 2 tones e.g. negative/discriminatory.

- During year 1, 58% of articles were classed as negative, 27% as neutral, 14% as racist and only 8% as positive. 16% have been classed as ‘other’, including: sensationalist [4%], reporting on racial discrimination [3%], articles influenced by My Big Fat Gypsy Wedding [3%], leading headlines [1%], patronising [1%] and unbalanced [4%].
- In year 2, 38% were overwhelmingly negative, 54% were audited as neutral, 7% we classed as discriminatory, 1% was identified as racist, 0.5% was of a misleading nature and only 10% of articles were classed as positive. It is important to note here, that a decrease in negative reporting was likely due to many articles reporting on the Scottish Government’s Equal Opportunities Committee’s Enquiry ‘Where Gypsy/Travellers Live’, which Article 12 in Scotland feels may have influenced reporting behaviour this year.
- During year 3, 52% of articles were overwhelmingly negative, 36% were audited as neutral, 10% we classed as discriminatory, 4% were identified as racist and only 7% of articles were classed as positive.
Finally, in year 4, 60% were negative, 32% were audited as neutral, 28% we classed as discriminatory, 5% were identified as racist and only 1% of articles were classed as positive.

Use of archive/stock photographs:

- The use of archive/stock photographs within articles concerning the Gypsy/Traveller community has remained at virtually the same level throughout the duration of this audit: Year 1: 21%, year 2: 18%, year 3: 18% and year 4: 20%.

- Although we are pleased to note that the majority of publications audited did not appear to be using old archive/stock photos, we feel that the increase from 18% in Year 3, to 20% in Year 4 is completely unacceptable. The premeditated use of old, misleading and unconnected photos is unethical and goes against the Independent Press Standards Organisation’s Editors’ Code of Practice. The practice of using old photos to deliberately misrepresent a situation reinforces myths and stereotypes [e.g. concerning mess] and adds to the negative view of Gypsy/Travellers held by members of the settled community.

Use of ‘leading words’:

NB: Many articles contained 2 or more ‘leading words’.

- The leading word used most often when reporting on the Gypsy/Traveller community is ‘illegal’, with 39% of articles in year 1, 13% of articles in year 2, 25% of articles in year 3 and 30% of articles in year 4 using this word at least once per article [quite often within a headline].

- Words such as eviction [32% in year 1, 6% in year 2, 8% in year 3 and 12% in year 4]; fear [10% in year 1, 3% in year 2, 5% in year 3 and 4% in year 4]; invasion [7% in year 1, 1% in year 2, 5% in year 3 and 2% in year 4] and rubbish [4% in year 1, 12% in year 2, 19% in year 3 and 17% in year 4] all feature heavily in the standard reporting of Gypsy/Travellers.

- Many leading words, used less frequently, were classed as ‘other’, these include: legal action/costs to tax payers, benefits, slavery, crime, illicit, threat, riots, violence, destruction, problems, anger, frustration, fury, outrageous, stupid, My Big Fat Gypsy Wedding, ‘grabbing’, bling, descend, occupation, battle, tax evasion, protesting, betrayal, noise, desecrated, ‘masses of human excrement’, disgusting, aggressive,

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5 [Clause 1 Accuracy: i] The Press must take care not to publish inaccurate, misleading or distorted information, including pictures: https://www.ipso.co.uk/IPSO/cop.html
‘angry dogs’, ‘looming up before us’, ‘open sewer’, ‘defied stone barriers’, breaking in, punch-up, erupted, brawling, ruckus, shouting, drink, anti-social behaviour, ‘dog-fouling’, ‘public disorder’, vandalism, ‘noise nuisance’, ‘fly-tipping’, ‘public urination’, ‘disgusting mess’, ‘at risk’, littering, ‘uncontrolled dogs’, threatened, suffered, nuisance, inconsiderate, ‘traveller issues’, illiterate, forced marriage, pikey, horror, revenge, concern, ill-feeling, theft, brawls, urination, Traveller problem, jobless, abuse, [settled] community helpless [against Travellers], outrage, enraged, increased crime, unlicensed, camps spreading, unlawful, eject, unauthorised, crackdown, Roma invasion, cost, immigrant, encampment spreading, a catalogue of Traveller-related crime has gone unpunished, [Gypsy/Travellers] turn tourists off, shocking, wave of Travellers, community outrage, fears the area may be left damaged by the new encampment, area targeted [as a camp], concerning, problems, unacceptable, flashpoints, criminality, appalled, criminal, absolute disgrace, shocked, tensions, unsettling, roaming around at dusk, alarming, intimidated, attacking, harm, scared, blight, human health hazard, disgusting, concerns of the public, help in the council’s ‘dealings’ with the Traveller community, defy the law, congregate, scruffy vans, boot them out.

- **Article 12 in Scotland** also noted a significant amount of ‘mafia’ and ‘war’ style terminology, such as: Gypsy gangs, crime gangs, occupation, under-siege, war-zone, no-go-zone, and take-over.

- Some articles were also guilty of racial profiling and the use of emotive words such as relief.

The use of leading words is irresponsible and can be likened to subliminal messaging; repeated use of words such as ‘illegal’, ‘invasion’ and ‘fear’ can lead to all sorts of negative doubts, misunderstandings, frustrations and myths about the Gypsy/Traveller community and culture; which in turn keep division and hatred alive. The fact that these leading words continue to be used significantly indicates the ill-feeling that continues to thrive amongst sections of the press towards the Gypsy/Traveller community. This practice should have no place in modern journalism.

**Capitalisation of ‘Gypsy’ and ‘Traveller’ in audited articles:**

NB: Across the duration of this audit, **Article 12 in Scotland** has noted a high volume of regional papers becoming assimilated as part of larger news groups or ceasing to exist altogether.

- During year 1, only 15% of audited articles capitalised the words ‘Gypsy’ and/or ‘Traveller’, in year 2 this increased to 28% [an increase **Article 12 in Scotland** feels was due to the publication of the Equal Opportunities Committee’s Enquiry Where Gypsy/Travellers Live], in year 3 this had decreased to 7% and in year 4 the number had increased to 16%.

- Not capitalising ‘Gypsy’ and/or ‘Traveller’ is disrespectful, and does not give due regard to ethnic status. Although there has been an increase over the past year, the number of papers capitalising falls way short of a quarter. This is unacceptable.
Social Media

An area of ever increasing significance is the world of social media; the readers’ comments section of on-line news sites, and social networking sites such as Facebook are becoming continually more popular communities where there seems to be a sense of misplaced anonymity with regards to what people post [the Facebook presence of many local papers regularly host inflammatory ‘debates’ concerning the Travelling community]. Indeed, anti-Gypsy/Roma/Traveller groups are prolific on social networking/question and answer sites; unfortunately as soon as one of such pages is reported and removed, another takes its place. It is worth noting that despite their content violating site terms and conditions, the removal process can take weeks - or in some cases the pages are not removed at all.

Nonetheless, far from being anonymous, it is relatively easy to trace someone’s real details on-line. Aberdeenshire has seen a number of individuals charged for racially aggravated comments made on Facebook regarding Gypsy/Travellers over the past few years.

Anti-Traveller sentiment is rife on social networking sites, particularly in areas with roadside encampments/unauthorised sites, or proposed Gypsy/Traveller sites, with groups such as Aberdeen Against Travelers/North East Travellers, Stop Laurencekirk Traveller Site and Stop St Cyrus Traveller Site [all currently active on Facebook at the time of writing] encouraging anger towards, campaigning against [sites], and the surveillance of, the Gypsy/Traveller community in the North East. Comments found on Facebook include:

- I invented a new game, you get a group of pikeys and lock them in a cellar for a month without any food................ It’s called hungary, hungary gypso [sic];
- Why isn’t it legal to shoot gypsys in the face, it should be, I mean there is no law in against shooting dirt and there less than that so it should be ok [sic];
- Come along and watch Guy Fawks Burn and the McCarthy sisters fashion sense go up in smoke. See how many rockets we can launch into Camp Constant [sic];
- I [xxxxxxx] hate pikies, it ain’t English, it ain’t Irish, it’s just ....Pikey!!! [sic’];
- Burn them out;
- Hear hear. I would dig a hole to get rid of the pikeys [sic];
- I think we should all go picky hunting burn the vans and big a big f*****g hole and chuck all the pricks in it [sic];
- They should have a special camp with special treatment lol;
- Gas em;
- This s**t wouldn’t be tolerated in the US. Someone would shoot the b*****s. I’ve said it before, I’m saying it again. Petrol bombs. Every f*****g night. Footballs covered in tar booted into their camp and dog food with laxative in planted amongst their s**t piles. Plus car horns up their a**s, day and night. Not only will they leave they won’t ever b****y come back. The police are b****y useless it’s time the citizens of Aberdeen took matters into their own hands. Stop the nicey nicey horses**t and drive the thieving b****y nomads out.

Examples of on line comments from Yahoo answers:
Question: Has anyone seen any hard bare-knuckle fighting male gypo's on the news [sic];
Example of answer: Every single one of those parasites needs a bullet between the eyes including the children;

Question: How to one become a Pikey? Do you just buy a caravan, throw away the soap and join a group of them [sic];
Example of answer: the only way to become a pikey is to be born one or have a child with your cousin [sic]: Oh an live in a caravan pulled by a car with no road tax or insurance [sic].

These types of comments are not restricted to Facebook groups; the readers’ comments of many on-line publications are a hive of racial bigotry too:

- **Daily Mail**: They are on their way here. So be ready for a rise in crime everywhere. Cameron refuse to act or to stop them. All his false promises have led to no action or anything positive at all yet. Get double padlocks for your garages and sheds and make sure you dont go out on your own...[sic];
- **Daily Mail**: Traveller is a life style choice not an ethnic group;
- **Daily Mail**: Unhealthy, uneducated and unemployed: unwanted, unwashed, under our feet;
- **Evening Express**: so it looks like an end to having to pay rates - at least this is some small consolation for having these people live in our area;
- **The Courier**: I’m fed up with the Courier using a capital “T” when writing about travellers. They’re a bunch of tinkers who don’t like paying taxes in any shape or form...[sic];
- **The Courier**: What’s the criteria for being classed as a Traveller in the UK? A gypsy passport, golden earrings, a spooky look or a rusty old trailer [sic];
- **The Scotsman**: A M79 with a couple of dozen rounds and half a dozen 66mm LAW, problem solved;
- **The Scottish Sun**: You have got to admit these vermin are consistent wherever they land ----------filthy animals;
- **The Scottish Sun**: I know a cheaper way to get rid of them, can’s of petrol and matches [sic].

Once again, the above comments show just how engrained the negative attitude towards the Gypsy/Traveller community actually is. The fact that people think it is acceptable to make such comments, in a public forum, about a recognised ethnic minority highlights how much still needs to be done in order to put a stop to this ‘socially acceptable’ form of racial discrimination.

*Article 12 in Scotland* believe that social media – social networking sites, blogs, on-line news presences and other on-line communities and groups – have a duty to thoroughly monitor all racially aggravated content within their sites. On-line social spaces are becoming more popular by the day; they provide a worrying platform for promoting racial intolerance towards Gypsy/Travellers; ranging from ridiculing and stereotypes, to inciting racial hatred and violence.
The **UNCRC: Young Gypsy/Travellers’ Voices**

The *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child [UNCRC]* is a list of 54 Articles that cover all aspects of life for young people under the age of eighteen. 40 of the Articles describe the rights that the government must make sure they have. The United Kingdom [UK] signed up to the *UNCRC* in 1991. The *UNCRC* itself is not binding in the UK in a legal sense, however; some of the Articles are reflected in law, policy and practice and it does serve to establish recognised standards that are often referred to by national and international courts and bodies in their conclusions, recommendations and decisions.

When governments agree to put the *UNCRC* into practice, they must prepare a report for the *Committee on the Rights of the Child* after two years, and then every five years. This is known as the Reporting Process. The *Committee* is a group of adults from different countries who are experts on children and young people’s rights. The *Committee* last examined the *UK Government’s* record on implementing children and young people’s human rights in September 2008 and published its *Concluding Observations* on the report in October 2008.6

Part of the Reporting Process is the Pre Session Hearing. This is an opportunity for Non-Governmental Organisations [NGOs] and Civil Society Organisations [CSOs] to present and discuss their Alternative Reports [reports which outline their views on the state of children’s rights in their country and on the contents of the government report]. *Article 12 in Scotland* is one of the organisations that present an Alternative Report.

Our report - *I Witness: The UNCRC in the United Kingdom – Young Gypsy/Travellers’ Voices* - highlights and presents solutions to the emerging rights issues raised by young Gypsy/Travellers involved in *Article 12 in Scotland’s* *UNCRC* Reporting Process. Throughout consultation, participants raised the issues that were of upmost concern to both themselves and their peers; of all these concerns, there was an underlying theme of major discrimination – in particular, with reference to the reporting practices of the mainstream media.7

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6 Further information on the *UNCRC* and the Reporting Process can be found at: *Child Rights Connect*: [http://www.childrightsconnect.org](http://www.childrightsconnect.org)


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Extract from *I Witness: The UNCRC in the United Kingdom – Young Gypsy/Travellers’ Voices*:

Across Scotland, and indeed the UK as a whole, Gypsy/Travellers continue to be regularly vilified by certain representatives of the media. This deliberate reification of an already marginalised group is not only unethical; it also serves to put a whole community at risk from harm:
“the media always say things that are bad about us, we have newspapers coming onto our camps trying to take pictures of us, asking us questions”; “the media targets us, there is never anything positive said about Travellers and they always stereotype us. It makes people judge us”; “people learn how to think from their parents/family/TV” [young Scottish Gypsy/Travellers’ voices].

Unbalanced reporting encourages prejudice; Gypsy/Travellers are a diverse people, and a vulnerable group in the hands of the media. Negative portrayals of Gypsy/Travellers fuel division and segregation from the settled community, increase prejudice and discrimination, and serve to galvanise inaccurate, widely held social beliefs about the culture of Gypsy/Travellers. Despite having recognised ethnic minority status; the Gypsy/Traveller community continues to be marginalised from mainstream society. This is, in part, fuelled by the media and poses a serious risk to the well-being of young people within the community; creating a barrier to positive change and bridge building with members of the settled community.

Negative stereotyping - expressed through the public and media’s allegations of increased crime when Gypsy/Travellers enter an area - has led to the wide-spread belief that the Gypsy/Traveller community is comprised of criminals, leaving young Gypsy/Travellers increasingly cast-out from mainstream society. This is in spite of evidence to the contrary; indeed, the Association of Chief Police Officers state that they have no disproportionate problems of criminal activities within the travelling community, while the Equality and Human Rights Commission believe: ‘the suspicion with which Travellers are regarded means they are likely to be reported by neighbours or targeted unfairly by the police’.8

Forced to live ‘illegally’, many are being pushed to the fringes of society. Those who are living on one of the few council sites available in Scotland can be, and have been, subjected to racial harassment from those living around them: “we feel like Gypsy/Travellers are an endangered species.”

Young Gypsy/Travellers stated:

“I want Gypsy/Travellers to be more respected and welcomed and less hatred against us”; “more respect from the media”; “less racism”; “more respect for Gypsy/Travellers”; “Gypsy/Travellers to get the same respect and rights as any other person”; “to have respect of shops, police and newspapers”; “for Gypsy/Travellers to have a right to just be; to get water and roam where they like to go and for people to see us in a different way”.

Participants’ recommendations:

- The media should use its power to effect positive changes and show an increase in more neutral and ethical reporting;
- A more robust monitoring system for online reader comments/social media sites; stricter guidelines regarding the reporting of Gypsy/Travellers;

• Participants recognise the right to free speech, but this cannot extend to racial profiling.
A right to fair reporting

Journalists, editors [and indeed anyone else who is involved with any form of media] have a duty and responsibility – under UK Equality Law – to make sure that they report in an ethical fashion [the Scottish Government now recognises Scottish Gypsy/Travellers as an ethnic minority, which brings them under the protection of the Equality Act 2010].

Regulatory bodies:

- **Independent Press Standards Organisation [IPSO]** [formally the Press Complaints Commission]
  Editors’ Code of Practice: [https://www.ipso.co.uk/IPSO/cop.html](https://www.ipso.co.uk/IPSO/cop.html)

- **Office of Communications [Ofcom]**
  Ofcom is a statutory body, and therefore has the backing of the law [guidelines can be found at]: [http://www.ofcom.org.uk/](http://www.ofcom.org.uk/)


The **Equality and Human Rights Commission** also have a guide available for the media entitled **Gypsy Travellers in Scotland: A Resource for The Media** [updated in June 2013] which all journalists should make themselves familiar with before reporting on the Gypsy/Traveller community: [http://www.equalityhumanrights.com/sites/default/files/documents/Scotland/Scottish_News/g_t_resource_final_v1.pdf](http://www.equalityhumanrights.com/sites/default/files/documents/Scotland/Scottish_News/g_t_resource_final_v1.pdf)

Journalists and editors have a responsibility to ensure fair and ethical reporting for all. Tensions between the Gypsy/Traveller community and the settled community will never cease if the media continue to vilify and misrepresent Gypsy/Travellers. It is also imperative that all on-line publications step-up to the plate and implement a robust monitoring system in order to eliminate racist, insulting and dangerous reader comments.

**Article 12 in Scotland** does not claim that all Scottish – and indeed UK-wide - publications, deliberately mislead the public and strive to criminalise the Gypsy/Roma/Traveller population, but we do know that some do. This deliberate misrepresentation [via leading words and the use of archive/stock photos] of an already marginalised community is not only unethical – it also serves to put a whole community in danger:

“...it is this language that is used to achieve the marginalisation of, and discrimination towards, Gypsies ... Gypsies are presented generally as a problem and more specifically as in need of controlling, dirty and, through the use of the war and invasion analogies, as a very different group who are in direct conflict with the [British] in group ... such talk can be used to deligitimise and dehumanise the people it is aimed at...”

Reporting a Hate Crime

Hate Crimes can take many forms; a Hate Crime is any criminal offence committed against an individual or property that is motivated by a person’s hatred of someone because of his or her actual or perceived race, religion, transgender identity, sexual orientation or disability. This includes using the media, in particular social/digital media, to incite racial hatred. Individuals have been prosecuted regularly for comments they have made regarding the Gypsy/Traveller community on social media. *Article 12 in Scotland’s* Third Party Reporting Centre has been established specifically to support members of the Gypsy/Traveller community to report hate crime.

What is Third Party Reporting?

In some cases victims/witnesses of Hate Crime do not feel comfortable reporting the matter directly to the police and may be more comfortable reporting it to someone they are familiar with.

To ensure all victims/witnesses are able to report Hate Crimes, *Police Scotland* works in partnership with a wide variety of partners who perform the role of Third Party Reporting Centres. Staff within Third Party Reporting Centres have been trained to assist a victim or witness in submitting a report to the police and can make such a report on the victim/witnesses behalf.

How do I report a Hate Crime?

You can report directly using *Police Scotland’s* reporting form:

https://www.scotland.police.uk/secureforms/hate-crime/

Or, you can contact *Article 12 in Scotland* who will complete the form on your behalf. You do not have to provide your personal details when reporting, but this may mean that the police may not be able to fully investigate the matter. You can contact *Article 12 in Scotland* by emailing us at report@article12.org – please put ‘Reporting a hate crime’ as the subject and provide us with a telephone number so that we can call you for further information. The number we phone you from will show up as ‘withheld number’ or ‘private number’. If you do not pick up we will leave a message giving you a date and time when we will call you again.
Conclusions and recommendations

Discrimination and stereotyping vis a vis the mainstream media is a huge problem; negative myths are perpetuated, bullying and hate crimes increase – impacting on all areas of life for vulnerable children and young people within the Gypsy/Traveller community. We urge the UK Government to take immediate action in increasing the protection of vulnerable children and young people with regards to unbalanced, stereotypical reporting – on a national basis. All young Gypsy/Travellers involved in Article 12 in Scotland’s Reporting Process stated that more needs to be done and believe the media plays a substantial role in the negative portrayal of their community – fuelling stereotypes; increasing discrimination and bullying.10

The purpose of this audit was to track the reportage of Scottish publications with regards to the Gypsy/Traveller community. It was hoped that over the course of the audit, we would see a steady decline in negative and misleading reporting. Sadly this has not been the case. Article 12 in Scotland concludes that, once again, the on-line media, both here in Scotland and UK wide, is guilty of publishing a disproportionate amount of articles about the Gypsy/Traveller community [in particular with regards to local sites]; approximately 2 articles per week [over the duration of the audit, including in this figure the Autumn and Winter months, when there are not many Gypsy/Travellers on the road], of which a vast majority fell within the categories of negative, discriminatory and racist. Geographically, the bulk of articles have come from newspapers covering the North East of Scotland/Tayside [areas which have long played host to bitter tensions between the Travelling and settled communities], and national, sensationalised tabloid articles.

Most articles concerning Gypsy/Travellers are focused on sites, crime and the Gypsy/Traveller community themselves; many are also guilty of negative stereotyping. ‘Leading’ words also play a big part in keeping the tensions between Travelling and settled communities at boiling point; words such as illegal, invasion, eviction and rubbish all feature heavily. Using leading words to guide the reader down a particularly dark thought-path is unethical and misleading; perhaps even part of a bigger, more sinister agenda. The fact that around a fifth of publications persist in using old archived/stock photographs to really enforce their negative message is extremely worrying – not only does this practice aid in fostering a negative attitude towards Gypsy/Travellers, but we believe this is not in the public’s interest and is serves solely to demonise an already marginalised community.

On average, less than 20% of publications capitalise ‘Gypsy’ and/or ‘Traveller’, this is in spite of guidelines being in place, and, in some cases, being repeatedly informed of this error. This shows a complete lack of respect and disregard for ethnic status, helping to perpetuate the myth that Gypsy/Travellers are not a ‘real’ ethnic group.

The many examples of negative reporting that we have seen during the course of our audit are not only disheartening, but also extremely worrying. The media has a duty to report ethically and in an unbiased fashion, on all articles published. Article 12 in Scotland does not feel that

10 I Witness: The UNCRC in the United Kingdom – Young Gypsy/Travellers’ Voices: [2015]
this is the case where reporting on the Gypsy/Traveller community is concerned. With the exception of the short-lived effect of the publication of the Equal Opportunities Committee’s Enquiry Where Gypsy/Travellers Live in 2013, the negative trend in reportage has remained consistent. Whether this is due to a general lack of respect, or part of a larger local agenda, the fact is, Gypsy/Travellers are still continually vilified by mainstream and digital forms of media in Scotland.

Providing a community with a positive voice has been proven as an invaluable way to effect positive change. Article 12 in Scotland’s awareness-raising/conflict-resolution workshops are indicative of this. Over the course of the YGTL project, Peer Educators have delivered these workshops in schools throughout Scotland; indeed changing negative attitudes held by children and young people is essential if we are to challenge and change negative mind-sets [these workshops recorded an 80% positive change in attitude at St Andrews High School in Kirkcaldy, an 82.4% positive change in attitude recorded at Kemnay Academy in Aberdeenshire, a 66.8% positive change in attitude recorded at Larkhall Academy and a 69.4% combined change in attitude across schools in Edinburgh: East Linton Primary, Wester Hailes Community High School, Castlebrae Community High School and Broughton High School].

The media has a very powerful voice; Article 12 in Scotland believes that, with willing, the media could be instrumental in changing, rather than fuelling, negative attitudes towards the Gypsy/Traveller community. The media should use its power to effect positive changes in the public’s mind-set, thus eradicating what many describe as the last ‘socially acceptable’ form of racism in Scotland.

Recommendations:

- Addressing negative societal attitudes and discrimination towards the Gypsy/Traveller community requires a strategic action plan and strong national leadership. We urge the national and devolved governments to support each of the jurisdictions to launch national awareness-raising campaigns in order to reduce negative media reporting and the subsequent stigma that young Gypsy/Travellers face as a result.

- The lack of adequate sites, both transit and permanent, has become catastrophic; local authorities have a duty to push through the creation of more, decent, appropriately located authorised sites. This would in turn reduce the amount of roadside/unauthorised encampments, a key driver in tensions, and lead to less negative media coverage.

- An increase in more neutral and ethical reporting. Article 12 in Scotland would like to see Scottish publications taking a lead in this.

- All publications to familiarise themselves with the Equal Opportunities Committee’s Enquiry Where Gypsy/Travellers Live and the Equality and Human Rights Commission’s updated guide: Gypsy Travellers in Scotland: A Resource for the Media. Article 12 in Scotland would also like to see more self-regulation with regards to biased reporting on the Gypsy/Traveller community.
• The implementation of a more robust monitoring system for on-line reader comments/social media sites, and penalties for those who do not comply with regulations concerning ethnicity. This area is of upmost concern to Article 12 in Scotland. There is currently a very high level of tension towards the Gypsy/Traveller community to be found on these sites, and with little-to-no official monitoring, they quickly become a vitriolic breeding ground, whipping up racial hatred and vigilante style talk, which will, naturally, lead to actual violence towards the community.

• Publications to stop posting inflammatory ‘debates’ on their Facebook pages – these threads are instrumental in fuelling hatred and can lead to dangerous discussions.

• The implementation of stricter guidelines regarding the reporting of Gypsy/Travellers. Article 12 in Scotland strongly advocates freedom of speech and the right to personal choices/opinions; however, this cannot extend to racial profiling. Gypsy/Travellers should be treated with the respect due to any other ethnic minority.
Appendix 1

Visuals

NB: Due to rounding up/down, and the overlapping of certain categories, some percentages may not add up to 100%

Volume of articles:

![Articles Published](image)

Common themes found in articles:

![Theme[s] of Articles](image)
Tone of audited articles:

- **Year 1 [6 month audit]**
  - Positive: 60%
  - Negative: 10%
  - Neutral: 20%
  - Discriminatory/Other: 0%
  - Racist: 0%

- **Year 2**
  - Positive: 50%
  - Negative: 20%
  - Neutral: 20%
  - Discriminatory/Other: 0%
  - Racist: 0%

- **Year 3**
  - Positive: 40%
  - Negative: 30%
  - Neutral: 20%
  - Discriminatory/Other: 0%
  - Racist: 0%

- **Year 4 [6 month audit]**
  - Positive: 30%
  - Negative: 20%
  - Neutral: 20%
  - Discriminatory/Other: 0%
  - Racist: 10%

Use of stock – or archived – photographs within articles:

- **Year 1 [6 month audit]**
  - Yes: 90%
  - No: 10%
  - Unsure: 0%

- **Year 2**
  - Yes: 80%
  - No: 20%
  - Unsure: 0%

- **Year 3**
  - Yes: 70%
  - No: 30%
  - Unsure: 0%

- **Year 4 [6 month audit]**
  - Yes: 60%
  - No: 40%
  - Unsure: 0%
Negative/leading key words:

Capitalisation of Gypsy/Traveller [taken from a cross-section of Scottish publications]:
Appendix 2

These rights’ charters were created by young Gypsy/Travellers working with Article 12 in Scotland, and were included in our I Witness: The UNCRC in the United Kingdom: Young Gypsy/Travellers’ Voices [2015] report.

Young Scottish Gypsy/Travellers’: Human Rights Act

• The right to move about freely without harassment;
• The right to roam should be applied equally to Gypsy/Travellers as any other member of society [Scots Law];
• The right to access clean drinking water;
• The right to culturally sensitive/competent education;
• The right not to be geographically segregated;
• The right to be part of and not be discriminated against in planning processes.

Young Scottish Gypsy/Travellers’: Bill of Rights

• The right to follow our own culture without discrimination;
• The right to be kept safe from torture/humiliating treatment;
• The right to feel secure;
• The right to survival;
• The right to get and receive help if your rights are ignored;
• The right to access culturally sensitive and competent services;
• The right to the survival of Gypsy/Traveller culture;
• Freedom of expression;
• The right to know your rights.
Appendix 3

The Press and Journal: Back Audit


In reaction to the growing concerns of Article 12 in Scotland, and various other local and national organisations, surrounding the press coverage of the Gypsy/Traveller community by The Press and Journal [the daily with the highest circulation of any regional newspaper in Scotland], Article 12 in Scotland commissioned an independent piece of research, the purpose of which was to analyse The Press and Journal’s press coverage of the Gypsy/Traveller community over four random years. This ‘back audit’ was commissioned in order to gain an insight into the reporting behaviour regarding the Gypsy/Traveller community by The Press and Journal [and followed the format Article 12 in Scotland used during the Young Gypsy/Travellers’ Lives project’s annual media audit - which has formed the comparative statistical information contained within the main body of this report - i.e. volume, theme, tone, use of stock photographs, ‘leading’ words/headlines and so on], and to see if this has changed over time. It is important to note, that due to the bulk of past copies of The Press and Journal being available only in archived form on microfilm, it was impossible to analyse every single article; we asked for one year per decade, chosen by the researcher, over a 30 period.

[The detailed findings/analysed articles are available on request from beth@article12.org]

1986

- NB: The Press and Journal’s [along with their sister paper, the Evening Express, which was also analysed by our researcher for this year] journalists were on strike for the latter part of 1986, this has resulted in a gap in reporting.
- 66 articles were published concerning Gypsy/Travellers, or the Travelling community in general; of these articles 45 were classified as negative, 17 as neutral and 7 as positive. Our researcher also looked at the Evening Express during 1986 and found 62 relevant articles, with 26 negative, 26 neutral and 10 as positive.

1991

- Editor: Harry Roulston.
- 72 articles were published concerning the Gypsy/Traveller, or the Travelling community in general, of these articles 35 were classified as negative, 26 as neutral and 11 were positive.

2001

- Editor: Derek Tucker.
52 articles were published concerning the Gypsy/Traveller, or the Travelling community in general, of these articles 16 were classified as negative, 22 as neutral and 24 were positive.

2011

- Editor: Derek Tucker [until January 2011], Damian Bates [March 2011 onwards].
- For the year 2011, only Aberdeen editions were examined for relevant articles. This was due to time restrictions and the fact, at this time, Aberdeen Central Library only had hard copies of the Aberdeen editions available. For unknown reasons, certain issues were missing from the library archives.
- In one regional edition alone, 90 articles were published concerning the Gypsy/Traveller, or the Travelling community in general, of these articles 48 were classified as negative, 25 as neutral and 17 were positive.

Researcher’s note

The conclusions that can be drawn from the data gathered show that articles concerning Gypsy/Travellers in both the Evening Express and The Press and Journal fall mainly into two categories:

- ‘Conflict’ articles: these articles deal with a conflict or feeling of anger either about the presence of Gypsy/Travellers, or about the possibility of their presence i.e. a new site having been set up, an unauthorised camp having appeared or a proposal for the development of a legal site. They also often try to encourage outrage in their readership by using inflammatory language. The conflict articles are almost always from the point of view of the settled community, there are usually councillors or council staff mentioned or quoted in the article and very often quotes or mentions of local settled residents. There are noticeably fewer articles which directly quote Gypsy/Travellers and give their side of the story, and when these articles do quote Gypsy/Travellers, they often angle this coverage to make those quoted seem unreasonable, rather than understandable.

- ‘Nostalgic’ articles: the ‘Nostalgic’ article is normally a more positive one, talking about the richness of Travelling culture and Gypsy/Travellers are normally directly quoted in these articles. However, the problem with these articles is that they are normally slightly patronising in their portrayal of Gypsy/Travellers, they portray them as endearing oddities, who have no bearing on the modern day [the modern day of the time of publishing]. Gypsy/Travellers in these articles are portrayed as a disappearing race; it is heavily implied that they belong to the days of horse-drawn wagons and tents, and motorised Gypsy/Travellers normally don’t get a mention, as though they are completely unconnected to their origins. Prejudice is also talked about as though it were a thing of the past and nothing to do with the ongoing hate campaigns against motorised Gypsy/Travellers.
Through both these types of articles, there is this idea put across to the reader that only ‘traditional’ [nostalgic] Gypsy/Travellers are worthy of respect, as if they were real and the motorised Gypsy/Traveller is only a pale imitation and not belonging to the same cultures as those who came before; that the wagon and tent dwelling Gypsy/Travellers were a ‘real culture’ that is becoming quickly extinct. Gypsy/Travellers living in modern caravans are portrayed as criminals, litter-louts, a ‘civic nuisance’. In other words: not ‘real’ Gypsy/Travellers - not connected to their past. This means that people who don’t know all that much about the Travelling community, and whose only source of information is the Aberdeen Journals, will believe that the modern Gypsy/Travellers actually are just a civic nuisance, that they aren’t the ‘proper’ travelling people of days gone by and that it is ok to treat them as a nuisance because they aren’t actually an ethnic group or a culture. There is also a distinct lack of recognition of different groups of Gypsy/Travellers.

*The Press and Journal* appears to have a vested interest in keeping alive an atmosphere of conflict between the settled and transient communities. This could be because the editor has a personal dislike of Travellers, it could be that Travellers are an easy group to exploit and use for easy sensationalist news stories. Whatever the reason, there is a strong-anti-Traveller bias present across the board in both the *Press and Journal* and the *Evening Express*. 